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## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

I





# DIO CHRYSTOSTOM

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
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MOUNT ALLISON UNIVERSITY, SACKVILLE, N.B., CANADA

IN FIVE VOLUMES

I

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LONDON  
WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD  
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS  
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
MCMXLIX

*First printed 1932  
Reprinted 1949*

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## PREFATORY NOTE

THE task of translating Dio Chrysostom for the Loeb Library was undertaken by Professor William E. Waters of New York University, but ill health followed by his death prevented him from completing the work. In preparing the version found in this volume the present translator made use wherever possible of the rough drafts left by Professor Waters. The Greek text is based upon the critical editions of von Arnim and of de Budé.

## INTRODUCTION

in Rome. In the reign of Domitian, however, this period of his life came somewhat abruptly to an end. He had been too frank in his criticism of the Emperor and had been intimate with a Roman in high position who was executed on some charge or other. For these reasons Dio was banished from Rome and Italy and also from his native Bithynia, probably in the year 82. Now he could no longer depend upon his property in Prusa for support and, whether he wished it or not, had to make a practical test of the tenets of the Cynics and lead the simple life. Wearing but a threadbare cloak he wandered penniless from place to place, as a rule avoiding the large cities. To procure sustenance he was forced at times to do the humblest manual labour, and the hardships then endured injured his health. In the course of these wanderings he reached Borysthenes, a flourishing colony of Miletus north of the Black Sea and not far from the modern Odessa. He penetrated also to Viminacium, a Roman permanent camp on the Danube, and lived among the savage Getae, whose history he wrote.

On the death of Domitian in 96, Dio's exile came to an end, and in the summer of the next year he delivered an oration before the Greeks assembled at Olympia. Then he came to Rome and was kindly received by the new Emperor Nerva. Dio took advantage of this to ask for some favours in behalf of his native town, but was prevented by illness from being wholly successful. He returned, however, to Prusa with the news of such favours as had been granted and then headed an embassy sent by the citizens to express their thanks to the Emperor. This embassy, however, found Nerva

viii

## INTRODUCTION

dead and Trajan Emperor in his stead. Upon him Dio made a good impression and a deep friendship was formed between the two men. Dio was with the Emperor before he set out on his Dacian campaign, and met Trajan on his triumphant return in 102, when he was received with high marks of favour. After this Dio travelled to Alexandria and other places, returning to his native Prusa towards the end of the year or the beginning of the next. At home Dio undertook to carry out some plans for beautifying the city at great cost to himself, but became involved in a lawsuit in connection with the demolishing of some buildings to make room for new structures and had to plead his case before the imperial legate, C. Plinius Secundus, in the year 111-112. This is the last we hear of Dio. His wife and a son predeceased him.

When Dio returned from exile, he had put from him the ideal of the sophists of his time,<sup>1</sup> who believed that eloquence in and of itself was the highest thing, and he had reached settled convictions as a moralizing philosopher from which he never departed. He was not an original thinker, but drew his philosophy from Plato, the Stoics and Cynics, and he felt it to be his life-work to proclaim these teachings to all, high and low, prince and peasant, and to arouse the national feeling of the Greeks by reminding them of their glorious past. By informal

<sup>1</sup> In the first century of our era Rhetoric began to displace Philosophy in esteem, and by the time of Hadrian this movement, which is called the New or Second Sophistic, reached its height. Its adherents believed that the orator, and not the philosopher, represented the highest type of man, and that the content of the oration did not matter so much as did the rhetorical skill shown by the speaker.

## INTRODUCTION

addresses to small groups and by set addresses to larger assemblies he reproved people for their faults and sought to show them the better way much like a modern preacher.

His style is simple, graceful, and noble. He took as his models Plato, Demosthenes, Xenophon, and Antisthenes, but did not get altogether free from ordinary Hellenistic Greek (ἡ κοινή).

### DIO'S WORKS

Eighty discourses credited to Dio have come down to us, but the thirty-seventh (*The Corinthian*) and the sixty-fourth (the second declamation *On Fortune*) are now assigned to his pupil Favorinus. The others, with the exception of the eighteenth, which is a letter to a high official, *Ἰερὸν Νόμα*, as to what authors to read, are either speeches or essays of varying character and purpose, which may be divided into three classes—sophistic, political, and moral. Of a purely sophistic nature, in my opinion, is the eleventh discourse, in which Dio attempts to prove that Troy was not captured by the Greeks. Of a similar nature was his *Eulogy of Hair*, which has been preserved in full by Synesius, who wrote in reply a *Praise of Baldness*; and of the same character too, no doubt, were his *Eulogy of a Parrot* and his *Praise of a Gnat*. The latter three undoubtedly belong to his earlier years; about the other opinions may differ.

The political discourses belong chiefly to Dio's mature years, and the most important ones were written after his return from exile. They deal with the affairs of Bithynia, the quarrels between his fellow-citizens, and the rivalry of interests between

## INTRODUCTION

Prusa and the neighbouring towns of Nicaea and Nicomedia. Of such a type, for example, is the forty-seventh. These speeches are of great interest to the historian because they give him information about the state of Asia Minor at this period.

The third class, the moral discourses, belong to the last period of Dio's life and are the best of all. In them Dio gave rein to his true bent, which was to enforce moral teachings. In them he showed whatever originality he possessed.

One letter of Dio's has already been mentioned. In addition five others are printed by Hercher in his *Epistolographia Graeca*, of which the first two may be genuine.

Dio also wrote philosophical and historical works, none of which is extant. Of the former sort were the following: *Whether the Universe is Perishable* (εἰ φθαρτὸς ὁ κόσμος), *A Eulogy of Heracles and Plato* (ἐγκώμιον Ἡρακλέους καὶ Πλάτωνος), and *To Plato in Defence of Homer* (ὑπὲρ Ὁμήρου πρὸς Πλάτωνα) in four books. To these perhaps should be added *Against the Philosophers* (κατὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων) and *To Musonius* (πρὸς Μουσώνιον), works written before Dio was converted to philosophy by Musonius. Of historical works he wrote *On Alexander's Virtues* (περὶ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀρετῶν) in eight books and a *History of the Getae* (τὰ Γετικά), which was probably written immediately after his return from exile.

### MANUSCRIPTS

The following are the chief manuscripts of Dio :

U—Urbinas 124, 11th century.

B—Parisinus 2958, 14th century.



## INTRODUCTION

- V—Vaticanus graec. 99, 11th century.  
M—Meermannianus 67, of Leyden, Holland, 16th century.  
P—Palatinus graec. 117, 14th and 15th centuries.  
H—Vaticanus graec. 91, 13th century.  
M<sup>1</sup>—The part of the Meermannian MS. which belongs to the third class of MSS.  
P<sup>2</sup>—The other copy of the 65th oration which is found in P.  
E—Laurentianus 81, 2, 14th century.  
T—Marcianus 421, 15th century.  
Y—Marcianus 422, 15th century.  
C—Parisinus 3009, 16th century.  
I—Parisinus 2924, 15th and 16th centuries.  
W—Vindobonensis philos. graec. 168.

As late as the third century Dio's orations were in circulation in single rolls. Our MSS. depend upon an edition of all his orations in rolls. According to the arrangement of these rolls the MSS. are divided into three classes. The first class has them in the order in which Photius read them, the second class in the order in which they appear in this edition, while the third class contains only part of them in a different order.

Von Arnim holds that UB of the first class and VM of the second class are more closely related to one another than to PH of the third class, while Sonny, on the other hand, thinks that the second and third classes are closely related and widely separated from the first one, and that the readings of the third class which Arnim considered early and true were interpolated by a clever scribe.

# INTRODUCTION

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According to Fabricius the *editio princeps* was published by Dionysius Paravisinus in Milan, 1476. It has disappeared. The first one still extant and containing all the orations is that of Franciscus Turrisanus, Venice, 1551 (?).

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# CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFATORY NOTE . . . . .	v
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	vii
THE FIRST DISCOURSE, ON KINGSHIP . . . . .	1
THE SECOND DISCOURSE, ON KINGSHIP . . . . .	49
THE THIRD DISCOURSE, ON KINGSHIP . . . . .	103
THE FOURTH DISCOURSE, ON KINGSHIP . . . . .	167
THE FIFTH DISCOURSE: A LIBYAN MYTH . . . . .	235
THE SIXTH DISCOURSE: DIOGENES, OR ON TYRANNY . . . . .	249
THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE . . . . .	285
THE EIGHTH DISCOURSE, ON VIRTUE . . . . .	375
THE NINTH, OR ISTHMIAN, DISCOURSE . . . . .	401
THE TENTH DISCOURSE, ON SERVANTS . . . . .	417
THE ELEVENTH, OR TROJAN, DISCOURSE . . . . .	445
INDEX . . . . .	567



# DIO CHRYSOSTOM

## THE FIRST DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

THE first Discourse as well as the following three has for its subject *Kingship* and from internal evidence is thought to have been delivered before Trajan in Rome immediately after he became emperor. At any rate Dio does not address the Emperor in those terms of intimacy that he uses in the third Discourse.

Dio's conception of the true king is influenced greatly by Homer and Plato. The true king fears the gods and watches over his subjects even as Zeus, the supreme god, watches over all mankind. At the end is a description of the choice made by Heracles, who is the great model of the Cynics.

# ΔΙΩΝ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ

## 1. ΠΕΡΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ Α

- 1 Φασί ποτε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν αὐλητὴν Τιμόθεον τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιδεικνύμενον αὐλῆσαι κατὰ τὸν ἐκείνου τρόπον μάλα ἐμπείρως καὶ μουσικῶς, οὐ μαλακὸν αὐλημα οὐδὲ ἀναβεβλημένον οὐδὲ τῶν πρὸς ἄνεσιν καὶ ῥαθυμίαν ἀγόντων, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν οἶμαι τὸν ὄρθιον τὸν τῆς
- 2 Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπικαλούμενον νόμον. καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εὐθὺς ἀναπηδῆσαι πρὸς τὰ ὅπλα τοῖς ἐνθίοις ὁμοίως· οὕτω σφόδρα ἐπαρθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ μέλους τῆς μουσικῆς καὶ τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ τῆς αὐλήσεως. τὸ δὲ τούτου αἴτιον οὐχ οὕτως ἢ τῆς μουσικῆς δύναμις ὡς ἢ τοῦ βασιλέως διάνοια
- 3 σύντονος οὔσα καὶ θυμοειδής· ἐπεὶ Σαρδανάπαλλον οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἤγειρεν ἐκ τοῦ θαλάμου καὶ παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν οὐχ ὅπως Τιμόθεος ἢ ἄλλος τις τῶν νεωτέρων, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Μαρσύας αὐτὸς ἢ Ὀλυμπος· δοκεῖ δ' ἔμοιγε μηδὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, εἰ δυνατόν, διεξιούσης τὸν αὐτῆς νόμον ἄψασθαί ποτ' ἂν<sup>1</sup> ὅπλων ἐκεῖνος, πολὺ δ' ἂν

<sup>1</sup> ποτ' ἂν Gasda ; ποτε.

<sup>1</sup> He played at Alexander's wedding. See Athonacus 12. 54. 538.

<sup>2</sup> A king of Assyria whose name became proverbial as a type of effeminacy and luxury.

<sup>3</sup> Mythical Phrygian peasant, or satyr, who played the

## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

### THE FIRST DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

THE story goes that when the flute-player Timotheus<sup>1</sup> gave his first exhibition before King Alexander, he showed great musical skill in adapting his playing to the king's character by selecting a piece that was not languishing or slow nor of the kind that would cause relaxation or listlessness, but rather, I fancy, the ringing strain which bears Athena's name and none other. They say, too, that Alexander at once bounded to his feet and ran for his arms like one possessed, such was the exaltation produced in him by the tones of the music and the rhythmic beat of the rendering. The reason why he was so affected was not so much the power of the music as the temperament of the king, which was high-strung and passionate. Sardanapallus,<sup>2</sup> for example, would never have been aroused to leave his chamber and the company of his women even by Marsyas<sup>3</sup> himself or by Olympus,<sup>4</sup> much less by Timotheus or any other of the later artists ; nay, I believe that had even Athena herself—were such a thing possible—performed for him her own measure, that king would never have laid hand to arms, but would have been much more likely to leap up and flute so well that he was emboldened to challenge Apollo to a musical contest.

<sup>1</sup> Mythical Greek musician associated with Marsyas.



## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

πρότερον ὀρχήσασθαι ἀναστὰς ἢ φυγεῖν· οὕτως ἀθλίως εἶχεν ὑπὸ ἐξουσίας καὶ τρυφῆς.

- 4 Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰκὸς ἐστὶ μὴ χεῖρους ἀνδρὸς αὐλητοῦ γενέσθαι περὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον ἔργον, μηδὲ ἦττον ἀνδρείους καὶ μεγαλόφρονας εὐρεῖν λόγους
- 5 τῶν ἐκείνου κρουμάτων, ἔτι δὲ μὴ ἓνα τρόπον ἡρμοσμένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς σφοδρούς τε καὶ πράγους καὶ πολεμικοὺς ἅμα καὶ εἰρηνικοὺς καὶ νομίμους καὶ τῷ ὄντι βασιλικούς, ἅτε οἶμαι πρὸς ἀνδρεῖον βουλούμενον εἶναι καὶ νόμιμον ἡγεμόνα, πολλοῦ μὲν δεόμενον θύρσους, πολλῆς δὲ καὶ
- 6 ἐπιεικείας. ὁ γοῦν Τιμόθεος, εἰ καθάπερ πολεμικὸν τινα διελθεῖν ἵδρι νόμον, οὕτως ἡπίστατο αὐλημα δικαίαν καὶ φρόνιμον καὶ σῶφρονα τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον δυνιάμενον παρασχεῖν, μὴ πρὸς ὅπλα ὀρμῶσαν μόνον, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τε εἰρήνην καὶ ὁμόνοιαν καὶ θεῶν τιμὰς καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμέλειαν, τοῦ παντὸς ἂν ᾦν ἄξιος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παρεῖναί τε καὶ ἐπαυλεῖν, οὐ θύοντι
- 7 μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλως, ὅποτε ἢ πενθῶν ἀκρίτως τύχοι παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν καὶ τὸ πρέπον ἢ κολάζων πικρότερον τοῦ νομίμου καὶ ἐπιεικοῦς ἢ χαλεπαίνων τοῖς αὐτοῦ φίλοις τε καὶ ἐταίροις ἢ ὑπερορῶν τοὺς θνητούς τε καὶ ἀληθεῖς γονέας.
- 8 ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ πᾶσαν ἴασιν οὐδὲ ὠφέλειαν

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<sup>1</sup> When Alexander's friend Hephaestion died, he had the physician crucified and the battlements taken away from the cities round about.

<sup>2</sup> A reference to the destruction of Thebe when it revolted.

<sup>3</sup> In a drunken quarrel Alexander slew his friend Cleitus.

## THE FIRST DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

dance a fling or else take to his heels ; to so depraved a condition had unlimited power and indulgence brought him.

In like manner it may fairly be demanded of me that I should show myself as skilful in my province as a master flautist may be in his, and that I should find words which shall be no whit less potent than his notes to inspire courage and high-mindedness—words, moreover, not set to a single mood but at once vigorous and gentle, challenging to war yet also speaking of peace, obedience to law, and true kingliness, inasmuch as they are addressed to one who is disposed, methinks, to be not only a brave but also a law-abiding ruler, one who needs not only high courage but high sense of right also. If, for instance, the skill which Timotheus possessed in performing a warlike strain had been matched by the knowledge of such a composition as could make the soul just and prudent and temperate and humane, and could arouse a man not merely to take up arms but also to follow peace and concord, to honour the gods and to have consideration for men, it would have been a priceless boon to Alexander to have that man live with him as a companion, and to play for him, not only when he sacrificed but at other times also : when, for example, he would give way to unreasoning grief regardless of propriety and decorum,<sup>1</sup> or would punish more severely than custom or fairness allowed,<sup>2</sup> or would rage fiercely at his own friends and comrades<sup>3</sup> or disdain his mortal and real parents.<sup>4</sup> But unfortunately, skill and proficiency

<sup>4</sup> The story, supported by his mother Olympias, was current that the god Ammon, and not Philip, was his father. See also *Discourse* 4. 19. Consequently he despised Philip.

ὀλόκληρον ἡθῶν ἱκανὴ παρασχεῖν ἢ μουσικῆς ἐπιστήμη τε καὶ ἕξις· οὐ γὰρ οὖν. ὥς φησιν ὁ ποιητής,

οὐδ' Ἀσκληπιάδαις τοῦτό γ' ἔδωκε θεός·

μόνος δὲ ὁ τῶν φρονίμων τε καὶ σοφῶν λόγος, οἷοι γεγόνασιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν πρότερον, ἀνευδεῆς καὶ τέλειος ἡγεμὼν καὶ βοηθὸς εὐπειθοῦς καὶ ἀγαθῆς φύσεως, πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν παραμυθούμενός τε καὶ ἄγων ἐμμελῶς.

- 9 Τίς ἂν οὖν πρέπουσα καὶ ἀξία φανείη διατριβὴ τῆς σῆς προθυμίας, καὶ πόθεν ἂν εὖροιμεν ἡμεῖς τέλειον οὕτω λόγον, ἄνδρες ἀλήται καὶ αὐτουργοὶ τῆς σοφίας, πόνοις τε καὶ ἔργοις ὅσον δυνάμεθα χαίροντες τὰ πολλά, τοὺς δὲ αὖ λόγους παρακλήσεως ἔνεκεν φθεγγόμενοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰεὶ τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα; ὥσπερ οἱ κινοῦντες καὶ μεταφέροντες οὐκ εὐφορον βίαιος φθέγγονται τε καὶ ἄδουσιν ἡσυχῇ τὸ ἔργον παραμυθούμενοι, ἐργάται ὄντες, οὐκ ᾠδοὶ τινες
- 10 οὐδὲ ποιηταὶ μελῶν. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λόγοι καὶ πάντες ἀκοῆς ἄξιοι καὶ θαυμαστὴν ὠφέλειαν ἔχοντες τοῖς μὴ παρέργως ἀκροωμένοις· ἀλλὰ δεῖ, τὸν ἐγγὺς τε καὶ μάλιστα ἀψόμενον ἀνευρόντας,<sup>1</sup> παρακαλέσαντας Πειθῷ τε καὶ Μούσας καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα ὡς δυνατόν προθύμως διελθεῖν.
- 11 Φέρε εἴπωμεν τὰ τε ἦθη καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν τοῦ χρηστοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν βραχεὶ περιλαμβάνοντες ὡς ἔνεστιν,

<sup>1</sup> καὶ after ἀνευρόντας deleted by Capps.

<sup>1</sup> Theognis of Megara, 432 (Bergk-Crusius). Asclepius (Latin Aesculapius) was the god of medicine and healing.

## THE FIRST DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

in music cannot provide perfect healing and complete relief for defect of character. No indeed ! To quote the poet :

“E'en to Asclepius' sons granted not god this boon.”<sup>1</sup>

Nay, it is only the spoken word of the wise and prudent, such as were most men of earlier times, that can prove a competent and perfect guide and helper of a man endowed with a tractable and virtuous nature, and can lead it toward all excellence by fitting encouragement and direction.

What subject, then, will clearly be appropriate and worthy of a man of your earnestness, and where shall I find words so nearly perfect, mere wanderer that I am and self-taught philosopher, who find what happiness I can in toil and labour for the most part and employ eloquence only for the encouragement of myself and such others as I meet from time to time ? My case is like that of men who in moving or shifting a heavy load beguile their labour by softly chanting or singing a tune—mere toilers that they are and not bards or poets of song. Many, however, are the themes of philosophy, and all are worth hearing and marvellously profitable for any who listen with more than casual attention ; but since we have found as our hearer one who is near at hand and ready eagerly to grasp our words, we must summon to our aid Persuasion, the Muses, and Apollo, and pursue our task with the greatest possible devotion.

Let me state, then, what are the characteristics and disposition of the ideal king, summarizing them as briefly as possible—the king

ὃ ἔδωκε Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω  
σκῆπτρόν τ' ἠδὲ θέμιστας, ἵνα σφίσι βουλευήσιν.

- 12 πάνυ γὰρ οὖν καλῶς σὺν ἄλλοις πλείοσιν Ὅμηρος, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, καὶ τοῦτο ἔφη, ὡς οὐχ ἅπαντας παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἔχοντας τὸ σκῆπτρον οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην, ἀλλὰ μόνους τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς, οὐδ' ἐπ' ἄλλοις τισὶ δικαίοις ἢ τῷ βουλευέσθαι καὶ φροντίζειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρχομένων, οὐχ ὥστε
- 13 ἀκολασταίνειν καὶ σπαθᾶν, ἀνοίας καὶ ὕβρεως καὶ ὑπερηφανίας καὶ πάσης ἀνομίας ἐπιμπλάμενόν τε καὶ ἀποπιμπλύντα ἐξ ἅπαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν τεταραγμένην ὀργαῖς τε καὶ λύπαις καὶ φόβοις καὶ ἡδοναῖς καὶ παντοίαις ἐπιθυμίαις, ἀλλ' ὡς οἶόν τε προσέχοντα τὸν νοῦν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις, νομέα καὶ ποιμένα τῷ ὄντι τῶν λαῶν γιγνόμενον, οὐχ ἐστιάτορα καὶ δαιτυμόνα, ὡς ἔφη τις, ἀλλ' οἶον οὐδὲ καθεύδειν αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦν δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτός, ὡς οὐκ οὔσαν αὐτῷ
- 14 σχολὴν ῥαθυμεῖν. ταῦτα γὰρ φησι καὶ Ὅμηρος ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις σοφοῖς τε καὶ ἀληθέσιν ἀνδράσιν, ὡς οὐδεὶς ποτε πονηρὸς καὶ ἀκόλαστος καὶ φιλοχρήματος οὔτε αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ γενέσθαι δυνατὸς ἀρχῶν οὐδ' ἐγκρατῆς οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων οὐδενός, οὐδ' ἔσται ποτὲ ἐκεῖνος βασιλεύς, οὐδ' ἂν πάντες φῶσιν Ἕλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ μὴ μόνον ἄνθρωποι θαυμάζωσιν αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπακούουσιν, ἀλλ' οἱ τε

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 2. 205-6.

<sup>2</sup> Plato (*Republic* 4. 421b) contrasts true guardians of a city with those who would exploit it, whom he calls "caterers." See also *ibid.*, 1. 345c, where the same contrast is made.

## THE FIRST DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

“to whom the son  
Of Saturn gives the sceptre, making him  
The lawgiver, that he may rule the rest.”<sup>1</sup>

Now it seems to me that Homer was quite right in this as in many other sayings, for it implies that not every king derives his sceptre or this royal office from Zeus, but only the good king, and that he receives it on no other title than that he shall plan and study the welfare of his subjects ; he is not to become licentious or profligate, stuffing and gorging with folly, insolence, arrogance, and all manner of lawlessness, by any and every means within his power, a soul perturbed by anger, pain, fear, pleasure, and lusts of every kind, but to the best of his ability he is to devote his attention to himself and his subjects, becoming indeed a guide and shepherd of his people, not, as someone<sup>2</sup> has said, a caterer and banqueter at their expense. Nay, he ought to be just such a man as to think that he should not sleep at all the whole night through as having no leisure for idleness.<sup>3</sup> Homer, too, in agreement with all other wise and truthful men, says that no wicked or licentious or avaricious person can ever become a competent ruler or master either of himself or of anybody else, nor will such a man ever be a king even though all the world, both Greeks and barbarians, men and women, affirm the contrary,<sup>4</sup> yea, though not only men admire and

<sup>3</sup> A reminiscence of Homer, *Iliad* 2. 24-25, where the dream says to Agamemnon: “To sleep the whole night through beseemeth not a man that is a counsellor, to whom a host is entrusted, and upon whom rest so many cares.”—Murray in L.C.L.

<sup>4</sup> For the thought compare *Discourse* 4. 25.

- μάλιστα πάντων ἀγέλαι μὲν νομεῖς, ἵπποι δὲ ἡνιόχους, κυνηγέται δὲ ὑπὸ κυνῶν φυλάσσονται καὶ ἀγαπῶνται, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα οὕτως ἀγαπᾷ τὰ
- 20 ἀρχόμενα τοὺς ἄρχοντας. πῶς οὖν εἰκὸς τὰ μὲν ἄφρονα καὶ ἀγνώμονα εἰδέναι καὶ φιλεῖν τοὺς ἐπιμελουμένους, τὸ δὲ πάντων συνετώτατον καὶ μάλιστα ἀποδοῦναι χάριν ἐπιστάμενον ἀγνοεῖν καὶ ἐπιβουλεύειν; ἄλλα γὰρ ἀνάγκη τὸν ἡμέρον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον βασιλέα μὴ μόνον φιλεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐρᾶσθαι. ταῦτ' οὖν εἰδὼς καὶ φύσει τοιοῦτος ὢν, ἴλεων καὶ πρᾶον παρέχει τὴν ψυχὴν πᾶσιν, ἅτε πάντας ἡγούμενος εὖνους καὶ φίλους.
- 21 Καὶ μὲν δὴ οἶεται δεῖν πλεον ἔχειν διὰ τὴν ἀρχήν, οὐ τῶν χρημάτων οὐδὲ τῶν ἡδονῶν, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ τῶν φροντίδων· ὥστε καὶ φιλόπονος μᾶλλον ἐστὶν ἢ πολλοὶ τῶν ἄλλων φιλήδονοι καὶ φιλοχρήματοι. ἐπίσταται γὰρ ὅτι αἱ μὲν ἡδοναὶ τοὺς αἰεὶ συνόντας τὰ τε ἄλλα λυμαίνονται καὶ ταχὺ ποιοῦσιν ἀδυνάτους πρὸς αὐτάς, οἱ δὲ πόνοι τὰ τε ἄλλα ὠφελοῦσι καὶ αἰεὶ
- 22 μᾶλλον παρέχουσι δυναμένους πονεῖν. οὐκοῦν μόνῳ ἔξεστιν αὐτῷ τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας συστρατιώτας προσειπεῖν, τοὺς δὲ συνήθεις φίλους μὴ καταγελῶντι<sup>1</sup> τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς φιλίας· πατέρα δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων οὐ λόγῳ κεκληθῆσθαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔργοις τοῦτο ἐπιδείκνυσθαι· δεσπότην δὲ οὐχ ὅπως τῶν ἐλευθέρων, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τῶν δούλων χαίρειν καλοῦ-
- 23 μενον· βασιλεύειν γὰρ οὐχ αὐτοῦ χάριν οἶεται μᾶλλον ἐνὸς ὄντος ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων.

<sup>1</sup> καταγελῶντι Capps: καταγελῶντα.

## THE FIRST DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

missive to them ; the same is true of horses and their drivers ; hunters are protected and loved by their dogs, and in the same way other subject creatures love their masters. How then would it be conceivable that, while beings devoid of intelligence and reason recognize and love those who care for them, that creature which is by far the most intelligent and best understands how to repay kindness with gratitude should fail to recognize, nay, should even plot against, its friends? No indeed! For of necessity the kindly and humane king is not only beloved but even adored by his fellow-men. And because he knows this and is by nature so inclined, he displays a soul benignant and gentle towards all, inasmuch as he regards all as loyal and as his friends.

The good king also believes it to be due to his position to have the larger portion, not of wealth or of pleasures, but of painstaking care and anxieties; hence he is actually more fond of toil than many others are of pleasure or of wealth. For he knows that pleasure, in addition to the general harm it does to those who constantly indulge therein, also quickly renders them incapable of pleasure, whereas toil, besides conferring other benefits, continually increases a man's capacity for toil. He alone, therefore, may call his soldiers "fellow-soldiers" and his associates "friends" without making mockery of the word friendship; and not only may he be called by the title "Father" of his people and his subjects, but he may justify the title by his deeds. In the title "master," however, he can take no delight, nay, not even in relation to his slaves, much less to his free subjects; for he looks upon himself as being king, not for the sake of his individual self, but for the sake of all men.



- Καὶ τοίνυν εὐεργετῶν ἡδεταί πλείω τῶν  
 εὐεργετουμένων καὶ μόνῃς ταύτης ἐστὶ τῆς  
 ἡδονῆς ἀκόρεστος. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τῆς βασι-  
 λείας ἀναγκαῖα νειόμικεν, τὸ δὲ τῆς εὐεργεσίας  
 24 μόνον ἐκούσιόν τε καὶ εὐδαιμον. καὶ τῶν μὲν  
 ἀγαθῶν ἀφειδέστατός ἐστιν, ὥς οὐδέποτε ἐπι-  
 λειψόντων, κακοῦ δὲ ἥττον αἷτιος γίγνεσθαι  
 πέφυκεν ἥπερ ὁ ἥλιος τοῦ σκότους. ὃν οἱ μὲν  
 ἰδόντες καὶ συγγενόμενοι οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἀπο-  
 λιπεῖν, οἱ δὲ ἀκούοντες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἰδεῖν μᾶλλον  
 25 ἢ παῖδες ἀγνωστούμενους πατέρας ἀνευρεῖν. τοῦ-  
 τον οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι δεδοίκασι καὶ οὐδείς ὁμο-  
 λογεῖ πολέμιος εἶναι, οἱ δὲ φίλοι θαρροῦσιν, καὶ  
 οἱ σφόδρα ἐγγὺς ἡγούνται πάντων ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλε-  
 στατῷ εἶναι.<sup>1</sup> τοὺς δὲ προσιόντας καὶ ὁρῶντας  
 οὐκ ἐκπληξίς οὐδὲ φόβος, ἀλλ' αἰδῶς ὑπείσι,  
 πολὺ κρεῖττον καὶ ἰσχυρότερον φόβου· τοὺς μὲν  
 γὰρ φοβουμένους ἀνάγκη μισεῖν καὶ ἀποδρᾶναι  
 θέλειν, τοὺς δὲ αἰδουμένους παραμένειν καὶ  
 θαυμάζειν.
- 26 Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀπλότητα καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν  
 ἡγεῖται βασιλικὸν καὶ φρόνιμον, τὴν δὲ πανουρ-  
 γίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπάτην ἀνόητον καὶ δουλοπρεπές,  
 ὁρῶν ὅτι καὶ τῶν θηρίων τὰ δειλότατα καὶ  
 ἀγεννέστατα, ἐκεῖνα καὶ ψεύδεται πάντων μᾶ-  
 λιστα καὶ ἐξαπατᾷ.

<sup>1</sup> After εἶναι all the MSS. give: οὐ τὰναντία ὑπάρχει τῷ  
 κακῷ, τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς θαρρύνειν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἐγγὺς  
 ἐκπλήττειν καὶ φοβεῖν. Then in the inferior MSS. is found  
 the obvious interpolation: τῷ γε μὴν ἡμέρῳ καὶ ἀβλαβεῖ τοὺς  
 μὲν προσλιπαροῦντας μετὰ τοῦ πεποισθότος περιγίγνεται βιοῦν.  
 "The opposite is true of the bad king: he encourages his

## THE FIRST DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

Therefore he finds greater pleasure in conferring benefits than those benefited do in receiving them, and in this one pleasure he is insatiable. For the other functions of royalty he regards as obligatory; that of benefaction alone he considers both voluntary and blessed. Blessings he dispenses with the most lavish hand, as though the supply were inexhaustible; but of anything hurtful, on the contrary, he can no more be the cause than the sun can be the cause of darkness. Men who have seen and associated with him are loath to leave him, while those who know him only by hearsay are more eager to see him than children are to find their unknown fathers. His enemies fear him, and no one acknowledges himself his foe; but his friends are full of courage, and those exceeding near unto him deem themselves of all men most secure. They who come into his presence and behold him feel neither terror nor fear; but into their hearts creeps a feeling of profound respect, something much stronger and more powerful than fear. For those who fear must inevitably hate and want to escape; those who feel respect must linger and admire.

He holds that sincerity and truthfulness are qualities befitting a king and a prudent man, while unscrupulousness and deceit are for the fool and the slave, for he observes that among the wild beasts also it is the most cowardly and ignoble which surpass all the rest in lying and deceiving.

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enemies and terrifies his friends and kin. The mild and gentle king, however, spares the lives of those who appeal to his mercy, as well as that of him who obeys." Arnim rejects the first sentence as part of the interpolation.

- 27 Φιλότητιμος δὲ ὢν τὴν φύσιν καὶ εἰδὼς ὅτι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς πεφύκασιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι τιμᾶν, ἤττον ἐλπίζει τιμᾶσθαι ἂν ὑπὸ ἀκόντων ἢ παρὰ μισούντων φιλίας τυγχάνειν.

Καὶ πολεμικὸς μὲν οὕτως ἐστὶν ὥστ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἶναι τὸ πολεμεῖν, εἰρηνικὸς δὲ οὕτως ὥς μηδὲν ἀξιόμαχον αὐτῷ λείπεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τόδε οἶδεν, ὅτι τοῖς κίλλιστα πολεμεῖν παρεσκευασμένοις, τούτοις μάλιστα ἔξεστιν εἰρήνην ἄγειν.

- 28 Φιλέταιρος δὲ καὶ φιλοπολίτης καὶ φιλοστρατιώτης ὁμοίως πέφυκεν· ὅστις μὲν γὰρ ὑπερόπτης τῶν στρατευομένων καὶ οὐδεπώποτε ἢ σπανίως ἐώρακε τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς κινδυνεύοντας καὶ πονοῦντας, τὸν δὲ ἀνόνητον<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἄνοπλον ὄχλον διατελεῖ θωπεύων, ὁμοίον γε πέπονθε καθάπερ εἰ ποιμὴν τοὺς<sup>2</sup> συμφυλάττοντας αὐτῷ ἀγροοίῃ καὶ μήτε τροφήν αὐτοῖς ὀρέγοι μήτε συναγρυπνήσειέ ποτε φυλάττουσιν· οὗτος γὰρ οὐ τὰ θηρία μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς κύνας
- 29 ἀναπείθει μὴ ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς ποιμνῆς. ὅστις δὲ τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας διαθρύπτει, μήτε γυμνάζων μήτε πονεῖν παρακελεύόμενος, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἡμέλησεν, ὁμοίός ἐστι κυβερνήτη τοὺς μὲν ναύτας διαφθείρουσι πλησμονῇ τε καὶ ὕπνῳ δι' ἡμέρας, τῶν δ' ἐπιβατῶν καὶ τῆς νεῶς
- 30 ἀπολλυμένης οὐδὲν φροντίζοντι. εἰ δέ τις πρὸς μὲν ταῦτα ἔχοι μετρίως, τοὺς δὲ πλησίον αὐτῷ καὶ φίλους καλουμένους ἀτιμάζοι τε καὶ μὴ σκοποῖ τοῦτο, ὅπως δόξουσι μακάριοι καὶ ζηλωτοὶ πᾶσι, λανθάνει προδότης αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς γιγνόμενος, τοὺς μὲν ὄντας φίλους

## THE FIRST DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

Though naturally covetous of honour, and knowing that it is the good that men are prone to honour, he has less hope of winning honour from the unwilling than he has of gaining the friendship of those who hate him.

He is warlike to the extent that the making of war rests with him, and peaceful to the extent that there is nothing left worth his fighting for. For assuredly he is well aware that they who are best prepared for war have it most in their power to live in peace.

He is also by nature fond of his companions, fellow-citizens, and soldiers in like measure; for a ruler who is suspicious of the military and has never or rarely seen those who face peril and hardship in support of his kingdom, but continually flatters the unprofitable and unarmed masses, is like a shepherd who does not know those who help him to keep guard, never proffers them food, and never shares the watch with them; for such a man tempts not only the wild beasts, but even his own dogs, to prey upon the fold. He, on the contrary, who pampers his soldiers by not drilling them or encouraging them to work hard and, at the same time, evinces no concern for the people at large, is like a ship-captain who demoralizes his crew with surfeit of food and noontday sleep and takes no thought for his passengers or for his ship as it goes to ruin. And yet if one is above reproach in these two matters, but fails to honour those who are close to him and are called his friends, and does not see to it that they are looked upon by all men as blessed and objects of envy, he becomes a traitor to himself and his kingdom ere he is aware by

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<sup>1</sup> ἀνόνητον Reisk: ἀνόνητον.

<sup>2</sup> μὲν after τοὺς ἀνόνητον Reisk.

- ἀθύρους ποιῶν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων μηδένα ἑὼν<sup>1</sup> ἐπιθυμεῖν τῆς αὐτοῦ φιλίας, ἀποστερῶν δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ καλλίστου καὶ ὠφελιμωτάτου κτήματος, φιλίας.
- 31 τίς μὲν γὰρ ἁοκνότερος πονεῖν, ὅταν τούτου καιρὸς ᾗ, φίλου; τίς δὲ συγχαίρειν ἐτοιμότερος ἐν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις; ὁ παρὰ τίνος δὲ ἔπαινος ἡδίων ἢ τῶν φίλων; παρὰ τίνος δὲ τάληθές ἀλυπότερον; τίς δὲ φρουρά, ποῖα δὲ ἐρύματα, ποῖα δὲ ὄπλα βεβαιότερα καὶ κρείττω τῆς ἀπὸ
- 32 τῶν εὐνοούντων φυλακῆς; ὅπόσους γὰρ ἂν τις ᾗ κεκτημένος ἐταίρους, τοσούτοις μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἂ βούλεται ὁρᾶ, τοσαύταις δὲ ἀκοαῖς ἂ δεῖ ἀκούει, τοσαύταις δὲ διανοαῖς διανοεῖται περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων. διαφέρει γὰρ οὐδὲν ἢ εἰ τῷ θεὸς ἐν σῶμα ἔχοντι πολλὰς ψυχὰς ἔδωκεν ἀπάσας ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου προνοουμένης.
- 33 Ἵνα δὲ τὰ πολλὰ ἀφείς εἴπω τὸ φανερώτατον σημεῖον, τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὁ χρηστὸς βασιλεύς, ὃν οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες οὐκ αἰσχύνονται ἐπαινοῦντες οὔτε τὸν παρόντα χρόνον οὔτε τὸν ὕστερον. καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ τὸν παρὰ τῶν βαναύσων καὶ ἀγοραίων ἀγαπᾷ ἔπαινον, ἀλλὰ τὸν παρὰ τῶν ἐλευθέρων καὶ γενναίων, οἷς οὐκ ἄξιον ζῆν
- 34 ψευσαμένοις. τίς οὖν οὐκ ἂν μακαρίσειε τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα τε καὶ βίον; πόθεν δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἔλθοιεν ἐπ' ἐκείνον ὀψόμενοί τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπολαύσοντες τῆς καλῆς διανοίας καὶ ἀγαθῆς; τί μὲν σεμνότερον θέαμα γενναίου καὶ φιλοπόνου βασιλέως; τί δὲ ἡδιον ἡμέρου καὶ προσφιλοῦς, πάντας μὲν εὖ ποιεῖν ἐπιθυμοῦντος, ἅπαντας δὲ
- 35 δυναμένους; τί δὲ λυσιτελέστερον ἴσου καὶ δι-

<sup>1</sup> ἑὼν Capps: ἐτῶν in W.

## THE FIRST DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

disheartening those who are his friends and suffering nobody else to covet his friendship and by robbing himself of that noblest and most profitable possession : friendship. For who is more indefatigable in toil, when there is occasion for toil, than a friend? Who is readier to rejoice in one's good fortune? Whose praise is sweeter than that of friends? From whose lips does one learn the truth with less pain? What fortress, what bulwarks, what arms are more steadfast or better than the protection of loyal hearts? For whatever is the number of comrades one has acquired, so many are the eyes with which he can see what he wishes, so many the ears with which he can hear what he needs to hear, so many the minds with which he can take thought concerning his welfare. Indeed, it is exactly as if a god had given him, along with his one body, a multitude of souls all full of concern in his behalf.

But I will pass over most of the details and give the clearest mark of a true king: he is one whom all good men can praise without compunction not only during his life but even afterwards. And yet, even so, he does not himself covet the praise of the vulgar and the loungers about the market-place, but only that of the free-born and noble, men who would prefer to die rather than be guilty of falsehood. Who, therefore, would not account such a man and such a life blessed? From what remote lands would men not come to see him and to profit from his honourable and upright character? What spectacle is more impressive than that of a noble and diligent king? What can give greater pleasure than a gentle and kindly ruler who desires to serve all and has it in his power so to do? What is more profitable than an

καίου; τίνος μὲν γὰρ ὁ βίος ἀσφαλέστερος ἢ  
 ὃν πάντες ὁμοίως φυλάττουσιν; τίνος δὲ ἡδίων  
 ἢ τοῦ μηδένα ἐχθρὸν ἡγουμένου; τίνος δὲ ἀλυ-  
 πότερος ἢ τοῦ μηδὲν ἔχοντος αὐτὸν αἰτιάσασθαι;  
 τίς δὲ εὐτυχέστερος ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὅστις  
 ἀγαθὸς ὦν οὐδένα λαιθάνει;

36 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἀπλῶς εἶπον τὰ περὶ τὸν ἀγαθὸν  
 βασιλέα. τούτων δὲ εἴ τι φαίνεται προσήκειν  
 σοι, μακάριος μὲν αὐτὸς τῆς εὐγνώμονος καὶ  
 ἀγαθῆς φύσεως, μακάριοι δὲ ἡμεῖς οἱ συμμετέ-  
 χοντες.

37 Μετὰ δὲ τὸν νῦν εἰρημένον λόγον ἐγὼ μὲν ἐπε-  
 θύμουν διελθεῖν περὶ τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ πρώτου  
 βασιλέως καὶ ἄρχοντος, ὃν χρὴ μιμουμένους ἀεὶ  
 τοὺς θνητοὺς καὶ τὰ τῶν θνητῶν διέποντας ἐπιμε-  
 λείσθαι, πρὸς ἐκείνον ὡς δυνατόν ἐστιν εὐθύ-  
 νοντας καὶ ἀφομοιοῦντας τὸν αὐτῶν τρόπον. διὰ

38 τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ Ὀμηρος διοτρεφέας εἶναί φησι τοὺς  
 ἀληθῶς βασιλέας καὶ Διὶ τὴν βουλὴν ὁμοίους,  
 καὶ τὸν Μίνω, μεγίστην ἔχοντα δόξαν ἐπὶ δι-  
 καιοσύνῃ, τοῦ Διὸς ὁμιλητὴν ἔφη γενέσθαι. καὶ  
 σχεδὸν ὅσοι πώποτε ἐν Ἑλλησιν ἢ βαρβάροις  
 γεγόνασι βασιλεῖς οὐκ ἀνάξιοι τυγχάνειν ταύτης  
 τῆς προσηγορίας, τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου μαθητάς τε

39 καὶ ζηλωτάς ὁ λόγος αὐτοὺς ἀποφαίνεται. Ζεὺς  
 γὰρ μόνος θεῶν πατὴρ καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐπονομάζεται  
 καὶ Πολιεὺς καὶ Φίλιός τε καὶ Ἐταιρεῖος καὶ  
 Ὀμόγνιος, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἰκέσιός τε καὶ Φύξιος  
 καὶ Ξένιος καὶ μυρίας ἄλλας ἐπικλήσεις ἔχων,

40 πάσας ἀγαθὰς καὶ ἀγαθῶν αἰτίας· βασιλεὺς μὲν

<sup>1</sup> Trajan is meant.

<sup>2</sup> In *Iliad* 2. 196 for example.

## THE FIRST DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

equitable and just king? Whose life is safer than his whom all alike protect, whose is happier than his who esteems no man an enemy, and whose is freer from vexation than his who has no cause to blame himself? Who is more fortunate, too, than that man whose goodness is known of all?

In plain and simple language I have described the good king. If any of his attributes seem to belong to you,<sup>1</sup> happy are you in your gracious and excellent nature, and happy are we who share its blessings with you.

It was my purpose, after finishing the description of the good king, to discuss next that supreme king and ruler whom mortals and those who administer the affairs of mortals must always imitate in discharging their responsibilities, directing and conforming their ways as far as possible to his pattern. Indeed, this is Homer's reason for calling true kings "Zeus-nurtured"<sup>2</sup> and "like Zeus in counsel";<sup>3</sup> and Minos, who had the greatest name for righteousness, he declared was a companion of Zeus.<sup>4</sup> In fact, it stands to reason that practically all the kings among Greeks or barbarians who have proved themselves not unworthy of this title have been disciples and emulators of this god. For Zeus alone of the gods has the epithets of "Father" and "King," "Protector of Cities," "Lord of Friends and Comrades," "Guardian of the Race," and also "Protector of Suppliants," "God of Refuge," and "God of Hospitality," these and his countless other titles signifying his wisdom and the fount of goodness.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 2. 169 and 407 for example, where Odysseus is called *Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντον*.

<sup>4</sup> *Odyssey* 19. 179.

<sup>5</sup> Compare *Discourse* 12. 75.



- κοσμος, ὁμοίως μὲν ιδιώτης, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἄρχων  
 ὀνομαζόμενος· πολὺ δὲ μείζων καὶ φανερω-  
 τέρα πᾶσιν ἢ παρὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος πλημμέλεια.
- 44 ὥσπερ οὖν ὅσοι στρατηγοὶ τε καὶ ἄρχοντες  
 στρατοπέδων καὶ πόλεων καὶ ἐθνῶν, ὅστις ἂν  
 τὸν σὸν μάλιστα μιμῆται τρόπον καὶ τοῖς σοῖς  
 ἤθεσιν ὅμοιον αὐτὸν ὡς δυνατὸν φαίνεται παρέ-  
 χων, οὗτος ἂν εἴη σοὶ πάντων ἐταιρότατος καὶ  
 προσφιλέστατος· εἰ δέ τις ἐναντίος καὶ ἀνόμοιος  
 γίγνοιτο, δικαίως ἂν τυγχάνοι μέμφεώς τε καὶ  
 ἀτιμίας καὶ αὐτῆς γε τῆς ἀρχῆς ταχὺ παυθείς,  
 παραχωρήσειεν ἑτέροις ἀμείνοσίν τε καὶ ἄμεινον
- 45 δυναμένοις διοικεῖν· οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶν βασιλέων,  
 ἅτε οἶμαι παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἐχόντων τὴν δύναμιν  
 καὶ τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν, ὃς μὲν ἂν πρὸς ἐκείνους βλέπων  
 πρὸς<sup>1</sup> τὸν τοῦ Διὸς νόμον τε καὶ θεσμὸν κοσμῇ  
 καὶ ἄρχῃ δικαίως τε καὶ καλῶς, ἀγαθῆς τυγχάνει
- 46 μοίρας καὶ τέλους εὐτυχούς· ὃς δ' ἂν παραβῇ  
 καὶ ἀτιμάσῃ τὸν ἐπιτρέψαντα ἢ δόντα τὴν  
 δωρεὰν ταύτην, οὐδὲν ἀπώγατο τῆς πολλῆς  
 ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως ἢ τοσοῦτον μόνον ὅσον  
 φανερὸς πᾶσι γενέσθαι τοῖς καθ' αὐτὸν καὶ  
 τοῖς ὕστερον πονηρὸς καὶ ἀκόλαστος ὢν, τὸν  
 μυθευόμενον Φαέθοντος ἀναπληρώσας πότμον, ἅτε
- 47 ἰσχυροῦ καὶ θείου παρὰ μοῖραν ἐπιβὰς ἄρματος,  
 οὐχ ἱκανὸς ὢν ἡνίοχος. λέγει δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος  
 ὧδέ πως·

ὃς μὲν ἀπηνῆς αὐτὸς ἔη καὶ ἀπηνέα εἰδῇ,  
 τῷ δὲ καταρῶνται πάντες βροτοὶ ἄλλγε' ὀπίσσω  
 ζῶν, ἀτὰρ τεθνεώτί γ' ἐφεψιόωνται ἅπαντες·  
 ὃς δ' ἂν ἀμύμων αὐτὸς ἔη καὶ ἀμύμονα εἰδῇ,

## THE FIRST DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

disorderly, whether he be called a private citizen or a ruler, although the offence on the part of the ruler is far greater and more evident to all. Therefore, just as among generals and commanders of legions, cities or provinces, he who most closely imitates your ways and shows the greatest possible conformity with your habits would be by far your dearest comrade and friend, while he who showed antagonism or lacked conformity would justly incur censure and disgrace and, being speedily removed from his office as well, would give way to better men better qualified to govern; so too among kings, since they, I ween, derive their powers and their stewardship from Zeus, the one who, keeping his eyes upon Zeus, orders and governs his people with justice and equity in accordance with the laws and ordinances of Zeus, enjoys a happy lot and a fortunate end, while he who goes astray and dishonours him who entrusted him with his stewardship or gave him this gift, receives no other reward from his great authority and power than merely this: that he has shown himself to all men of his own time and to posterity to be a wicked and undisciplined man, illustrating the storied end of Phaethon, who mounted a mighty chariot of heaven in defiance of his lot but proved himself a feeble charioteer. In somewhat this wise Homer too speaks when he says:

“Whoso bears

A cruel heart, devising cruel things,  
On him men call down evil from the gods  
While living, and pursue him, when he dies,  
With scoffs. But whoso is of generous heart

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<sup>1</sup> Wilamowitz would delete  $\pi\rho\delta\varsigma$ .

## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

τοῦ μέντοι κλέος εὐρὺ διὰ ξεῖνοι φορέουσι  
πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους, πολλοὶ τέ μιν ἐσθλὸν  
εἶπον.

- 43 Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐμόν, ὅπερ ἔφην, ἡδιστα καὶ προθυμότατα τοῦτον εἴποιμ' ἂν τὸν λόγον, τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς φύσεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλείων ἐστὶ πάντως<sup>1</sup> τοῦ καιροῦ τοῦ παρόντος καὶ δεόμενος ἀποδείξεων ἀκριβεστέρων, αὐθὶς ποτε ἴσως γένοιτ' ἂν σχολὴ διελθεῖν
- 49 αὐτόν. εἰ δ' ἄρα μῦθον ἐθέλοις τινὰ ἀκοῦσαι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἱερὸν καὶ ὑγιὴ λόγον σχήματι μύθου λεγόμενον, τυχὸν οὐκ ἄτοπός σοι φανήσεται, νῦν τε καὶ ὕστερον ἐνθυμουμένῳ κατὰ σαυτόν, ὃν ἐγὼ ποτε ἤκουσα γυναικὸς Ἰλείας ἢ Ἀρκαδίας ὑπὲρ Ἡρακλέους διηγουμένης.
- 50 Ὡς γὰρ ἔτυχον ἐν τῇ φυγῇ ποτε ἀλώμενος—καὶ πολλὴν γε χάριν οἶδα τοῖς θεοῖς, ὅτι με οὐκ εἶασαν θεατὴν γενέσθαι πολλῶν καὶ ἀδίκων πραγμάτων—ἐπῆειν δ' οὖν ὡς ἐδυνάμην πλείστην γῆν ἐν ἀγύρτου σχήματι καὶ στολῇ, τοῦτο μὲν παρ' Ἑλλήνας, τοῦτο δὲ παρὰ βαρβάρους, αἰτίζων ἀκόλους, οὐκ ἄορας οὐδὲ λέβητας.
- 51 καὶ δὴ ποτε ἀφικόμενος εἰς Πελοπόννησον ταῖς μὲν πόλεσιν οὐ πάνυ προσήειν, περὶ δὲ τὴν χώραν διέτριβον, ἅτε πολλὴν ἱστορίαν ἔχουσιν, νομεῦσι καὶ κυνηγέταις, γενναίοις τε καὶ ἀπλοῖς

<sup>1</sup> πάντως Schenkl: παντὸς.

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey* 19. 329-34.

<sup>2</sup> An allusion to the tyranny of Domitian, by whom Dio was banished.

## THE FIRST DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

And harbours generous aims, his guests proclaim  
His praises far and wide to all mankind,  
And numberless are they who call him good."<sup>1</sup>

For my part, I should be most happy and eager, as I have said, to speak on this subject—on Zeus and the nature of the universe. But since it is altogether too vast a theme for the time now at my command and requires a somewhat careful demonstration, perhaps in the future there may be leisure for its presentation. But if you would like to hear a myth, or rather a sacred and withal edifying parable told under the guise of a myth, perhaps a story which I once heard an old woman of Elis or Arcadia relate about Heracles will not appear to you out of place, either now or hereafter when you come to ponder it alone.

Once when I chanced to be wandering in exile—and great is my gratitude to the gods that they thus prevented my becoming an eye-witness of many an act of injustice<sup>2</sup>—I visited as many lands as possible, at one time going among Greeks, at another among barbarians, assuming the guise and dress of a vagabond beggar,

“Demanding crusts, not caldrons fine nor swords.”<sup>3</sup>

At last I arrived in the Peloponnesus, and keeping quite aloof from the cities, spent my time in the country, as being quite well worth study, mingling with herdsmen and hunters, an honest folk of simple

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey* 17. 222; the goatherd Melanthius is taunting Odysseus, who, dressed as a beggar, is on his way to his home. Swords and bows were honourable gifts for noble strangers.

## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

56 ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις. ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγεν, οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν λεγομένων ἐνθέων ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν, ἀσθμαίνουσα καὶ περιδινοῦσα τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ πειρωμένη δεινὸν ἐμβλέπειν, ἀλλὰ πάννυ ἐγκρατῶς καὶ σωφρόνως.

Συμβαλεῖς δέ, ἔφη, ποτὲ ἀνδρὶ<sup>1</sup> καρτερῷ, πλείστης ἄρχοντι χώρας καὶ ἀνθρώπων· τούτῳ μήποτε ὀκνήσῃς εἰπεῖν τόνδε τὸν μῦθον, εἰ καὶ σου καταφρονεῖν τινες μέλλοιεν ὡς ἀδολέσχου  
57 καὶ πλάνητος. οἱ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων λόγοι καὶ τὰ πάντα σοφίσματα οὐδενὸς ἄξια πρὸς τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπίπνοιαν καὶ φήμην. ὅσοι γὰρ ποτε σοφοὶ καὶ ἀληθεῖς κατ' ἀνθρώπους λόγοι περὶ θεῶν τε καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος, οὐκ ἄνευ θείας τε<sup>2</sup> βουλήσεως καὶ τύχης ἐν ψυχῇ ποτε ἀνθρώπων ἐγένοντο διὰ τῶν πρώτων μαντικῶν τε καὶ θείων  
58 ἀνδρῶν. οἷον ἐν Θράκῃ τινὰ λέγουσιν Ὀρφέα γενέσθαι, Μούσης υἱόν, ἄλλον δὲ ποιμένα ἐν ὄρει τινὶ τῆς Βοιωτίας αὐτῶν ἀκοῦσαι τῶν Μουσῶν· ὅσοι δὲ ἄνευ δαιμονίου κατοχῆς καὶ ἐπιπνοίας λόγους τινὰς ὡς ἀληθεῖς παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκόμισαν εἰς τὸν βίον, ἄτοποι καὶ πονηροί.<sup>3</sup>

Ἄκουε δὴ τοῦδε τοῦ μύθου σφόδρα ἐγρηγορῶς τε καὶ τὸν νοῦν προσέχων, ὅπως διαμνημονεύσας ἀπαγγείλῃς πρὸς ἐκείνους ᾧ φημί σε συμβαλεῖν. ἔστι δὲ περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ θεοῦ, παρ' ᾧ νῦν ἐσμεν.  
59 ἦν μὲν γάρ, ὡς πάντες λέγουσι, Διὸς υἱὸς ἐξ Ἀλκμήνης, βασιλεὺς δὲ οὐ μόνον Ἄργους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσης. (τοῦτο δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ οὐκ ἴσασιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτὸς ἀπεδήμει στρατευό-

<sup>1</sup> τε after ἀνδρὶ deleted by Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> τε Reiske: ποτε.

<sup>3</sup> ἄτοποι καὶ πονηροί Schwartz: ἀτόπους καὶ πονηρούς.

## THE FIRST DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

The manner of her prophesying was not that of most men and women who are said to be inspired; she did not gasp for breath, whirl her head about, or try to terrify with her glances, but spoke with entire self-control and moderation.

"Some day," she said, "you will meet a mighty man, the ruler of very many lands and peoples.<sup>1</sup> Do not hesitate to tell him this tale of mine even if there be those who will ridicule you for a prating vagabond. For the words of men and all their subtleties are as naught in comparison with the inspiration and speech due to the promptings of the gods. Indeed, of all the words of wisdom and truth current among men about the gods and the universe, none have ever found lodgment in the souls of men except by the will and ordering of heaven and through the lips of the prophets and holy men of old. For instance, they say there once lived in Thrace a certain Orpheus, a Muse's son; and on a certain mountain of Boeotia another, a shepherd who heard the voices of the Muses themselves.<sup>2</sup> Those teachers, on the other hand, who without divine possession and inspiration have circulated as true stories born of their own imaginings are presumptuous and wicked.

"Hear, therefore, the following tale and listen with vigilance and attention that you may remember it clearly and pass it on to that man whom I say you will meet. It has to do with this god in whose presence we now are. Heracles was, as all men agree, the son of Zeus and Alcmene, and he was king not only of Argos but of all Greece. (Most people, however, do not know that Heracles was continually absent

<sup>1</sup> Trajan. <sup>2</sup> Linus, who was worshipped on Mount Helicon in Bocotia. Virgil (*Eclogue* 4. 55-6) and Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* 1.3.2) also couple the names of Orpheus and Linus.

μενος καὶ φυλάττων τὴν ἀρχήν, οἱ δ' Εὐρυσθέα  
 φασὶ βασιλεύειν τότε.<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα μὲν οὖν λέγεται  
 60 μάτην ὑπ' αὐτῶν.) ἐκεῖνος δὲ οὐ μόνον τῆς  
 'Ελλάδος ἦν βασιλεύς, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἀνίσχοντος  
 ἡλίου μέχρι δυσμένου πάσης ἦρχε γῆς καὶ τῶν  
 ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων παρ' οἷς ἱερά ἐστιν Ἡρα-  
 61 κλέους. ἦν δὲ καὶ πεπαιδευμένος ἀπλῶς, οὐ  
 πολυτρόπως οὐδὲ περιττῶς σοφίσμασι καὶ παν-  
 ουργήμασιν ἀνθρώπων κακοδαιμόνων.

Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα περὶ Ἱρακλέους, ὡς  
 γυμνὸς ᾗει μόνον ἔχων λεοντὴν καὶ ῥόπαλον.  
 62 τοῦτο δὲ οὕτως λέγουσιν, ὅτι ἐκεῖνος οὔτε χρυσίον  
 οὔτε ἀργύριον οὔτε ἐσθῆτα περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιεῖτο,  
 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα ἐνόμιζε τοῦ μηδενὸς ἄξια  
 πλὴν ὅσον δοῦναι καὶ χαρίσασθαι. πολλοῖς  
 γοῦν οὐ μόνον χρήματα ἄπειρα καὶ γῆν καὶ  
 ἀγέλας ἵππων καὶ βοῶν, ἀλλὰ βασιλείας καὶ  
 πόλεις ὅλας ἐδωρήσατο. ἐπίστευε γὰρ αὐτοῦ  
 πάντα εἶναι καὶ οὐδὲν ἀλλότριον, προσγενήσεσθαι<sup>2</sup>  
 63 δὲ τοῖς δοθείσι τὴν εὐνοίαν τῶν λαβόντων. οὐ  
 τοίνυν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνο ἄληθές φασιν, ὅτι δὴ περιῆει  
 μόνος ἄνευ στρατιᾶς. οὐ γὰρ δυνατόν πόλεις  
 τε ἐξαιρεῖν καὶ τυράννους ἀνθρώπους καταλύειν  
 καὶ πᾶσι παντάχου προστάττειν χωρὶς δυνά-  
 μεως. ὅτι δὲ αὐτουργὸς ἦν καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ πρό-  
 θυμος καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἱκανὸς καὶ πάντων μάλιστα  
 ἐπόνει, μόνον αὐτὸν ἔφασαν βαδίζειν καὶ πρᾶτ-  
 τειν ἅπαντα ὅσα βούλοιο.

64 Καὶ μὴν ὁ γε πατὴρ αὐτοῦ πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν

<sup>1</sup> The passage in its present corrupt state does not yield the sense. Cohoon suggests οὐδ' for ἀλλ' and ἀλλ' for οὐδ'. It is simply delete ἀλλ'. After τότε the

## THE FIRST DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

from Argos because he was engaged in making expeditions and defending his kingdom, but they assert that Eurystheus was king at this time. These, however, are but their idle tales.) And he was not only king of Greece, but also held empire over every land from the rising of the sun to the setting thereof, aye, over all peoples where are found shrines of Heracles. He had a simple education too, with none of the elaboration and superfluity devised by the unscrupulous cleverness of contemptible men.

"This, also, is told of Heracles: that he went unclothed and unarmed except for a lion's skin and a club, and they add that he did not set great store by gold or silver or fine raiment, but considered all such things worth nothing save to be given away and bestowed upon others. At any rate he made presents to many men, not only of money without limit and lands and herds of horses and cattle, but also of whole kingdoms and cities. For he fully believed that everything belonged to him exclusively and that gifts bestowed would call out the good-will of the recipients. Another story which men tell is untrue: that he actually went about alone without an army. For it is not possible to overturn cities, cast down tyrants, and to dictate to the whole world without armed forces. It is only because, being self-reliant, zealous of soul, and competent in body, he surpassed all men in labour, that the story arose that he travelled alone and accomplished single-handed whatsoever he desired.

"Moreover, his father took great pains with him,

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MSS. have *ὅς ἦν πάντων φιλοπονώτατος καὶ πολὺν κρείττων τῶν ἐκεῖ*, deleted by Kayser.

<sup>2</sup> *προσγενήσθαι* Capps: *προσγενέσθαι*.



- ἐποιεῖτο, ὁρμάς τε ἀγαθὰς ἐπιπέμπων καὶ εἰς ὁμιλίας ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθῶν ἄγων. ἐσήμαινε δὲ καὶ δι' οἰωνῶν καὶ δι' ἐμπύρων καὶ διὰ πάσης  
 65 μαντικῆς ἕκαστα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα βουλόμενον ἄρχειν αὐτόν, οὐ τῶν ἡδονῶν οὐδὲ τῶν πλεονεξιών ἐπιθυμοῦντα, ὧν ἕνεκεν οἱ πολλοὶ τούτου<sup>1</sup> ἐρώσιν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἂν δύνηται πλεῖστα καὶ πλείστους εὖ ποιεῖν, ἐπιστάμενος αὐτοῦ γενναίαν οὔσαν τὴν φύσιν, ὅμως δὲ ὑπονοῶν ὅσον ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ θνητὸν καὶ ὅτι πολλὰ παραδείγματα ἐν ἀνθρώποις πονηρὰ εἶη τρυφῆς καὶ ἀκολασίας καὶ πολλοὶ παρατρέπουσιν ἄκουτα τὸν πεφυκότα ὀρθῶς ἔξω τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεώς τε καὶ γνώμης—  
 66 ταῦτα λογιζόμενος Ἑρμῆν ἔπεμψε, κελεύσας ἂν δεῖ ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Θήβας, ἔνθα νέος ὢν ἐτρέφετο Ἥρακλῆς, ἔφραζε τε ὃς εἶη καὶ παρ' ὅτου πεμφθεὶς, καὶ ἄγει λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἄφραστον καὶ ἄβατον ἀνθρώποις ὁδόν, ἕως ἥλθεν ἐπὶ τινα ὑπεροχὴν ὄρους περιφανῆ καὶ σφόδρα ὑψηλὴν, τὰ δὲ ἔξωθεν δεινῶς ἀπότομον κρημνοῖς ὀρθίοις καὶ βαθείᾳ φάραγγι ποταμοῦ κύκλῳ περιρέοντος, πολὺν ψόφον τε καὶ ἦχον ἀναδιδόντος, ὥς τοῖς κάτωθεν ἀναβλέπουσι μίαν ὀρᾶσθαι τὴν ἄνω κορυφὴν, τὸ δὲ ἀληθές ἦν δίδυμος ἐκ μιᾶς  
 67 ῥίζης, καὶ πολὺ γε ἀλλήλων διεστήκεσαν. ἑκαλείτο δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ μὲν βασιλείος ἄκρα, ἱερὰ Διὸς βασιλέως, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα τυραννικὴ, Τυφῶνος ἐπώνυμος. δύο δὲ εἶχον ἔξωθεν ἐφόδους εἰς αὐτάς, μίαν<sup>2</sup> ἐκατέρα, ἡ μὲν βασιλείος ἀσφαλῆ

<sup>1</sup> τούτου Empirius : πλούτου.<sup>2</sup> μίαν added by Reiske.

## THE FIRST DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

implanting in him noble impulses and bringing him into the fellowship of good men. He would also give him guidance for each and every enterprise through birds and burnt offerings and every other kind of divination. And when he saw that the lad wished to be a ruler, not through desire for pleasure and personal gain, which leads most men to love power, but that he might be able to do the greatest good to the greatest number, he recognized that his son was naturally of noble parts, and yet suspected how much in him was mortal and thought of the many baneful examples of luxurious and licentious living among mankind, and of the many men there were to entice a youth of fine natural qualities away from his true nature and his principles even against his will. So with these considerations in mind he despatched Hermes after instructing him as to what he should do. Hermes therefore came to Thebes, where the lad Heracles was being reared, and told him who he was and who had sent him. Then, taking him in charge, he led him over a secret path untrodden of man till he came to a conspicuous and very lofty mountain-peak whose sides were dreadfully steep with sheer precipices and with the deep gorge of a river that encompassed it, whence issued a mighty rumbling and roaring. Now to anyone looking up from below the crest above seemed single; but it was in fact double, rising from a single base; and the two peaks were far indeed from each other. The one of them bore the name Peak Royal and was sacred to Zeus the King; the other, Peak Tyrannous, was named after the giant Typhon. There were two approaches to them from without, each having one. The path that led to Peak Royal was safe and broad,

ἀθόρυβον κατέχειν τὸν τόπον· ἦν<sup>1</sup> δὲ ἅπαντα μεστὰ καρπῶν τε καὶ ζώων εὐθηνούντων ἀπὸ παντὸς γένους. παρῇν δὲ καὶ χρυσὸς αὐτόθι ἄπλετος σεσωρευμένος καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ σίδηρος· οὐ μὴν ἐκείνη γε οὐδὲν τῷ χρυσῷ προσεΐχεν οὐδὲ ἐτέρπετο, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τοῖς καρποῖς τε καὶ ζώοις.

- 73 Ἰδὼν οὖν αὐτὴν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἠδέσθη τε καὶ ἠρυθρίασε, τιμῶν καὶ σεβόμενος, ὥς ἂν ἀγαθὸς παῖς μητέρα γενναίαν. καὶ ἤρετο τίς ἐστι θεῶν τὸν Ἑρμῆν· ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Αὕτη σοι μακαρία δαίμων Βασιλεία, Διὸς βασιλέως ἔκγονος. ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἐχάρη καὶ ἐθάρρησε πρὸς αὐτήν. καὶ αὖθις ἐπήρετο τὰς σὺν αὐτῇ γυναικάς. Τίνες εἰσίν; ἔφη· ὥς εὐσχήμονες καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς καὶ  
74 ἄρρενωποί. Ἦδε μὲν, ἔφη, σοι ἡ προσορώσα γοργὸν τε καὶ πρᾶον, ἐκ δεξιῶν καθημένη, Δίκη, πλείστῳ δὴ καὶ φανερωτάτῳ λάμπουσα κάλλει. παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Εὐνομία, πάνυ ὁμοία καὶ μικρὸν  
75 διαφέρουσα τὸ εἶδος. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρους γυνὴ σφόδρα ὥραία καὶ ἄβρῳς ἐσταλμένη καὶ μειδιῶσα ἀλύπως· Εἰρήνην καλοῦσιν αὐτήν. ὁ δ' ἐγγὺς οὗτος ἐστηκὼς τῆς Βασιλείας παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ σκῆπτρον ἔμπροσθεν ἰσχυρὸς ἀνὴρ, πολὺς καὶ μεγαλόφρων, οὗτος δὴ<sup>2</sup> καλεῖται Νόμος, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ Λόγος Ὁρθὸς κέκληται Σύμβουλος καὶ Πάρεδρος, οὗ χωρὶς οὐδὲν ἐκείναις πρᾶξαι θέμις οὐδὲ διανοηθῆναι.

- 76 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀκούων καὶ ὁρῶν ἐτέρπετο καὶ προσεΐχε τὸν νοῦν, ὥς οὐδέποτε αὐτῶν ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> ἦν Empirius: εἶναι.

## THE FIRST DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

and unbroken quiet pervaded the place ; everywhere were fruits in abundance and thriving animals of every species. And immense heaps of gold and silver were there, and of bronze and iron ; yet she heeded not at all the gold, nor did she take delight in it, but rather in the fruits and living creatures.

“ Now when Heracles beheld the woman, he was abashed and blushes mantled his cheeks, for he felt that respect and reverence for her which a good son feels for a noble mother. Then he asked Hermes which of the deities she was, and he replied, ‘ Lo, that is the blessed Lady Royalty, child of King Zeus.’ And Heracles rejoiced and took courage in her presence. And again he asked about the women who were with her. ‘ Who are they ? ’ said he ; ‘ how decorous and stately, like men in countenance ! ’ ‘ Behold,’ he replied, ‘ she who sits there at her right hand, whose glance is both fierce and gentle, is Justice, aglow with a surpassing and resplendent beauty. Beside her sits Civic Order, who is very much like her and differs but slightly in appearance. On the other side is a woman exceeding beautiful, daintily attired, and smiling benignly ; they call her Peace. But he who stands near Royalty, just beside the sceptre and somewhat in front of it, a strong man, grey-haired and proud, has the name of Law ; but he has also been called Right Reason, Counsellor, Coadjutor, without whom these women are not permitted to take any action or even to purpose one.’

“ With all that he heard and saw Heracles was delighted, and he paid close attention, determined

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<sup>2</sup> δὴ Arnim, who, following Wilamowitz, unnecessarily brackets καλεῖται : δὲ.

- λησόμενος. ἐντεῦθεν δὴ ἐπεὶ κατιόντες ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὴν τυραννικὴν εἴσοδον, Δεῦρο, ἔφη, θέασαι καὶ τὴν ἐτέραν, ἥς ἐρώσιν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ περὶ ἥς πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ πράγματα ἔχουσι, φονεύοντες οἱ ταλαίπωροι, παῖδές τε γονεῦσι πολλάκις ἐπιβουλεύοντες καὶ γονεῖς παισὶ καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ἀδελφοῖς, τὸ μέγιστον κακὸν ἐπιποθοῦντες καὶ μακαρίζοντες, ἐξουσίαν μετὰ ἀνοίας·
- 77 καὶ δὴ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῷ τὰ περὶ τὴν εἴσοδον ἐδείκνυσεν, ὥς μία μὲν ἐφαίνετο πρόδηλος, καὶ αὕτῃ σχεδὸν ὁποῖαν πρότερον εἶπον, ἐπισφαλὴς καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν φέρουσα τὸν κρημνόν, πολλὰ δὲ ἄδηλοι καὶ ἀφανεῖς διαδύσεις, καὶ κύκλῳ πᾶς ὑπόνομος ὁ τόπος καὶ διατετρημένος<sup>1</sup> ὑπ' αὐτὸν οἶμαι τὸν θρόνον, αἱ δὲ πάροδοι καὶ ἀτραποὶ πᾶσαι πεφυρμέναι αἵματι καὶ μεσταὶ νεκρῶν. διὰ δὲ τούτων οὐδεμιᾶς ἦγεν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν<sup>2</sup> ἔξωθεν καθαρωτέραν, ἅτε οἶμαι θεατὴν ἐσόμενον μόνον.<sup>3</sup>
- 78 Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσῆλθον, καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν Τυραννίδα καθημένην ὑψηλήν, ἐξεπίτηδες προσποιουμένην καὶ ἀφομοιοῦσαν αὐτὴν τῇ Βασιλείᾳ, πολὺ δέ, ὥς ἐνόμιζεν, ἐν<sup>4</sup> ὑψηλοτέρῳ καὶ κρείττονι τῷ<sup>5</sup> θρόνῳ, μυρίας ἄλλας τινας ἔχοντι γλυφὰς καὶ διαθέσει<sup>6</sup> χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος καὶ ἡλέκτρου καὶ ἐβένου καὶ παντοδαπῶν χρῶμάτων

<sup>1</sup> διατετρημένος Cobet: διατετμημένος.

<sup>2</sup> τὴν added by Capps.

<sup>3</sup> μόνον added by Cobet.

<sup>4</sup> ἐν added by Gasda.

<sup>5</sup> τῷ Capps: τῷ.

<sup>6</sup> διαθέσει Reiske: διαθέσεις.

<sup>1</sup> Dio calls power conjoined with folly the greatest evil, but it is power alone that men covet. Yet when the wrong

## THE FIRST DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

never to forget it. But when they had come down from the higher peak and were at the entrance to Tyranny, Hermes said, 'Look this way and behold the other woman. It is with her that the majority of men are infatuated and to win her they give themselves much trouble of every kind, committing murder, wretches that they are, son often conspiring against father, father against son, and brother against brother, since they covet and count as felicity that which is the greatest evil—power conjoined with folly.'<sup>1</sup> He then began by showing Heracles the nature of the entrance, explaining that whereas only one pathway appeared to view, that being about as described above—perilous and skirting the very edge of the precipice—yet there were many unseen and hidden corridors, and that the entire region was undermined on every side and tunnelled, no doubt up to the very throne, and that all the passages and bypaths were smeared with blood and strewn with corpses. Through none, however, of these passages did Hermes lead him, but along the outside one that was less befouled, because, I think, Heracles was to be a mere observer.

"When they entered, they discovered Tyranny seated aloft, of set purpose counterfeiting and making herself like to Royalty, but, as she imagined, on a far loftier and more splendid throne, since it was not only adorned with innumerable carvings, but embellished besides with inlaid patterns of gold, ivory, amber, ebony, and substances of every colour. Her

sort of men gain power, folly is the result. Aristotle, *Frag.* 89, p. 1492, l. 11 (Berlin ed.) says: *Τίκτει . . . ἀπαιδευσία μετ' ἐξουσίας ἔνοιαν*.—"Ignorance conjoined with power produces folly."

πεποικιλμένῳ. τὴν δὲ βάσιν οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλῆς  
 ὁ θρόνος οὐδὲ ἡδρασμένος, ἀλλὰ κινούμενός τε  
 79 καὶ ὀκλάζων. ἦν δὲ οὐδ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐν κόσμῳ  
 διακείμενον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς δόξαν ἅπαντα καὶ ἀλα-  
 ζονείαν καὶ τρυφήν, πολλὰ μὲν σκῆπτρα, πολλὰ  
 δὲ τιᾶραι καὶ διαδήματα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς. καὶ  
 δὴ μιμουμένη τὸ ἐκείνης ἡθος ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ  
 προσφιλούς μειδιάματος ταπεινὸν ἐσεσήρει καὶ  
 80 ὑπουργόν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ σεμνοῦ βλέμματος σκυ-  
 θρωπὸν ὑφεωρᾶτο καὶ ἄγριον. ἵνα δὲ φαίνοιτο  
 μεγαλόφρων, οὐ προσέβλεπε τοὺς προσιόντας,  
 ἀλλ' ὑπερεώρα<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἡτίμαζεν, ἐκ δὲ τούτου  
 πᾶσιν ἀπηχθάνετο, πάντας δὲ ἡγνόει.<sup>2</sup> καθη-  
 μένη δὲ ἀτρεμίζειν οὐκ ἐδύνατο, θαμινὰ δὲ κύκλῳ  
 περιέβλεπε καὶ ἀνεπήδα πολλάκις ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου.  
 τὸ δὲ χρυσίου αἷσχιστα ἐφύλαττεν ἐν τοῖς  
 κόλποις, πάλιν δὲ ἐρρίπτει φοβηθεῖσα ἀθρόον,  
 εἴτ' εὐθὺς ἥρπαζεν ὃ τι ἔχοι τις τῶν παριόντων  
 81 καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον. ἡ δὲ ἐσθῆς παντοδαπή,  
 τοῦτο μὲν ἀλουργίδων, τοῦτο δὲ φοινικῶν, τοῦτο  
 δὲ κροκωτῶν· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ λευκοὶ τινες φαινό-  
 μενοι τῶν πέπλων· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ κατέρρηκτο  
 τῆς στολῆς. χρώματα δὲ παντοδαπὰ ἡφίει,  
 φοβουμένη καὶ ἀγωνιώσα καὶ ἀπιστοῦσα καὶ  
 ὀργιζομένη, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ λύπης ταπεινὴ,  
 ποτὲ δὲ ὑφ' ἡδονῆς μετέωρος ἐωρᾶτο, καὶ νῦν  
 μὲν ἐγέλα τῷ προσώπῳ πάνυ ἀσελγῶς, πάλιν  
 82 δὲ εὐθὺς ἐθρήνει. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὄμιλος περὶ αὐτὴν

<sup>1</sup> ὑπερεώρα Reiske : ὑφεώρα.

<sup>2</sup> Empirius unnecessarily alters ἡγνόει to ὑπενόει, "regarded them with suspicion."

## THE FIRST DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

throne, however, was not secure upon its foundation nor firmly settled, but shook and slouched upon its legs. And in general things were in disorder, everything suggesting vainglory, ostentation, and luxury—many sceptres, many tiaras and diadems for the head. Furthermore, in her zeal to imitate the character of the other woman, instead of the friendly smile Tyranny wore a leer of false humility, and instead of a glance of dignity she had an ugly and forbidding scowl. But in order to assume the appearance of pride, she would not glance at those who came into her presence but looked over their heads disdainfully. And so everybody hated her, and she herself ignored everybody. She was unable to sit with composure, but would cast her eyes incessantly in every direction, frequently springing up from her throne. She hugged her gold to her bosom in a disgusting manner and then in terror would fling it from her in a heap, then she would forthwith snatch at whatever any passer-by might have, were it never so little. Her raiment was of many colours, purple, scarlet and saffron, with patches of white, too, showing here and there from her skirts, since her cloak was torn in many places. From her countenance glowed all manners of colours<sup>1</sup> according to whether she felt terror or anguish or suspicion or anger; while at one moment she seemed prostrate with grief, at another she appeared to be in an exaltation of joy. At one time a quite wanton smile would come over her face, but at the next moment she would be in tears. There was also a throng of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Plato, *Lysis* 222 B: *ὁ δὲ Ἱπποθάλῃς ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς παντοδαπὰ ἠφίει χρώματα*.—"And Hippothales' countenance from pleasure glowed with all manner of colours."



γυναικῶν οὐδὲν ἐκείναις ὁμοίων αἷς ἔφην εἶναι περὶ τὴν Βασιλείαν, ἀλλ' Ὀμότης καὶ Ὑβρις καὶ Ἀνομία καὶ Στάσις, αἱ πᾶσαι διέφθειρον αὐτὴν καὶ κάκιστα ἀπώλλουσι. ἀντὶ δὲ Φιλίας Κολακεία παρῆν, δουλοπρεπὴς καὶ ἀνελεύθερος, οὐδεμιᾷς ἦττον ἐπιβουλεύουσα ἐκείνων, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα δὴ πάντων ἀπολέσαι ζητοῦσα.

- 83 Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἱκανῶς τεθέατο, πυκνῶνεται αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἑρμῆς πότερα αὐτὸν ἀρέσειε τῶν πραγμάτων<sup>1</sup> καὶ ποτέρᾳ τῶν γυναικῶν. ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν, ἔφη, θαυμάζω καὶ ἀγαπῶ, καὶ δοκεῖ μοι θεὸς ἀληθῶς εἶναι, ζήλου καὶ μακαρισμοῦ ἀξία, ταύτην δὲ τὴν ὑστέραν ἐχθίστην ἔγωγε ἡγοῦμαι καὶ μιαιωντάτην, ὥστε ἥδιστα ἂν αὐτὴν ὤσαιμι κατὰ τούτου τοῦ σκοπέλου καὶ ἀφανίσαιμι. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐπῆνεσεν ὁ Ἑρμῆς καὶ τῷ Διὶ
- 84 ἔφρασεν. κακὲῖνος ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ βασιλεύειν τοῦ σύμπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους, ὥς ὄντι ἱκανῶ τοιγαροῦν ὅπου μὲν ἴδοι τυραννίδα καὶ τύραννον, ἐκόλαζε καὶ ἀνῆρει παρά τε Ἑλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις· ὅπου δὲ βασιλείαν καὶ βασιλέα, ἐτίμα καὶ ἐφύλαττεν.

Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔφη<sup>2</sup> Σωτῆρα εἶναι, οὐχ ὅτι τὰ θηρία αὐτοῖς ἀπήμυνεν—πόσον γὰρ ἂν τι καὶ βλάβειε λέων

<sup>1</sup> Reiske: τὰ πράγματα.

<sup>2</sup> ἔφη added by Cohoon.

## THE FIRST DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

women about her, but they resembled in no respect those whom I have described as in attendance upon Royalty. These were Cruelty, Insolence, Lawlessness, and Faction, all of whom were bent upon corrupting her and bringing her to ignoble ruin. And instead of Friendship, Flattery was there, servile and avaricious and no less ready for treachery than any of the others, nay rather, zealous above all things to destroy.

"Now when Heracles had viewed all this also to his heart's content, Hermes asked him which of the two scenes pleased him and which of the two women. 'Why, it is the other one,' said he, 'whom I admire and love, and she seems to me a veritable goddess, enviable and worthy to be accounted blest; this second woman, on the other hand, I consider so utterly odious and abominable that I would gladly thrust her down from this peak and thus put an end to her.' Whereupon Hermes commended Heracles for this utterance and repeated it to Zeus, who entrusted him with the kingship over all mankind as he considered him equal to the trust.<sup>1</sup> And so wherever Heracles discovered a tyranny and a tyrant, he chastised and destroyed them, among Greeks and barbarians alike; but wherever he found a kingdom and a king, he would give honour and protection."

This, she maintained, was what made him Deliverer of the earth and of the human race, not the fact that he defended them from the savage beasts—for how little damage could a lion or a wild

<sup>1</sup> Another account of the choice of Hercules is found in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* 2.1.21, and in Cicero, *de Officiis* 1.32. It is said to have been invented by the sophist Prodicus.

## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἦ σὺς ἄγριος ;—ἀλλ' ὅτι τοὺς ἀνημέρους καὶ  
πονηροὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκόλαζε καὶ τῶν ὑπερηφάνων  
τυράννων κατέλυε καὶ ἀφηρεῖτο τὴν ἐξουσίαν.  
καὶ νῦν ἔτι τοῦτο δρᾷ, καὶ βοηθός ἐστι καὶ  
φύλαξ σοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἕως ἂν τυγχάνῃς βασι-  
λεύων.

## THE FIRST DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

bear inflict?—nay, it was the fact that he chastised savage and wicked men, and crushed and destroyed the power of overweening tyrants. And even to this day Heracles continues this work and you have in him a helper and protector of your government as long as it is vouchsafed you to reign.



## THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

The second Discourse on Kingship is put dramatically in the form of a dialogue between Philip of Macedon and his son Alexander, and in it the son is Dio's mouthpiece, in marked contrast to the situation in the fourth Discourse, where Diogenes—and therefore Dio—is opposed to Alexander. We are shown here the way in which the true king acts in the practical affairs of life, and the Stoic ideal, drawn largely from Homer, is set forth. Toward the end the true king is contrasted with the tyrant.

Although this Discourse is addressed to no one, von Arnim is led to conjecture from its martial tone that it was delivered before Trajan in A.D. 104 on the eve of the Second Dacian War.

## 2. ΠΕΡΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ Β

- 1 Λέγεται ποτε Ἀλέξανδρον τῷ πατρὶ Φιλίππῳ μειράκιον ὄντα διαλεχθῆναι περὶ Ὀμήρου μάλα ἀνδρείως καὶ μεγαλοφρόνως· οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ λόγοι οὗτοι σχεδόν τι καὶ περὶ βασιλείας ἦσαν. ἐτύγχανε μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος στρατευόμενος ἤδη μετὰ τοῦ πατρός, καίτοι τοῦ Φιλίππου κωλύοντος· ὁ δὲ οὐχ οἷός τ' ἦν κατέχειν αὐτόν, ὥσπερ οἱ γενναῖοι σκύλακες οὐχ ὑπομένουσιν ἀπολείπεσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ θήραν ἐξιόντων, ἀλλὰ ξυνέπονται πολλάκις ἀπορρήξαντες τὰ δεσμῆα.
- 2 ἐνίοτε μὲν οὖν ταράττουσιν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, διὰ τὴν νεότητά καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν φθεγγόμενοι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ τὸ θηρίον ἀνιστάντες· ἐνιότέ γε<sup>1</sup> μὴν εἶλον αὐτοὶ προπηδήσαντες. τοιαῦτα ἐκεῖνος ἔπασχε τὸ πρῶτον, ὥστε καὶ τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχης τε καὶ νίκης φασὶν αὐτὸν αἴτιον γενέσθαι, τοῦ πατρὸς ὀκνοῦντος τὸν κίνδυνον.

Τότε δ' οὖν ἀπὸ στρατείας ἤκοντες ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Πιερίας ἔθουον ταῖς Μούσαις καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἐτίθεσαν, ὃν φασιν ἀρχαῖον εἶναι

<sup>1</sup> γε added by Reiske.

<sup>1</sup> In 338 B.C., when the Athenians and Boeotians were crushed.

<sup>2</sup> The new Olympic festival, celebrated for nine days at Dium in Pieria, was founded by Archelaus (king of Macedonia, 413-399 B.C.) in honour of Zeus and the Muses. Another

## THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

It is said that Alexander, while still a lad, was once conversing with Philip his father about Homer in a very manly and lofty strain, their conversation being in effect a discussion of kingship as well. For Alexander was already to be found with his father on his campaigns, although Philip tried to discourage him in this. Alexander, however, could not hold himself in, for it was with the lad as with young dogs of fine breed that cannot brook being left behind when their masters go hunting, but follow along, often breaking their tethers to do so. It is true that sometimes, because of their youth and enthusiasm, they spoil the sport by barking and starting the game too soon, but sometimes too they bring down the game themselves by bounding ahead. This, in fact, happened to Alexander at the very beginning, so that they say he brought about the battle and victory of Chaeronea<sup>1</sup> when his father shrank from taking the risk.

Now it was on this occasion, when they were at Dium in Pieria on their way home from the campaign and were sacrificing to the Muses and celebrating the Olympic festival,<sup>2</sup> which is said to be an ancient

account credits Philip II, father of Alexander the Great, with founding it. See Krause, *Olympia*, p. 215; Diodorus 17.16. It was rather the worship of the Muses that was an ancient institution in Pieria. Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.11.



## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

- 3 παρ' αὐτοῖς. ἤρετο οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐν  
τῇ συνουσίᾳ, Διὰ τί ποτε, ὦ παῖ, σφόδρα οὕτως  
ἐκπέπληξαι τὸν Ὅμηρον ὥστε διατρίβεις περὶ  
μόνον τῶν ποιητῶν; ἐχρῆν μέντοι μηδὲ τῶν  
ἄλλων ἀμελῶς ἔχειν· σοφοὶ γὰρ οἱ ἄνδρες. καὶ  
ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔφη, "Ὅτι δοκεῖ μοι, ὦ πάτερ, οὐ  
πάντα ποιήσεις βασιλεῖ πρέπειν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ  
4 στολή. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ποιήματα ἔγωγε  
ἡγοῦμαι τὰ μὲν συμποτικὰ αὐτῶν, τὰ δὲ ἐρωτικά,  
τὰ δὲ ἐγκώμια ἀθλητῶν τε καὶ ἵππων νικῶντων,  
τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τεθνεῶσι θρήνους, τὰ δὲ γέλωτος  
ἐνεκεν ἢ λαιδορίας πεποιημένα, ὥσπερ τὰ τῶν  
κωμῶδοδιδασκάλων καὶ τὰ τοῦ Παρίου ποιητοῦ.  
5 ἴσως δέ τινα αὐτῶν καὶ δημοτικὰ λέγοιτ' ἂν,  
συμβουλευόντα καὶ παραινοῦντα τοῖς πολλοῖς  
καὶ ἰδιώταις, καθάπερ οἶμαι τὰ Φωκυλίδου καὶ  
Θεόγνιδος· ἀφ' ὧν τί ἂν ὠφελθῆναι δύναιτο  
ἀνὴρ ἡμῖν ὅμοιος,  
πάντων μὲν κρατέειν ἐθέλων, πάντεσσι δ'  
ἀνάσσειν;  
6 τὴν δέ γε Ὀμήρου ποίησιν μόνην ὁρῶ τῷ ὄντι  
γενναίαν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆ καὶ βασιλικήν, ἣ  
πρέπει τὸν νοῦν προσέχειν ἄνδρα μάλιστα μὲν  
ἄρξειν μέλλοντα τῶν ὅποι ποτὲ ἀνθρώπων, εἰ  
δὲ μή, τῶν πλείστων καὶ φανερωτάτων, ἀτεχνῶς  
γε ἐσόμενον κατ' ἐκείνον ποιμένα λαῶν. ἣ πῶς  
οὐκ ἄτοπον ἵππῳ μὲν μὴ ἐθέλειν ἢ τῷ ἀρίστῳ  
χρῆσθαι τὸν βασιλέα, τῶν δὲ ποιητῶν καὶ τοῖς  
7 ἥττοσιν ἐντυγχάνειν, ὥσπερ σχολὴν ἄγοντα; εὖ

<sup>1</sup> Archilochus.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* 1. 288, Homer's ἐθέλει being changed to ἐθέλων.

## THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

institution in that country, that Philip in the course of their conversation put this question to Alexander: "Why, my son, have you become so infatuated with Homer that you devote yourself to him alone of all the poets? You really ought not to neglect the others, for the men are wise." And Alexander replied: "My reason, father, is that not all poetry, any more than every style of dress, is appropriate to a king, as it seems to me. Now consider the poems of other men; some I consider to be suitable indeed for the banquet, or for love, or for the eulogy of victorious athletes or horses, or as dirges for the dead, and some as designed to excite laughter or ridicule, like the works of the comic writers and those of the Parian poet.<sup>1</sup> And perhaps some of them might be called popular also, in that they give advice and admonition to the masses and to private citizens, as, for instance, the works of Phocylides and Theognis do. What is there in them by which a man could profit, who, like you or me,

‘aspires to be

The master, over all to domineer.’<sup>2</sup>

The poetry of Homer, however, I look upon as alone truly noble and lofty and suited to a king, worthy of the attention of a real man, particularly if he expects to rule over all the peoples of the earth—or at any rate over most of them, and those the most prominent—if he is to be, in the strict sense of the term, what Homer calls a ‘shepherd of the people.’<sup>3</sup> Or would it not be absurd for a king to refuse to use any horse but the best and yet, when it is a question of poets, to read the poorer ones as though he had nothing

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Iliad* 4, 296, for example.

ἴσθι, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, ἐγὼ οὐ μόνον ποιητὴν ἕτερον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέτρον ἄλλο ἢ τὸ Ὀμήρου ἠρώων ἀκούων ἀνέχομαι.

Πάνυ οὖν ὁ Φίλιππος αὐτὸν ἠγάσθη τῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης, ὅτι δῆλος ἦν οὐδὲν φαῦλον οὐδὲ ταπεινὸν ἐπινοῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε ἥρωσι καὶ τοῖς  
8 ἡμιθέοις παραβαλλόμενος. ὅμως δὲ κινεῖν αὐτὸν βουλόμενος, Τὸν δὲ Ἡσίοδον, ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε, ὀλίγου ἄξιον κρίνεις, ἔφη, ποιητὴν; Οὐκ ἔγωγε, εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ παντός, οὐ μέντοι βασιλεῦσιν οὐδὲ στρατηγοῖς ἴσως. Ἀλλὰ τίσιν μὲν; καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος γελάσας, Τοῖς ποιμέσιν, ἔφη, καὶ τοῖς τέκτοσι καὶ τοῖς γεωργοῖς. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ποιμένας φησὶ φιλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Μουσῶν, τοῖς δὲ τέκτοσι μάλα ἐμπείρως παραινεῖ πηλίκον  
9 χρὴ τὸν ἄξονα τεμεῖν, καὶ τοῖς γεωργοῖς, ὀπηνίκα ἄρξασθαι πίθου. Τί οὖν; οὐχὶ ταῦτα χρήσιμα, ἔφη, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὁ Φίλιππος; Οὐχ ἡμῖν γε, εἶπεν, ὦ πάτερ, οὐδὲ Μακεδόσι τοῖς νῦν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πρότερον, ἡνίκα νέμονται καὶ γεωργοῦντες Ἰλλυριοῖς ἐδούλευον καὶ Τριβαλλοῖς. Οὐδὲ τὰ περὶ τὸν σπόρον, ἔφη, καὶ τὸν ἀμητόν, ὁ Φίλιππος, ἀρέσκει σοι τοῦ Ἡσιόδου μεγαλοπρεπῶς οὕτως εἰρημένα;

Πληιάδων Ἀτλαγενέων ἐπιτελλομενάων  
ἄρχεσθ' ἀμητοῦ, ἀρότιοιο δὲ δυσόμενάων.

10 Πολύ γε μᾶλλον, εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, τὰ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ γεωργικά. Καὶ ποῦ περὶ γεωργίας εἴρηκεν Ὀμηρος; ἤρετο ὁ Φίλιππος. ἢ τὰ ἐν τῇ

<sup>1</sup> *Works and Days* 368, 424, 609 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 368, 424.

## THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

else to do? On my word, father, I not only cannot endure to hear any other poet recited but Homer, but even object to any other metre than Homer's heroic hexameter."

Then Philip admired his son greatly for his noble spirit, since it was plain that he harboured no unworthy or ignoble ideas but made the heroes and demigods his examples. Nevertheless, in his desire to arouse him, he said, "But take Hesiod, Alexander; do you judge him of little account as a poet?" "Nay, not I," he replied, "but of every account, though not for kings and generals, I suppose." "Well, then, for whom?" And Alexander answered with a smile: "For shepherds, carpenters,<sup>1</sup> and farmers; since he says that shepherds are beloved by the Muses, and to carpenters he gives very shrewd advice as to how large they should cut an axle, and to farmers, when to broach a cask."<sup>2</sup> "Well," said Philip, "and is not such advice useful to men?" "Not to you and me, father," he replied, "nor to the Macedonians of the present day, though to those of former times it was useful, when they lived a slave's life, herding and farming for Illyrians and Triballians."<sup>3</sup> "But do you not like these magnificent lines of Hesiod about seed-time and harvest?" said Philip:

"Mark well the time when the Pleiads, daughters of Atlas, are rising;

Then begin with the harvest, but do not plough till their setting."<sup>4</sup>

"I much prefer what Homer says on farm-life," said Alexander. "And where," Philip asked, "has Homer

<sup>3</sup> Neighbours of the Macedonians to the west and east respectively, and despised as barbarians.

<sup>4</sup> *Works and Days* 383 f.

## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἀσπίδι μιμήματα λέγεις τῶν ἀρούντων καὶ θερι-  
ζόντων καὶ τρυγώντων; "Ηκιστά γε, εἶπεν ὁ  
Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνα πολὺ μᾶλλον·

οἱ δ' ὥστ' ἀμητῆρες ἐναντίοι ἀλλήλοισιν  
ὄγμον ἐλαύνουσιν ἀνδρὸς μάκαρος κατ' ἄρου-  
ραν  
πυρῶν ἢ κριθῶν· τὰ δὲ δράγματα ταρφέα  
πίπτει·  
ὥς Τρῶες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι θορόντες  
δῆουν, οὐδ' ἕτεροι μνῶντ' ὀλοοῖο φύβοιο.

- 11 Ταῦτα μέντοι ποιῶν "Ομηρος ἡττᾶτο ὑπὸ  
Ἡσιόδου, ὁ Φίλιππος εἶπεν· ἢ οὐκ ἀκήκοας τὸ  
ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐν Ἑλικῶνι ἐπὶ τοῦ τρίποδος·

Ἡσιόδος Μούσαις Ἑλικωνίσι τόνδ' ἀνέθηκεν  
ὑμνῷ νικήσας ἐν Χαλκίδι θεῖον "Ομηρον;

- 12 Καὶ μάλα δικαίως, εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἡττᾶτο·  
οὐ γὰρ ἐν βασιλεῦσιν ἡγωνίζετο, ἀλλ' ἐν γεωργοῖς  
καὶ ἰδιώταις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐν ἀνθρώποις φιληδόνοις  
καὶ μαλακοῖς. τοιγαροῦν ἡμύνατο τοὺς Εὐβοέας  
διὰ τῆς παιήσεως "Ομηρος. Πῶς; ἤρετο θαυ-  
μάσας ὁ Φίλιππος. "Οτι μόνους αὐτοὺς τῶν  
Ἑλλήνων περιέκειρεν αἰσχιστα, κομᾶν ὀπισθεν

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 11. 67-71.

<sup>2</sup> The account of this mythical contest is found in the  
Ἡσίοδου καὶ Ἡσιόδου ἀγών (The Contest between Homer and  
Hesiod), which was composed in the time of Hadrian, but  
goes back to an earlier account by the rhetorician Alcidas.  
It was developed out of a suggestion given in Hesiod's *Works  
and Days* 650 f. In the contest, which is supposed to have  
taken place at the funeral games of King Anticleus in

## THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

anything to say about farming? Or do you refer to the representations on the shield of men ploughing and gathering the grain and the grapes? ” “ Not at all,” said Alexander, “ but rather to these well-known lines :

‘ As when two lines of reapers, face to face,  
In some rich landlord’s field of barley or wheat  
Move on, and fast the severed handfuls fall,  
So, springing on each other, they of Troy  
And they of Argos smote each other down,  
And neither thought of ignominious flight.’ <sup>1</sup>

“ And yet, in spite of such lines as these,” said Philip, “ Homer was defeated by Hesiod in the contest.<sup>2</sup> Or have you not heard of the inscription which is inscribed upon the tripod that stands on Mount Helicon?

‘ Hesiod offered this gift to the Muses on Helicon’s  
mountain  
When at Chalcis in song he had vanquished  
Homer, the godlike.’ ”

“ And he richly deserved to be defeated,” rejoined Alexander, “ for he was not exhibiting his skill before kings, but before farmers and plain folk, or, rather, before men who were lovers of pleasure and effeminate. And that is why Homer used his poesy to avenge himself upon the Euboeans.” “ How so? ” asked Philip in wonder. “ He singled them out among all the Greeks for a most unseemly hair-cut, for he makes them wear their hair in long

Chalcis, verses of both poets, both real and made up, are brought forward. The judge makes Hesiod the victor, but the audience favours Homer.

- ἀφείς, ὥσπερ οἱ νῦν τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἰπαλοὺς.
- 13 Καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος γελάσας, Ὁρᾶς,<sup>1</sup> ἢ δ' ὅς, ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε, ὅτι δεῖ μὴ λυπεῖν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ποιητὰς μηδὲ τοὺς δεινοὺς συγγραφέας, ὡς κυρίους ὄντας ὃ τι βούλονται περὶ ἡμῶν λέγειν. Οὐ πάντως, εἶπε, κυρίους. τῷ γοῦν Στησιχόρῳ ψευσαμένῳ κατὰ τῆς Ἑλένης οὐ συνήνεγκεν. ὁ μέντοι Ἡσίοδος, ὦ πάτερ, δοκεῖ μοι οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἀγνοεῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ὅσον ἐλείπετο Ὅμη-  
 14 ρου. Πῶς λέγεις; Ὅτι ἐκείνου περὶ τῶν ἡρώων ποιήσαντος αὐτὸς ἐποίησε Γυναικῶν κατάλογον καὶ τῷ ὄντι τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν ὑμνησε, παραχωρήσας Ὁμήρῳ τοὺς<sup>2</sup> ἄνδρας ἐπαινέσαι.
- Ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἤρετο ὁ Φίλιππος, Ἀλλὰ σύ, ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε, πότερον ἔλοιο ἢ Ἀγαμέμνων ἢ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἢ ἐκείνων τις γεγονέναι τῶν ἡρώων,  
 15 ἢ Ὅμηρος; Οὐ μέντοι, ἢ δ' ὅς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλὰ ὑπερβάλλειν πολὺ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. οὔτε γὰρ σὲ χείρονα νομίζω τοῦ Πηλέως οὔτε τῆς Φθίας ἀσθενεστέραν τὴν Μακεδονίαν οὔτε τὸν Ὀλυμπον ἀδοξότερον ὄρος<sup>3</sup> τοῦ Πηλίου φαῖναι ἄν· ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ παιδείας φαυλοτέρας ἐπιτετύχηκα ὑπ' Ἀριστοτέλους ἢ ἐκεῖνος ὑπὸ Φοίνικος τοῦ Ἀμύντορος, φυγάδος

<sup>1</sup> ὁρᾶς Arnim : λέγει or ἔφη.

<sup>2</sup> τοὺς Empirius : τοῦ.

<sup>3</sup> ὄρος Reiske : ὕρους.

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 2, 542. Cf. Dio, *Discourse* 7. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently he accused Helen of having been married three times and of abandoning her husbands. He became blind, but regained his sight when he recanted. See Plato, *Phaedrus* 243 A, for the story.

## THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

locks flowing down their backs,<sup>1</sup> as the poets of to-day do in describing effeminate boys."

Philip laughed and said, "You observe, Alexander, that one must not offend good poets or clever writers, since they have the power to say anything they wish about us." "Not absolute power," said he; "it was a sorry day for Stesichorus, at any rate, when he told the lies about Helen.<sup>2</sup> As for Hesiod, it seems to me that he himself, father, was not unaware of how much inferior his powers were to Homer's." "How is that?" "Because, while Homer wrote of heroes, he composed a Catalogue of Fair Women,<sup>3</sup> and in reality made the women's quarters<sup>4</sup> the subject of his song, yielding to Homer the eulogy of men."

Philip next asked him: "But as for you, Alexander, would you like to have been Agamemnon or Achilles or any one of the heroes of those days, or Homer?" "No, indeed," said Alexander, "but I should like to go far beyond Achilles and the others. For you are not inferior to Peleus, in my opinion; nor is Macedonia less powerful than Phthia;<sup>5</sup> nor would I admit that Olympus<sup>6</sup> is a less famous mountain than Pelion;<sup>7</sup> and, besides, the education I have gained under Aristotle is not inferior to that which Achilles derived from Amyntor's son, Phoenix, an exiled man

<sup>1</sup> Fragments of this important work ascribed to Hesiod are extant.

<sup>2</sup> In the Greek house an especial part was reserved for the women.

<sup>3</sup> Country and city in the south-east of Thessaly, ruled over by Peleus, father of Achilles.

<sup>4</sup> The Thessalian mountain on the border of Macedonia.

<sup>5</sup> Here Peleus wooed and won Thetis, the mother of Achilles, and here Cheiron, the tutor of Achilles, had his cave.



- ἀνδρὸς καὶ διαφόρου τῷ πατρί. πρὸς δὲ αὐ-  
 τούτοις ὁ μὲν Ἀχιλλεὺς ὑπῆκουεν ἑτέροις, καὶ  
 πέμπεται μετὰ μικρᾶς δυνάμεως, οὐ κύριος<sup>1</sup> ἀλλ'  
 ἄλλῳ συστρατευσόμενος· ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἂν ποτε  
 16 ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων οὐδενὸς βασιλευθείην. καὶ ὁ  
 Φίλιππος μικροῦ παροξυνθείς, Ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ  
 γε βασιλεύη, ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε. Οὐκ ἔγωγε, εἶπεν·  
 οὐ γὰρ ὥς βασιλέως, ἀλλ' ὥς πατρὸς ἀκούω  
 σου. Οὐ<sup>2</sup> δῆπου καὶ θεᾶς φήσεις μητρὸς γε-  
 γονέναι σεαυτὸν, ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς; εἶπεν  
 ὁ Φίλιππος. ἢ Ὀλυμπιάδα συμβαλεῖν ἀξιοῖς  
 Θέτιδι; καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἡσυχῇ μειδιάσας,  
 Ἔμοι μὲν, εἶπεν, ὦ πάτερ, ἀνδρειότερα δοκεῖ  
 17 πασῶν τῶν Νηρηίδων. ἐνταίθα ὁ Φίλιππος  
 γελάσας, Οὐκ ἀνδρειότερα μόνον, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ πολεμικωτέρα. ἐμοὶ γοῦν οὐ παύεται  
 πολεμοῦσα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἅμα  
 σπουδῇ ἐπαιξάτην.

- Πάλιν δὲ ἤρετο αὐτὸν ὁ Φίλιππος, Ἀλλὰ  
 τὸν Ὀμηρον οὕτω σφόδρα, ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε, θαυ-  
 μάζων, πῶς ὑπερορᾷς αὐτοῦ τὴν σοφίαν; Ὅτι,  
 ἔφη, καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίασι κήρυκος ἡδιστ' ἂν  
 ἀκούοιμι φθεγγομένου μέγα καὶ σαφές, οὐ μέντοι  
 κηρύττειν ἐβουλόμην αὐτὸς ἑτέρους νικῶντας,  
 18 ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον κηρύττεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ  
 λέγων ἐποίει φανερόν ὅτι τὸν μὲν Ὀμηρον  
 ἐνόμιζε δαιμόνιον καὶ θεῖον τῷ ὄντι κήρυκα τῆς  
 ἀρετῆς, αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκείνους  
 ἀθλητάς τε καὶ ἀγωνιστὰς τῶν καλῶν ἔργων

<sup>1</sup> Schwartz believes that there is a lacuna after κύριος.

<sup>2</sup> οὐ Wilamowitz: σὺ.

## THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

and estranged from his father. Then, too, Achilles had to take orders from others and was sent with a small force of which he was not in sole command, since he was to share the expedition with another. I, however, could never submit to any mortal whatsoever being king over me." Whereupon Philip almost became angry with him and said: "But I am king and you are subject to me, Alexander." "Not I," said he, "for I hearken to you, not as king, but as father." "I suppose you will not go on and say, will you, that your mother was a goddess, as Achilles did," said Philip; "or do you presume to compare Olympias with Thetis?" At this Alexander smiled slightly and said, "To me, father, she seems more courageous than any Nereid." Whereupon Philip laughed and said, "Not merely more courageous, my son, but also more warlike; at least she never ceases making war on me." So far did they both go in mingling jest with earnest.

Philip then went on with his questioning: "If, then, you are so enthusiastic an admirer of Homer, how is it that you do not aspire to his poetic skill?"<sup>1</sup> "Because," he replied, "while it would give me the greatest delight to hear the herald at Olympia proclaim the victors with strong and clear voice, yet I should not myself care to herald the victories of others; I should much rather hear my own proclaimed." With these words he tried to make it clear that while he considered Homer to be a marvellous and truly divine herald of valour, yet he regarded himself and the Homeric heroes as the athletes who strove in the contest of noble achieve-

<sup>1</sup> Referring to Alexander's statement, § 14 f., that he would not care to have been either Homer or one of Homer's heroes.

- 22 ἐν ἐτέρῳ. τῶν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων διὰ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὴν χαλεπότητα τῆς πολιορκίας, ἔτι δὲ οἶμαι διὰ τὴν ἐπιλαβοῦσαν νόσον καὶ τὴν στάσιν τῶν βασιλέων τοῦ τε Ἀγαμέμνονος καὶ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, ἀπειρηκότων ἤδη πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς δημαγωγοῦ τινος ἐπαναστάντος αὐτοῖς καὶ ταράξαντος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τὸ πλῆθος ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς, καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐμβάντες ἐβούλοντο φεύγειν, οὐδενὸς δυναμένου κατασχεῖν, οὐδὲ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἔχοντος ὅτι χρήσεται τοῖς παροῦσι
- 23 πράγμασιν. οὐκοῦν ἐνταῦθα μόνος αὐτοῦς ἐδυνήθη μετακαλέσαι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν Ὀδυσσεύς, καὶ τέλος ἔπεισε δημηγορῶν μετὰ τοῦ Νέστορος μένειν. ὥστε τοῦτο μὲν τὸ ἔργον φανερώς τῶν ῥητόρων ἐγένετο· πολλὰ δ' αὖ τις ἐπιδείξει καὶ
- 24 ἕτερα. φαίνεται δ' οὐ μόνον Ὅμηρος ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἡσίοδος οὕτω φρονῶν, ὡς φιλοσοφίας τε ἅμα καὶ ῥητορικῆς τῆς ἀληθοῦς τῷ βασιλεῖ προσήκον, ἐν οἷς φησι περὶ Καλλιόπης,
- ἦ γὰρ καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἄμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ,  
ὄντινα τιμήσωσι Διὸς κοῦραι μέγαλοιο  
γεινόμενόν τε ἴδωσι διοτρεφέων βασιλῆων.
- 25 ἔπη μὲν οὖν ποιεῖν, ὦ πάτερ, ἢ λόγους πεζοὺς συγγράφειν ὁποίας σὺ τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ἅφ' ὧν σφόδρα σέ φασιν εὐδοκιμεῖν, οὐ πάντως ἀναγκαῖον τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, εἰ μὴ γε νέοις οὖσιν

<sup>1</sup> Thersites.

<sup>2</sup> The Muse of oratory as well as of epic poetry.

<sup>3</sup> *Theogony* 80-82.

<sup>4</sup> Eight letters falsely attributed to him are extant. Four are addressed to the Athenians, one to the Thebans, the

## THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

of rhetorical skill. For when the Greeks had at last become faint-hearted in pursuing the campaign because the war had lasted so long and the siege was so difficult, and also, no doubt, because of the plague that laid hold of them and of the dissension between the kings, Agamemnon and Achilles; and when, in addition, a certain agitator<sup>1</sup> rose to oppose them and threw the assembly into confusion—at this crisis the host rushed to the ships, embarked in hot haste, and were minded to flee. Nobody was able to restrain them, and even Agamemnon knew not how to handle the situation. Now in this emergency the only one who was able to call them back and change their purpose was Odysseus, who finally, by the speech he made, and with the help of Nestor, persuaded them to remain. Consequently, this achievement was clearly due to the orators; and one could point to many other instances as well. It is evident, then, that not only Homer but Hesiod, too, held this view, implying that rhetoric in the true meaning of the term, as well as philosophy, is a proper study for the king; for the latter says of Calliope,<sup>2</sup>

‘She attendeth on kings august that the daughters  
of great Zeus

Honour and watch at their birth, those kings that  
of Zeus are nurtured.’<sup>3</sup>

But to write epic poetry, or to compose pieces in prose like those letters of yours,<sup>4</sup> father, which are said to have won you high repute, is not altogether essential for a king, except indeed when he is young

Peloponnesian allies, Aristotle, and Philip's wife, Olympias, respectively. See Hercher, *Epistolographi Graeci*, pp. 461-467.

- ἔτι καὶ σχολὴν ἄγουσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ σὲ λέγουσιν  
 ἐν Θήβαις διαπονῆσαι τὰ περὶ τοὺς λόγους·  
 26 οὐδ' αὖ φιλοσοφίας ἄπτεσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἀκρι-  
 βέστατον, ἀπλᾶστως δὲ καὶ ἀπλῶς βιοῦν<sup>1</sup> ἐν-  
 δεικνύμενον αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἔργοις φιλάνθρωπον ἦθος  
 καὶ πρᾶον καὶ δίκαιον, ἔτι δὲ ὑψηλὸν καὶ  
 ἀνδρεῖον, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ χαίροντα εὐεργεσίαις,  
 ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐγγυτάτω τῆς τῶν θεῶν φύσεως·  
 τῶν γε μὴν λόγων ἡδέως ἀκούοντα τῶν ἐκ  
 φιλοσοφίας, ὅποταν καιρός, ἅτε οὐκ ἐναντίων  
 φαινομένων, ἀλλὰ συμφώνων τοῖς αὐτοῦ τρόποις·  
 27 τέρπεσθαι δὲ ποιήσει καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν  
 οὐχ ἀπάσῃ, τῇ δὲ καλλίστῃ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπε-  
 στάτῃ, συμβουλευσάμ' ἂν τῷ γενναίῳ καὶ βασι-  
 λικῷ τὴν ψυχὴν, οἷαν μόνην ἴσμεν τὴν Ὀμήρου  
 καὶ τῶν<sup>2</sup> Ἡσιόδου τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλο  
 τι λέγει χρηστόν.  
 28 Οὐδὲ<sup>3</sup> γὰρ μουσικὴν, ἔφη, πᾶσαν μανθάνειν  
 ἐθέλοιμ' ἂν, ἀλλὰ κιθάρα μόνον ἢ λύρα χρῆσθαι  
 πρὸς θεῶν ὕμνους καὶ θεραπείας, ἔτι δὲ οἶμαι  
 τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς ἐπαίνους· οὐδέ γε  
 ἄδειν τὰ Σαπφουῦς ἢ Ἀνακρέοντος ἐρωτικὰ μέλη  
 πρέπον ἂν εἴη τοῖς βασιλευσιν, ἀλλ', εἴπερ  
 ἄρα, τῶν Στησιχόρου μελῶν τινα<sup>4</sup> ἢ Πινδάρου,  
 29 ἂν ἢ τις ἀνάγκη. τυχὸν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο  
 ἱκανὸς Ὀμηρος. Ἡ γάρ, εἶπεν ὁ Φίλιππος,  
 πρὸς κιθάραν ἢ λύραν συμφωνῆσαί τινα σοί

<sup>1</sup> Lacuna noted by Arnim; βιοῦν suggested by Capps.

<sup>2</sup> τῶν Empirius: τὴν.

<sup>3</sup> οὐδὲ Arnim: οὔτε.

<sup>4</sup> τινα added by Capps.

<sup>1</sup> Plato rejects for the citizens of his ideal Republic a good deal of the poetry that Alexander rejects for the king, but they

## THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

and has leisure, as was the case with you when, as they say, you diligently cultivated rhetorical studies in Thebes. Nor, again, is it necessary that he study philosophy to the point of perfecting himself in it; he need only live simply and without affectation, to give proof by his very conduct of a character that is humane, gentle, just, lofty, and brave as well, and, above all, one that takes delight in bestowing benefits—a trait which approaches most nearly to the nature divine. He should, indeed, lend a willing ear to the teachings of philosophy whenever opportunity offers, inasmuch as these are manifestly not opposed to his own character but in accord with it; yet I should especially counsel the noble ruler of princely soul to make poetry his delight and to read it attentively—not all poetry, however, but only the most beautiful and majestic, such as we know Homer's alone to be, and of Hesiod's the portions akin to Homer's, and perhaps sundry edifying passages in other poets."

"And so, too, with music," continued Alexander; "for I should not be willing to learn all there is in music, but only enough for playing the cithara or the lyre when I sing hymns in honour of the gods and worship them, and also, I suppose, in chanting the praises of brave men. It would surely not be becoming for kings to sing the odes of Sappho or Anacreon, whose theme is love; but if they do sing odes, let it be some of those of Stesichorus or Pindar, if sing they must. But perhaps Homer is all one needs even to that end."<sup>1</sup> "What!" exclaimed Philip, "do you think that any of Homer's lines would sound well with the cithara or the lyre?" disagree as to the influence of Homer. Plato has a good deal of fault to find with him.

δοκεῖ ἂν τῶν Ὀμήρου ; καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος γοργὸν ἐμβλέψας ὥσπερ λέων, Ἐγὼ μὲν, εἶπεν, ὦ πάτερ, οἶμαι πρέπειν πολλὰ τῶν Ὀμήρου ἐπὼν πρὸς σάλπιγγα ἄδεσθαι, μὰ Δί' οὐ τὴν ἀνακαλοῦσαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐποτρύνουσαν καὶ παρακελευομένην, οὐχ ὑπὸ γυναικείου χοροῦ λεγόμενα ἢ παρθένων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ φάλαγγος ἐνόπλου, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ Τυρταίου παρὰ τοῖς Λάκωσιν.

30 ἐνταῦθα ἐπήνεσεν ὡς καλῶς αὐτὸν εἰπόντα ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ ἀξίως τοῦ ποιητοῦ. Οὐκοῦν, ἢ δ' ὅς, καὶ τοῦτο, οὐπερ<sup>1</sup> νῦν ἐμνήσθημεν, Ὀμηρος ἐπιδείκνυσιν. τὸν γοῦν Ἀχιλλέα πεποίηκεν ὑστερίζοντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν οὐκ ἔκλυτα<sup>2</sup> οὐδὲ ἐρωτικά μέλη ἄδοντα· καίτοι φησί γε ἐρᾶν αὐτὸν τῆς Βρισηίδος· ἀλλὰ κιθάρα μὲν χρῆσθαι, μὰ Δί' οὐκ ὠνησάμενον οὐδὲ οἴκοθεν ἀγαγόντα<sup>3</sup> παρὰ τοῦ πατρός, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ἐξελόμενον ὅτε εἶλε τὰς Θήβας καὶ τὸν Ἡετίωνα ἀπέκτεινε τὸν τοῦ Ἑκτορος κηδεστήν.

31 τῇ ὄγε,  
 φησί,  
 θυμὸν ἕτερπεν· αἶειδε δ' ἄρα κλέα ἀνδρῶν,

ὥς οὐδέποτε ἐκλανθάνεσθαι δέον τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐδὲ τῶν εὐκλεῶν πράξεων, οὔτε πίνοντα οὔτε ἄδοντα, τὸν γενναῖον ἄνδρα καὶ βασιλικόν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ διατελεῖν ἢ πράττοντα αὐτὸν μέγα τι καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἢ μεμνημένον τῶν ὁμοίων.

<sup>1</sup> οὐπερ Reiske : ὑπὲρ οὗ.

<sup>2</sup> Arnim deletes οὐκ ἔκλυτα before οὐδὲ, unnecessarily.

<sup>3</sup> ἀγαγόντα Cobet : ἄγοντα.

## THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

And Alexander, glaring at him fiercely like a lion, said: "For my part, father, I believe that many of Homer's lines would properly be sung to the trumpet—not, by heavens, when it sounds the retreat, but when it peals forth the signal for the charge, and sung by no chorus of women or maids, but by a phalanx under arms. They are much to be preferred to the songs of Tyrtaeus,<sup>1</sup> which the Spartans use." At this Philip commended his son for having spoken worthily of the poet and well. "And indeed," Alexander continued, "Homer illustrates the very point we have just mentioned. He has represented Achilles, for instance, when he was loitering in the camp of the Achaeans, as singing no ribald or even amorous ditties—though he says, to be sure, that he was in love with Briseis; nay, he speaks of him as playing the cithara, and not one that he had bought, I assure you, or brought from his father's house, but one that he had plucked from the spoils when he took Thebe<sup>2</sup> and slew Eëtion, the father of Hector's wife. Homer's words are:

‘To sooth his mood he sang  
The deeds of heroes.’<sup>3</sup>

Which means that a noble and princely man should never forget valour and glorious deeds whether he be drinking or singing, but should without ceasing be engaged in some great and some admirable action himself, or else in recalling deeds of that kind."

<sup>1</sup> These were elegies, exhorting the Spartans to deeds of valour, and marching songs. Due to their fire and enthusiasm, they are given a large share of credit for the final victory of the Spartans over the Messenians.

<sup>2</sup> Thebe, or Thebes, a famous ancient town in Mysia.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad* 9. 189.



- 32 Ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, ἐπιδεικνύ-  
μενος τὴν αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐτύγχανε  
τὸν μὲν "Ομηρον ἀγαπῶν, τὸν Ἀχιλλέα δὲ  
οὐ μόνον ἐθαύμαζεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξηλοτύπει τῆς  
Ὀμήρου ποιήσεως, ὥσπερ οἱ καλοὶ παῖδες  
ζηλοτυποῦσι τοὺς καλοὺς ἐνίοτε κρειττόνων  
ἐραστῶν τυγχάνοντας. τῶν<sup>1</sup> δὲ ἄλλων ποιη-  
33 τῶν οὐ σφύδρα ἐφρόντιζε. Στῆσιχόρου δὲ καὶ  
Πινδάρου ἐπεμνήσθη, τοῦ μὲν ὅτι μιμητῆς  
Ὀμήρου γενέσθαι δοκεῖ καὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν οὐκ  
ἀναξίως ἐποίησε τῆς Τροίας, τοῦ δὲ Πινδάρου  
διὰ τε τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς φύσεως καὶ ὅτι  
τὸν πρόγονον αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁμώνυμον ἐπήνεσεν  
Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν φιλέλληνα ἐπικληθέντα ποιή-  
σας εἰς αὐτόν,

ὀλβίῳ ἐπώνυμε Δαρδανιδᾶν.

διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ Θήβας ὕστερον πορθῶν  
μόνην κατέλιπε τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἐκείνου κελεύσας  
ἐπιγράψαι,

Πινδάρου τοῦ μουσοποιοῦ τὴν στέγην μὴ  
κίετε.

ἦπου πολλὴν ἠπίστατο χάριν τοῖς αὐτὸν ἐγ-

<sup>1</sup> Before τῶν the MSS. have a sentence which Arnim has rejected as an interpolation: τὸν δὲ Ἀγαμέμνονα οὐκ ἐμακάριζεν· ἥλιπε γὰρ πολὺ πλείονων ἄρξειν αὐτὸς ἢ ὅσων ἐκείνος. "Agamemnon, however, he did not envy, since he had hopes of ruling over a far greater number of subjects himself than the hosts over which Agamemnon had ruled."

<sup>1</sup> i.e. in his conversation with Philip. See above.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Alexander I, son of Amyntas I. He ruled from 498-454 B.C.

## THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

In this fashion Alexander would talk with his father, thereby revealing his innermost thoughts. The fact is that while he loved Homer, for Achilles he felt not only admiration but even jealousy because of Homer's poesy, just as handsome boys are sometimes jealous of others who are handsome, because these have more powerful lovers. To the other poets he gave hardly a thought; but he did mention<sup>1</sup> Stesichorus and Pindar, the former because he was looked upon as an imitator of Homer and composed a "Capture of Troy," a creditable work, and Pindar because of the brilliancy of his genius and the fact that he had extolled the ancestor whose name he bore: Alexander,<sup>2</sup> nicknamed the Philhellene, to whom the poet alluded in the verse

"Namesake of the blest sons of Dardanus."<sup>3</sup>

This is the reason why, when later he sacked Thebes,<sup>4</sup> he left only that poet's house standing,<sup>5</sup> directing that this notice be posted upon it:

"Set not on fire the roof of Pindar, maker of song."<sup>6</sup>

Undoubtedly he was most grateful to those who

<sup>1</sup> Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, Pindar. Fragment 120. See also Pindar, p. 578 in L.C.L. An. . . . or Paris, son of Priam and descendant of Dardanus, the first king of Troy.

<sup>2</sup> In 335 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> . . . (1) tells the same story without giving the . . . the story is that Alexander protected the . . . descendants.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Milton, *Sonnet 8*:

The great Emathian conqueror bid spare  
The house of Pindarus when temple and tower  
Went to the ground.

κωμιάζουσι μὴ φαύλως, οὕτως ἄγαν φιλότιμος ὢν.

- 34 Τί δέ; εἶπεν ὁ Φίλιππος, ὦ παῖ, πάνυ γὰρ ἡδέως ἀκούω σου τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγοντος, οὐδὲ οἴκησιν ἀξιοῖς κατεσκευάσθαι τὸν βασιλέα πρὸς ἡδονὴν κεκοσμημένην χρυσῷ καὶ ἡλέκτρῳ καὶ ἐλέφαντι τοῖς πολυτίμοις; Οὐδαμῶς, εἶπεν, ὦ πάτερ, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον σκύλοις τε καὶ ὄπλοις πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν· καὶ τά γε ἱερὰ τοιούτοις κόσμοις κοσμοῦντα τοὺς θεοὺς<sup>1</sup> ἱλάσκεσθαι καθάπερ ὁ Ἑκτωρ ἡξίου, προκαλούμενος τὸν ἄριστον τῶν Ἀχαιῶν· ὅτι κρατήσας τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἀποδώσει τοῖς συμμάχοις, τὰ δὲ ὅπλα, ἔφη, σκυλεύσω,

καὶ κρεμόω ποτὶ νηὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκάτοιο.

- 35 τῷ παντὶ γὰρ κρείττων οὗτος κόσμος τῶν ἱερῶν ἢ σμαράγδων καὶ σαρδίων καὶ ὀνύχων, οἷος ἦν ὁ Σαρδαναπάλλου περὶ Νίνον. οὐ γὰρ βασιλέως τὰ τοιαῦτα φιλοτιμήματα οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλ' ἀνοήτου μὲν παίγνια κόρης, ἀκολάστου δὲ γυναικός.
- 36 οὐκουν οὐδὲ Ἀθηναίους οὕτως, ἔφη, ζηλῶ τῆς δαπάνης καὶ πολυτελείας τῆς περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ὅσον τῶν ἔργων ἃ ἔπραξαν οἱ πρότερον· τὸν γὰρ ἀκινάκην τὸν Μαρδονίου πολὺ σεμνότερον καὶ κρεῖττον ἀνάθημα ἔχουσιν καὶ τὰς Λακῶνων ἀσπίδας τῶν ἐν Πύλῳ ποτὲ

<sup>1</sup> κοσμοῦντα τοὺς θεοὺς inserted by Capps as supplying the requisite thought.

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 7. 83.

<sup>2</sup> A sword said to be that of Mardonius, the Persian general slain at the battle of Plataea, 479 B.C., was hung up in the

## THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

eulogized him worthily, when he was so particular as this in seeking renown.

"Well, then, my son," said Philip, "since I am glad indeed to hear you speak in this fashion, tell me, is it your opinion that the king should not even make himself a dwelling beautified with precious ornaments of gold and amber and ivory to suit his pleasure?"

"By no means should he, father," he replied; "such ornaments should consist rather of spoils and armour taken from the enemy. He should also embellish the temples with such ornaments and thus propitiate the gods. This was Hector's opinion when he challenged the best of the Achaeans, declaring that if victorious he would deliver the body to the allied host, 'but the arms,' said he, 'I shall strip off and

'hang them high

Within the temple of the archer-god Apollo.'<sup>1</sup>

For such adornment of sacred places is altogether superior to jasper, carnelian, and onyx, with which Sardanapallus bedecked Nineveh. Indeed, such ostentation is by no means seemly for a king though it may furnish amusement to some silly girl or extravagant woman. And so I do not envy the Athenians, either, so much for the extravagant way they embellished their city and their temples as for the deeds their forefathers wrought; for in the sword of Mardonius<sup>2</sup> and the shields of the Spartans who were captured at Pylos<sup>3</sup> they have a far grander and more excellent dedication to the gods than they have

Parthenon at Athens, where Pausanias reported having seen it. See Pausanias I. 27.

<sup>3</sup> In 425 B.C. during the Peloponnesian War: 292 picked Spartan prisoners were taken alive and brought to Athens. See Thucydides II. 4. 39-40.

- αλόντων ἢ τὰ προπύλαια τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ  
 τὸ Ὀλύμπιον ἀπὸ πλείονων ἢ μυρίων ταλάντων.  
 37 Οὐκοῦν, ἢ δ' ὅς ὁ Φίλιππος, ἐνταῦθα τὸν  
 "Ὀμηρον οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις ἐπαινεῖν. τὰ γὰρ τοῦ  
 Ἀλκίονος βασιλεία, ἀνδρὸς Ἑλληνος καὶ νησιώ-  
 του, διεκόσμησεν οὐ μόνον κήποις καὶ φυτοῖς  
 καὶ ὕδασι, ὡς ἥδιστα ἐνοικεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγάλ-  
 μασι χρυσοῖς. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον τὴν τοῦ Μενελάου  
 οἴκησιν, καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ στρατείας ἤκοντος, ἄρ'  
 οὐ Περσικὴν τινα καὶ Μηδικὴν ἐξηγεῖται, σχεδόν  
 τε οὐ πολὺ ἀποδέουσιν Σεμιράμιδος ἢ Δαρείου  
 38 τε καὶ Ξέρξου τῶν βασιλείων; φησὶ γοῦν,

ὅσπερ γὰρ ἡελίου αἴγλη πέλεν ἢ σελήνης  
 δῶμα καθ' ὑψερεφές Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο,  
 χρυσοῦ τ' ἡλέκτρον τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἢ ἐλέ-  
 φαντος.

- 39 τοῖς γὰρ Τρωικοῖς σκύλοις ἐχρήν μᾶλλον λάμ-  
 πειν αὐτὸ ἢ τούτοις κατὰ γε τὴν σὴν διάνοιαν.  
 καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπισχών, Οὐκ ἔγωγε, εἶπε,  
 τὸν "Ὀμηρον εἴσειμι μοι δοκῶ ἀναπολόγητον·  
 ἴσως γὰρ πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Μενελάου τρόπον ἐποίησε  
 τὰ βασιλεία, ὃν φησι μόνον εἶναι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν  
 40 μαλθακὸν αἰχμητήν. σχεδὸν γὰρ οὖν ἔοικεν  
 οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν μάτην ὁ ποιητὴς οὗτος  
 λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ στολὴν καὶ οἴκησιν καὶ δίαιταν

<sup>1</sup> Temple of Olympian Zeus, east of the Acropolis, some columns of which are still standing; said to have been begun by Peisistratus about 535 B.C. and finished by the Emperor Hadrian about 125-130 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> As a talent was worth more than \$1000, the cost was over \$10,000,000.

## THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

in the Propylaea of the Acropolis and in the Olympi-  
eum,<sup>1</sup> which cost more than ten thousand talents.”<sup>2</sup>

“In this particular, then,” said Philip, “you could not endorse Homer; for he has embellished the palace of Alcinoüs,<sup>3</sup> a Greek and an islander, not only with gardens and orchards and fountains, and thus made it a most charming home, but with statues of gold also. Nay, more, does he not describe the dwelling of Menelaus, for all that he had just got back from a campaign, as though it were some Persian or Median establishment, almost equalling the palaces of Semiramis,<sup>4</sup> or of Darius and Xerxes? He says, for instance:

‘A radiance bright, as of the sun or moon,  
Throughout the high-roofed halls of Atreus’ son  
Did shine.’

‘The sheen of bronze,  
Of gold, of silver, and of ivory.’<sup>5</sup>

And yet, according to your conception, it should have shone, not with such materials, but rather with Trojan spoils!” Here Alexander checked him and said, “I have no notion at all of letting Homer go undefended. For it is possible that he described the palace of Menelaus to accord with his character, since he is the only one of the Achaeans whom he makes out to be a faint-hearted warrior.<sup>6</sup> Indeed it is fairly clear that this poet never elsewhere speaks without a purpose, but repeatedly depicts the dress, dwelling,

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey* 7. 84-132.

<sup>2</sup> Famous Assyrian queen whose capital was Nineveh.

<sup>3</sup> *Odyssey* 4. 45-6, to which line 73 is tacked on somewhat

<sup>4</sup> *Odyssey* 4. 45-6, to which line 73 is tacked on somewhat

- πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἦθος πολλάκις ἀπεικάζει.  
 διὰ τοῦτο τὰ μὲν ἐν Φαίαξι βασιλεία ἐκόσμησεν  
 ἄλσεσί τε καὶ ὀπώραις δι' ἔτους καὶ κρήναις  
 41 ἀενάοις, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον τὸ τῆς Καλυψοῦς, ἅτε  
 ὥραίας καὶ φιλανθρώπου θεᾶς ἐν νήσῳ καθ'  
 αὐτὴν ἀποκισμένης· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ εὐώδη δια-  
 φερóντως φησὶ τὴν νήσον τῶν ἠδίστων ἐν αὐτῇ  
 καιομένων<sup>1</sup> θυμιαμάτων, τοῦτο δὲ σύσκιον δέν-  
 δροις εὐθαλέσι, κύκλῳ δὲ περὶ τὸ σπήλαιον  
 ἄμπελον περιήκουσαν ὥραιαν, βότρυσι βριθο-  
 μένην, ἔμπροσθεν δὲ λειμῶνας ἀπαλούς ἀνα-  
 μίξ σελίνων τε καὶ ἐτέρων, ἐν δὲ τῇ μέσῳ κρήνας  
 τέτταρας λαμπροῦ καὶ διαφανοῦς ὕδατος πάντοσε  
 ἀπορρέοντος, ἅτε οὐκ ὄντος ἑτεροκλινοῦς οὐδὲ  
 ἀνίσου τοῦ χωρίου. πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα ὑπερ-  
 φυῶς ἐρωτικά καὶ ἡδέα, κατὰ τὸν τρόπον οἶμαι  
 42 τῆς θεᾶς. τὴν δέ γε τοῦ Μενελάου πολυχρή-  
 ματον καὶ πολύχρυσον αὐλήν, καθάπερ οἶμαι  
 τῶν Ἀσιαγενῶν τινος βασιλέων. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος  
 ἦν οὐ μακρὰν τοῦ τε Ταντάλου καὶ Πέλοπος,  
 ὅθεν οἶμαι καὶ τὸν χορὸν Εὐριπίδης εἰς τοῦτο  
 αἰνιττόμενον πεποίηκεν ἐν τῇ προσόδῳ τοῦ  
 βασιλέως,

Μενέλαος δὲ<sup>2</sup>

πολὺ δ' ἄβροσύνῃ δῆλος ὀράσθαι  
 τοῦ Τανταλιδᾶν<sup>3</sup> ἐξ αἵματος ὦν.

- 43 οὐ μὴν τὴν γε τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως οἴκησιν οὐδαμῶς  
 τούτοις ὁμοίαν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἂν ἀσφαλοῦς ἀνδρὸς  
 πεποίηκε πρὸς αὐτὸ τοῦτο παρεσκευασμένην.  
 λέγει γὰρ οὕτως·

<sup>1</sup> καιομένων added by Wilamowitz.

<sup>2</sup> Μενέλαος ἔναξ Euripides. <sup>3</sup> τῶν Τανταλιδῶν Euripides.

## THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

and manner of life of people so as to accord with their character. This is why he beautified the palace of the Phaeacians with groves, perennial fruits, and ever-flowing springs; and again, with even greater skill, the grotto of Calypso, since she was a beautiful and kindly goddess living off by herself on an island. For he says<sup>1</sup> that the island was wonderfully fragrant with the odours of sweetest incense burning there; and again, that it was overshadowed with luxuriant trees; that round about the grotto rambled a beautiful vine laden with clusters, while before it lay soft meadows with a confusion of parsley and other plants; and, finally, that in its centre were four springs of crystal-clear water which flowed out in all directions, seeing that the ground was not on a slope or uneven. Now all these touches are marvellously suggestive of love and pleasure, and to my thinking reveal the character of the goddess. The court of Menelaus, however, he depicts as rich in possessions and rich in gold, as though he were some Asiatic king, it seems to me. And, in fact, Menelaus was not far removed in line of descent from Tantalus and Pelops;<sup>2</sup> which I think is the reason why Euripides has his chorus make a veiled allusion to his effeminacy when the king comes in:

‘ And Menelaus,  
By his daintiness so clear to behold,  
Sprung from the Tantalid stock.’<sup>3</sup>

The dwelling of Odysseus, however, is of a different kind altogether; he being a cautious man, Homer has given him a home furnished to suit his character. For he says:

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey* 5. 55-74.

<sup>2</sup> Tantalus, Pelops, Atreus, Menelaus.

<sup>3</sup> *Orestes* 349-351.



# DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἐξ ἐτέρων ἕτερ' ἐστίν, ἐπήσκηται δέ οἱ αὐλῇ  
τοίχῳ καὶ θριγκοῖσι· θύραι δ' εὐεργέες εἰσὶ  
δικλίδες· οὐκ ἂν τίς μιν ἀνὴρ ὑπεροπλίσσαιτο.

- 44 Δεῖ δὲ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τὰ μὲν ὡς συμβουλεύοντος  
καὶ παραινούντος ἀποδέχεσθαι, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἐξηγου-  
μένου μόνον, πολλὰ δὲ ὡς ὀνειδίζοντος καὶ κατα-  
γελῶντος. ἔοικέ γε<sup>1</sup> μὴν κατὰ<sup>2</sup> τὰ περὶ κοίτην καὶ  
τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν ἱκανὸς εἶναι παιδεύειν  
"Ομηρος ἥρωικὴν τινα καὶ βασιλικὴν τῷ ὄντι  
παιδευσιν, ὡς τὰς Λακωνικὰς ἐστιάσεις τῶν  
φιλιτίων δείπνων μαθόντα παρ' ἐκείνου Λυκοῦρ-  
45 γον νομοθετῆσαι τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις. ἐπεὶ τοι  
καὶ φασιν αὐτὸν ἐπαινέτην Ὀμήρου γενέσθαι,  
καὶ πρῶτον ἀπὸ Κρήτης ἢ τῆς Ἰωνίας κομίσαι  
τὴν ποίησιν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. τὸν γοῦν Διο-  
μῆδην πάνυ στερεῶς κατέκλινεν ἐπὶ βύρσης ἀ-  
γραύλου βοός, κύκλῳ περιστήσας τὰ δόρατα ὀρθὰ  
ἐπὶ σαυρωτῆρος, οὐ κόσμον χάριν, ἀλλ' ἔτοιμα  
λαβεῖν. εὐωχεῖ γε μὴν ἀπὸ κρεῶν τοὺς ἥρωας,  
καὶ τούτων βοείων, δῆλον ὅτι ἰσχύος, οὐχ  
46 ἡδονῆς ἕνεκεν. τὸν γοῦν Ἀγαμέμνονα τὸν ξυμ-  
πάντων βασιλέα καὶ πλουσιώτατον βοῦν αἰεί  
φησι θύειν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον καλεῖν τοὺς ἀρίστους.  
καὶ τὸν Αἴαντα μετὰ τὴν νίκην φιλοφρονεῖται  
47 τοῖς νώτοις τοῦ βοός. ἰχθύων δὲ οὐδέποτε  
γενομένους αὐτοὺς ἐποίησε καὶ ταῦτα ἐπὶ

<sup>1</sup> γε added by Emperius.

<sup>2</sup> κατὰ Capps : καί.

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey* 17. 266-268.

<sup>2</sup> The principal meal of the day was eaten in public by the ruling classes of Sparta and Crete. The Spartans built for the purpose. Attendance at these meals, as at the games, was com-

## THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

‘Rooms upon rooms are there : around its court  
Are walls and battlements, and folding doors  
Shut fast the entrance ; no man may condemn  
Its strength.’<sup>1</sup>

“ But there are passages where we must understand the poet to be giving advice and admonition, others where he merely narrates, and many where his purpose is censure and ridicule. Certainly, when he describes going to bed or the routine of daily life, Homer seems a competent instructor for an education that may truthfully be described as heroic and kingly. Lycurgus, for instance, may have got from him his idea of the common mess<sup>2</sup> of the Spartans when he founded their institutions. In fact, the story is that he came to be an admirer of Homer and was the first who brought his poems from Crete, or from Ionia, to Greece. To illustrate my point : the poet represents Diomedes as reclining on a hard bed, the ‘hide of an ox that dwelleth afield’ ; round about him he had planted his spears upright, butts downward, not for the sake of order but to have them ready for use.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, he regales his heroes on meat, and beef at that, evidently to give them strength, not pleasure.<sup>4</sup> For instance, he is always talking about an ox being slain by Agamemnon, who was king over all and the richest, and of his inviting the chieftains to enjoy it. And to Ajax, after his victory, Agamemnon gives the chine of an ox as a mark of favour.<sup>5</sup> But Homer never represents his heroes as partaking of fish although they are

pulsory, and they were an important factor in strengthening both the national and the class consciousness of the participants.

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 10. 150-156.

<sup>4</sup> *Iliad* 7. 314.

<sup>5</sup> *Iliad* 7. 321.

- θαλάττῃ<sup>1</sup> στρατοπεδεύοντας, καίτοι τὸν Ἑλλήσ-  
 ποντον, ὥσπερ ἐστίν, ἰχθυόοντα ἐκάστοτε  
 καλῶν· πάνυ γὰρ ὀρθῶς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀπεμνη-  
 μόνευσεν ὁ Πλάτων. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοὺς μνηστῆρας  
 ἰχθύσιν ἐστὶν, σφόδρα ἀσελγεῖς καὶ τρυφεροὺς  
 48 ὄντας, ἐν Ἰθάκῃ καὶ ταῦτα ἐστιωμένους. ὅτι  
 γε μὴν οὐκ ἄλλως διέξεισι ταῦτα, φανερώς  
 αὐτὸς ἀποφαίνεται ποίαν τινὰ δεῖ τὴν τροφήν  
 εἶναι καὶ πρὸς τί γιγνομένην. ἦν γὰρ ἂν θέλῃ  
 ἐπαινέσαι, μενοεικέα δαῖτά φησι, τὴν οἴαν τε  
 παρέχειν μένος, τουτέστιν ἰσχύν. ταῦτα δὲ  
 λέγει διδάσκων καὶ παραινῶν ὡς δεῖ καὶ τρα-  
 πέζης ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς, ἐπεὶ τροφῆς  
 γε παντοίας καὶ πολυτελείας οὐκ ἐτύγχανεν  
 ἄπειρος ὢν, ὥστε τοὺς περὶ ταῦτα νῦν ἐπτοη-  
 μένους Πέρσας καὶ Σύρους καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 Ἰταλιώτας καὶ Ἰωνας μὴδὲ ἐγγὺς ἐφικνεῖσθαι  
 τῆς παρ' Ὀμήρῳ χορηγίας καὶ ἀβρότητας.  
 49 Τί δέ, εἶπεν ὁ Φίλιππος, οὐ δίδωσιν ἐσθῆτα ὡς  
 οἷόν τε καλλίστην τοῖς ἥρωσι; Νὴ Δία γε, ἢ  
 δ' ὅς,<sup>2</sup> οὐ μέντοι γυναικείαν οὐδὲ ποικίλην, ἀλλὰ  
 πορφύρα μόνον ἐκόσμησε τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα, καὶ  
 τὸν Ὀδυσσεά δὲ μιᾷ χλαίνῃ τῇ οἴκοθεν. οὐδὲ

<sup>1</sup> θαλάττῃ Cobet: θαλάττης.

<sup>2</sup> ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος after ὅς deleted by Capps as a gloss.

<sup>1</sup> Republic 404 b.

<sup>2</sup> Odyssey 20. 250 f. The fish in the streams of Asia Minor are notorious for their poor flavour, even to this day. This may account for Homer's . . . See John A. Scott in the . . . 528 f, and Vol. 18, p. 242 f.

<sup>3</sup> μένος does often mean "might," but the etymology of

## THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

encamped by the sea; and yet he regularly calls the Hellespont fish-abounding, as in truth it is; Plato<sup>1</sup> has very properly called attention to this striking fact. Nay, he does not even serve fish to the suitors at their banquet though they are exceedingly licentious and luxury-loving men, are in Ithaca and, what is more, engaged in feasting.<sup>2</sup> Now because Homer does not give such details without a purpose, he is evidently declaring his own opinion as to what kind of nourishment is best, and what it is good for. If he wishes to commend a feast, he uses the expression 'might-giving,' that is to say, 'able to supply might' or strength.<sup>3</sup> In the passages in question he is giving instruction and advice as to how good men should take thought even for their table, since, as it happened, he was not unacquainted with food of all kinds and with high living. So true is this that the peoples of to-day who have fairly gone mad in this direction—the Persians, Syrians and, among the Greeks, the Italiots,<sup>4</sup> and Ionians—come nowhere near attaining the prodigality and luxury we find in Homer."

"But how is it that he does not give the finest possible apparel to his heroes?" Philip enquired. "Why, by Zeus, he does," replied Alexander, "though it is no womanish or embroidered apparel; Agamemnon is the only one that wears a purple robe,<sup>5</sup> and even Odysseus has but one purple cloak that he brought from home.<sup>6</sup> For Homer believes

*μενοεικής* now accepted is: "gratifying the desire"; hence "abundant," "agreeable." Dio gives an incorrect etymology and meaning.

<sup>4</sup> The Greeks of Southern Italy (Magna Graecia).

<sup>5</sup> *Iliad* 8. 221.

<sup>6</sup> *Odyssey* 19. 225.

- γὰρ οἶεται δεῖν "Ομηρος τὸν ἡγεμόνα φαίνεσθαι  
ταπεινὸν οὐδὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ ιδιώταις ὅμοιον,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ στολῇ καὶ ὀπλίσει διαφέρειν παρὰ  
τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον καὶ σεμνότερον, οὐ μὴν  
τρυφῶντά γε οὐδὲ σπουδιάζοντα τὰ τοιαῦτα.<sup>1</sup>  
50 τὸν γοῦν Κᾶρα τὸν χρυσῷ καλλωπιζόμενον εἰς  
τὸν πόλεμον μάλα ὑβριστικῶς ἐλοιδόρησεν, εἰπών,  
ὃς καὶ χρυσὸν ἔχων πόλεμόνδ' ἔεν ἡύτε κούρη  
νήπιος, οὐδ' ἄρα οἱ τό γ' ἐπήρκεσε λυγρὸν  
ὄλεθρον,  
ἀλλ' ἐδάμη ὑπὸ χερσὶ ποδώκεος Λιακίδαο  
ἐν ποταμῷ· χρυσὸν δ' Ἀχιλεὺς ἐκόμισσε δαΐ-  
φρων·

- 51 καταγελῶν αὐτοῦ τῆς τρυφῆς ἅμα καὶ ἀφ-  
ροσύνης, ὅτι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἅθλα ἐκόμιζε τοῦ  
θανάτου σχεδόν. οὐκ οὖν φαίνεται χρυσοφορίας  
ἐπαινῶν ὁ "Ομηρος, καὶ ταῦτα εἰς πόλεμον,  
ψελίων τε καὶ στρεπτῶν, ἔτι δὲ χρυσῶν φαλά-  
ρων καὶ χαλινῶν ὅποια τοὺς Πέρσας φασὶν  
ἐπιτηδεύειν· οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσιν ἐπιτιμητὴν "Ομηρον  
τῶν πολεμικῶν.  
52 Ἐκ δὲ τούτων τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τοὺς τε  
ἄρχοντας πεποίηκεν ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος  
εὐτακτον. προΐασι γοῦν αὐτῷ

σιγῇ, δειδιότες σημάντορας,

οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μετὰ πολλοῦ θορύβου καὶ ἀτα-  
ξίας, ταῖς γεράνοις ὁμοίως· ὥς τοῦτο μάλιστα  
σωτήριον καὶ νικηφόρον ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις, τὸ μὴ

<sup>1</sup> τὰ τοιαῦτα added by Paton.

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 2. 872-875.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* 4. 431.

## THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

that a commander should not be mean of appearance or look like the crowd of private soldiers, but should stand out from the rest in both garb and armour so as to show his greater importance and dignity, yet without being a fop or fastidious about such things. He roundly rebuked the Carian, for instance, who decked himself out for the war in trappings of gold. These are his words:

‘ who, madly vain,  
Went to the battle pranked like a young girl  
In golden ornaments. They spared him not  
The bitter doom of death; he fell beneath  
The hand of swift Aeacides within  
The river’s channel. There the great in war,  
Achilles, spoiled Nomion of his gold.’<sup>1</sup>

Thus he ridicules him for his folly as well as his vanity in that he practically carried to the foemen a prize for slaying him. Homer, therefore, clearly does not approve the wearing of gold, particularly on going into a battle, whether bracelets and necklaces or even such golden head-gear and bridles for one’s horses as the Persians are said to affect; for they have no Homer to be their censor in affairs of war.

“By inculcating such conduct as the following, he has made his officers good and his soldiers well disciplined. For instance, he has them advance

‘ silently, fearing their leaders’<sup>2</sup>

whereas the barbarians advance with great noise and confusion, like cranes,<sup>3</sup> thus showing that it is important for safety and victory in battle that the soldiers

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 3. 1-9; 4. 431.

ἀδεεῖς εἶναι τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοὺς στρατιώτας.  
 ὅσοι δ' ἂν ὦσιν ἄφοβοι τῶν σφετέρων ἀρχόντων,  
 53 οὗτοι τάχιστα ἂν φοβοῦντο τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ  
 μέντοι καὶ νικῶντας τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς καθ' ἡσυχίαν  
 φησὶ στρατοπεδεύειν· παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Τρωσὶν  
 ἐπειδὴ τι πλεονεκτεῖν ἔδοξαν, εὐθύς εἶναι δι'  
 ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς

αὐλῶν συρίγγων τ' ἐνοπὴν ὁμαδὸν τ' ἀν-  
 θρώπων·

ὥς καὶ τοῦτο ἱκανὸν σημεῖον ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας,  
 οἵτινες ἂν ἐγκρατῶς τὰς εὐτυχίας ἢ τὸνναντίον  
 51 μεθ' ὕβρεως φέρωσιν. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν, ὦ πάτερ,  
 ἱκανώτατος σωφρονιστῆς "Ὀμηρος δοκεῖ<sup>1</sup> καὶ ὁ  
 τούτῳ πειρώμενος τὸν νοῦν προσέχειν εὐτυ-  
 χέστατός τε καὶ ἄριστος βασιλεύς. αὐτὸς γὰρ  
 σαφῶς ὑποτίθεται δύο τὰς βασιλικωτάτας ἀρετὰς  
 τήν τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην, ὅπου φησὶν,

ἀμφότερον, βασιλεύς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ'  
 αἰχμητής,

ὥς τῶν ἄλλων ταύταις συνεπομένων.

55 Οὐ μέντοι μόνον αὐτὸν οἶμαι δεῖν διαφέρειν  
 τὸν βασιλέα πρὸς τὸ ἀνδρεῖον καὶ σεμνόν, ἀλλὰ  
 μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκούειν μήτ' αὐλούντων μήτε  
 κιθαριζόντων μήτε ἀδόντων ἀνειμένα μέλη καὶ  
 τρυφερά, μηδὲ αὖ λόγων διεφθορότων κακοῦς  
 ζήλους παραδέχεσθαι, πρὸς ἡδονὴν τῶν ἀμα-  
 56 θεστάτων γεγονότας, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα  
 πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μάλιστα ἐκβαλεῖν ὥς πορρωτάτω  
 καὶ ἀποπέμψαι τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς, ἔπειτα τῆς

<sup>1</sup> δοκεῖ added by Arnim.

## THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

stand in awe of their commanders. For those who are without fear of their own officers would be the first to be afraid of the enemy. Furthermore, he says that even when they had won a victory the Achaeans kept quiet in their camp,<sup>1</sup> but that among the Trojans, as soon as they thought they had gained any advantage, at once there were throughout the night

‘the sound

Of flutes and fifes, and tumult of the crowd.’<sup>2</sup>

implying that here also we have an excellent indication of virtue or vice according as men bear their successes with self-restraint, or, on the contrary, with reckless abandon. And so to me, father, Homer seems a most excellent disciplinarian, and he who tries to give heed to him will be a highly successful and exemplary king. For he clearly takes for granted himself that the pre-eminently kingly virtues are two—courage and justice. Mark what he says,

‘An excellent king and warrior mighty withal.’<sup>3</sup>

as though all the other virtues followed in their train.

“However, I do not believe that the king should simply be distinguished in his own person for courage and dignity, but that he should pay no heed to other people either when they play the flute or the harp, or sing wanton and voluptuous songs; nor should he tolerate the mischievous craze for filthy language that has come into vogue for the delight of fools; nay, he should cast out all such things and banish them to the uttermost distance from his own soul, first and foremost, and then from the capital of his kingdom—I

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 24. 1-3.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* 10. 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad* 3. 179.



βασιλευούσης πόλεως, γέλωτάς τε ἀκράτους καὶ  
 τοιούτου γέλωτος ποιητὰς μετὰ σκωμμάτων,  
 ἐμμέτρου τε καὶ ἀμέτρου<sup>1</sup> ὀρχήσεις τε<sup>2</sup> πρὸς  
 τούτοις καταλύειν ἀσελγεῖς καὶ σχήματα ἐται-  
 ρικὰ γυναικῶν ἐν ὀρχήσεσιν ἀκολάστοις, αὐλη-  
 μάτων τε ὀξεῖς καὶ παρανόμους ῥυθμούς καὶ  
 57 κατεαγότα μέλη ἀμούσοις καμπαῖς καὶ πολυ-  
 φώνων ὀργάνων ποικιλίας. μόνην δὲ ᾧδὴν μὲν  
 ἄσεται καὶ παραδέξεται τὴν τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ πρέ-  
 πουσαν μάλα ἰσχυρὰν καὶ διάτορον, οὐχ ἡδοιῆν  
 οὐδὲ ῥαθυμίαν φέρουσαν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, ἀλλ'  
 ἀμήχανον φόβον καὶ θόρυβον, οἷαν ὃ τε Ἄρης  
 αὐτὸς ἡγείρεν,

ὁξὺ κατ' ἀκροτάτης πόλιος Τρώεσσι κελεύων,  
 ὃ τε Ἀχιλλεὺς φθεγξάμενος μόνον, πρὶν ὀφθῆναι,  
 τροπὴν ἐποίησε τῶν Τρώων, καὶ δώδεκα ἀνδράσιν  
 αἴτιος ὑπῆρξεν ὀλέθρου περὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν ἄρμασι  
 58 καὶ ὅπλοις· καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ποιηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ  
 τῶν Μουσῶν, τὴν ἐπινίκιον, οἷον ἐκέλευεν Ἀχιλ-  
 λεὺς τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τὸν παιᾶνα λέγειν ἅμα τῇ  
 τοῦ Ἑκτορος ἀγωγῇ πρὸς τὰς ναῦς αὐτὸς  
 ἐξάρχων,

νῦν δ' ἄγ' αἰείδοντες παιήονα, κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν  
 νηυσὶν ἐπὶ γλαφυρῇσι νεώμεθα, τουνδε δ'  
 ἄγωμεν.

ἡράμεθα μέγα κῦδος, ἐπέφνομεν Ἑκτορα δῖον,  
 ᾧ Τρώες κατὰ ἄστυ θεῶ ὥς εὐχετόωντο.

<sup>1</sup> ἐμμέτρου τε καὶ ἀμέτρου Wilamowitz: ἐμμέτρους τε καὶ ἀμέτρους.

<sup>2</sup> τε added by Reiske.

## THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

mean such things as ribald jests and those who compose them, whether in verse or in prose, along with scurrilous gibes—then, in addition, he should do away with indecent dancing and the lascivious posturing of women in licentious dances as well as the shrill and riotous measures played on the flute, syncopated music full of discordant turns, and motley combinations of noisy clanging instruments. One song only will he sing or permit to be sung—the song that comports with the God of War, full of vigour, ringing clear, and stirring in the hearer no feeling of delight or languidness, but rather an overpowering fear and tumult; in short, such a song as Ares himself awoke, as he

‘ shrilly yelled, encouraging  
The men of Troy, as on the city heights  
He stood.’<sup>1</sup>

or as Achilles when, at the mere sound of his voice and before he could be seen, he turned the Trojans to flight and thus caused the destruction of twelve heroes midst their own chariots and arms.<sup>2</sup> Or it might be like the triumphal song composed by the Muses for the celebration of victory, like the pæan which Achilles bade the Achaeans chant as he brought Hector’s body to the ships, he himself leading :

‘ Now then, ye Achaean youth, move on and chant  
A pæan, while, returning to the fleet,  
We bring great glory with us ; we have slain  
The noble Hector, whom, throughout their town,  
The Trojans ever worshipped like a god.’<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 20. 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* 18. 228–231.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad* 22. 391–394.

59 ἔτι δὲ οἶμαι τὴν παρακλητικὴν, οἷα ἡ τῶν  
 Λακωνικῶν ἐμβατηρίων, μάλα πρέπουσα τῇ  
 Λυκούργου πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν  
 ἐκείνοις·

ἄγετ', ὦ Σπάρτας εὐάνδρου  
 κούροι πατέρων πολιητᾶν,  
 λαιᾷ μὲν ἵτυν προβίλεσθε,  
 δόρυ δ' εὐτόλμως πάλλουντες,<sup>1</sup>  
 μὴ φειδόμενοι τᾶς ζωᾶς·  
 οὐ γὰρ πάτριον τῇ Σπάρτᾳ.

60 Χορεύματα δὲ καὶ χοροὺς ἀνάλογον τούτοις  
 οὐ σφαλλομένους οὐδὲ ἀκρατεῖς, ἀλλὰ ὡς οἶόν  
 τε ἰσχυροὺς καὶ σώφρονας ἐπαίγειν ἐν καθεστῶτι  
 ῥυθμῷ· ὄρχησίν γε μὴν τὴν ἐνόπλιον, τὴν  
 γιγνομένην τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπαρχὴν ἅμα καὶ μελέτην  
 τῶν πολεμικῶν,<sup>2</sup> ἧς φησιν ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ τὸν  
 Μηριόνην ἔμπειρον εἶναι· τῶν γὰρ Τρώων τινὰ  
 πεποίηκε λέγοντα,

Μηριόνη, τάχα κέν σε καὶ ὄρχηστήν περ  
 εἶοντα  
 ἔγχος ἐμὸν κατέπαυσε διαμπερές, εἴ σ' ἔβαλόν  
 περ.

61 ἢ σὺν οἷι ἄλλην τινὰ λέγειν ἐπίστασθαι τὸν  
 τοῦ Μόλου υἱόν, ἀριθμούμενον ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις  
 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἢ τὴν ἐνόπλιον τὴν Κουρητικὴν,  
 ἥπερ ἦν ἐπιχώριος τοῖς Κρησί, τὴν ὀξείαν καὶ  
 ἐλαφρὰν κίνησιν πρὸς τὸ διακλῖναι καὶ φυλά-  
 62 ξασθαι ῥαδίως τὸ βέλος; τούτοις γε μὴν ξυνέ-

<sup>1</sup> πάλλουντες Luzac: βάλλοντες.

<sup>2</sup> The order is Arnim's: τὴν . . . πολεμικῶν precedes  
 ὄρχησιν in the MSS.

## THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

Or, finally, it might be the exhortation to battle such as we find in the Spartan marching songs, its sentiments comporting well with the polity of Lycurgus and the Spartan institutions :

‘ Up, ye sons of Sparta,  
Rich in citizen fathers ;  
Thrust with the left your shields forth,  
Brandish bravely your spears ;  
Spare not your lives.  
That’s not custom in Sparta.’ <sup>1</sup>

“ In conformity with these songs, our king should institute dance movements and measures that are not marked by reeling or violent motions, but are as virile and sober as may be, composed in a sedate rhythm ; the dance should be the ‘ enoplic,’ <sup>2</sup> the execution of which is not only a tribute to the gods but a drill in warfare as well—the dance in which the poet says Meriones was skilful, for he has put these words into the mouth of a certain Trojan :

‘ Had I but struck thee, dancer though thou  
art,  
Meriones, my spear had once for all  
Ended thy dancing.’ <sup>3</sup>

Or do you think that he can have meant that some other dance was known to the son of Molus, who was accounted one of the best of the Achaeans, and not the military dance of the Kouretes, a native Cretan dance, <sup>4</sup> the quick and light movement designed to train the soldiers to swerve to one side and easily avoid the missile ? From these considerations, more-

<sup>1</sup> Attributed to Tyrtaeus, but probably of a later date.

<sup>2</sup> This was a dance in full armour.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad* 16. 617-618.

<sup>4</sup> Meriones, the son of Molus, was a Cretan.

# DIO CHRYSOSTOM

πεται μηδὲ εὐχὰς εὔχεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα τοῖς  
ἄλλοις ὁμοίως μηδὲ αὐ τοὺς θεοὺς καλεῖν οὕτως  
εὐχόμενον ὥσπερ ὁ Ἰώνων ποιητῆς Ἀνακρέων,

ὦναξ, ἃ δαμάλης Ἔρως  
καὶ Νύμφαι κυανώπιδες  
πορφυρέη τ' Ἀφροδίτη  
συμπαίζουσιν, ἐπιστρέφει  
δ' ὑψηλὰς ὁρέων κορυφάς,  
γουνούμαί σε, σὺ δ' εὐμενὴς  
ἔλθ' ἡμῖν, κεχαρισμένης  
δ' εὐχολῆς ἐπακούειν.

Κλευβούλῳ δ' ἀγαθὸς γενεῦ  
σύμβουλος, τὸν ἐμὸν δ' ἔρωτ',  
ὦ Δεύνυσε, δέχεσθαι.

- 63 ἢ νῦν Δία τὰς τῶν Ἀττικῶν σκολιῶν τε καὶ  
ἐποινίων εὐχάς, οὐ βασιλεύσι πρεπούσας, ἀλλὰ  
δημόταις καὶ φράτορσιν ἰλαροῖς καὶ σφύδρα  
ἀνειμένοις,

εἴθε λύρα καλὴ γενοίμαν ἐλεφαντίνῃ,  
καί με καλοὶ παῖδες φορέοιεν Διονύσιον ἐς  
χορόν.  
εἴθ' ἄπυρον καλὸν γενοίμαν μέγα χρυσίον,  
καί με γυνὴ καλὴ φοροίῃ.

- 64 πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὥς Ὅμηρος πεποίηκεν εὐχό-  
μενον τὸν βασιλέα τῶν πάντων Ἑλλήνων,  
Ζεῦ κύδιστε μέγιστε κελαινεφὲς αἰθέρι ναίων,  
μὴ πρὶν ἐπ' ἥελιον δύναι καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας  
ἐλθεῖν,

<sup>1</sup> Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, Part 3, p. 254, and *Lyra Graeca*, Vol. 2, p. 138, in L.C.L. Dio is our only source for this poem.

## THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

over, it follows that the king should not offer such prayers as other men do nor, on the other hand, call upon the gods with such a petition as Anacreon, the Ionian poet, makes :

‘ O King with whom resistless love  
Disports, and nymphs with eyes so dark,  
And Aphrodite, fair of hue,  
O thou who rangest mountain crests,  
Thee do I besecch, do thou  
To me propitious come and hear  
With kindly heart the prayer I make :  
Cleobulus’ confessor be  
And this love of mine approve,  
O Dionysus.’<sup>1</sup>

Nor, by heavens, should he ever utter such prayers as those we find in the ballads and drinking-songs of the Attic symposia, for these are suitable, not for kings, but for country folk and for the merry and boisterous clan-meetings. For instance,

‘ Would that I became a lovely ivory harp,  
And some lovely children carried me to Dionysus’  
choir!  
Would that I became a lovely massive golden  
trinket,  
And that me a lovely lady wore ! ’<sup>2</sup>

He would much better pray as Homer has represented the king of all the Greeks as praying :

‘ O Zeus, most great and glorious, who dost rule  
The tempest—dweller of the ethereal space !  
Let not the sun go down and night come on

<sup>2</sup> Given by Athenaeus also, 695 c. See Bergk, *op. cit.* p. 649.

πρίν με καταπρηνές βαλέειν Πριάμοιο μέλα-  
θρον

αἰθαλόεν, πρῆσαι δὲ πυρὸς δηίοιο θύρετρα·

Ἐκτόρεον δὲ χιτῶνα περὶ στήθεσσι δαΐξαι

χαλκῷ ῥωγαλέον, πολέες δ' ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταῖροι  
πρηνέες ἐν κονίησιν ὁδὰξ λαζοίατο γαῖαν.

- 65 Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔχοι τις ἂν εἰπεῖν παρ'  
Ὅμηρῳ παιδεύματα καὶ διδάγματα ἀνδρεία καὶ  
βασιλικά, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἴσως μακρότερον τὰ<sup>1</sup> νῦν  
ἐπεξιέναι. πλὴν ὅτι γε τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην ἐν  
ἅπασιν<sup>2</sup> ἀποδείκνυται σαφῶς, ὅτι πάντων ἄρι-  
στον οἶεται δεῖν τὸν βασιλέα εἶναι, μάλιστα  
δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος, ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον παρα-  
τάττει τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας σύμ-  
παντας καταλέγει καὶ τὸ<sup>3</sup> πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν.
- 66 ἐκεῖ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἄμιλλαν τῶν ἄλλων οὐδενὶ κατα-  
λέλοιπεν ἡρώων πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ταῦρος  
ἀγέλης ὑπερφέρει κατὰ ῥώμην καὶ μέγεθος, το-  
σοῦτον διαφέρειν φησὶ τὸν βασιλέα, οὕτως  
λέγων·

ἢ ὅτε βοὺς ἀγέληφι μέγ' ἔξοχος ἔπλετο πάντων  
ταῦρος· ὁ γάρ τε βόεσσι μεταπρέπει ἀγρο-  
μήνησι·

τοῖον ἄρ' Ἀτρείδην θῆκε Ζεὺς ἥματι κείνῳ,  
ἐκπρεπέ· ἐν πολλοῖσι καὶ ἔξοχον ἡρώεσσιν.

- 67 τοῦτο δὲ οὐχ ἀπλῶς εἶρηκεν, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, τὴν  
ἰσχὺν αὐτοῦ μόνον ἐπαινῶν καὶ ἐπιδειῖξαι βου-

<sup>1</sup> τὰ Capps, cf. Plato, *Symp.* 203a : τοῦ.

<sup>2</sup> ἐν ἅπασιν Emperius : ἅπασαν. Arnim would place τὴν αὐτοῦ . . . σαφῶς after Ἀγαμέμνονος, deleting ὅτε before πάντων.

## THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

Ere I shall lay the halls of Priam waste  
With fire, and give their portals to the flames,  
And hew away the coat of mail that shields  
The breast of Hector, splitting it with steel.  
And may his fellow-warriors, many a one,  
Fall round him to the earth and bite the dust.' <sup>1</sup>

"There are many other lessons and teachings in Homer, which might be cited, that make for courage and the other qualities of a king, but perhaps their recital would require more time than we now have. I will say, however, that he not only expresses his own judgment clearly in every instance—that in his belief the king should be the superior of all men—but particularly in the case of Agamemnon, in the passage where for the first time he sets the army in array, calls the roll of the leaders, and gives the tale of the ships. In that scene the poet has left no room for any other hero even to vie with Agamemnon; but as far as the bull surpasses the herd in strength and size, so far does the king excel the rest, as Homer says in these words:

'And as a bull amid the horned herd  
Stands eminent and nobler than the rest,  
So Zeus to Agamemnon on that day  
Gave to surpass in manly port and mien  
The heroes all.' <sup>2</sup>

This comparison was not carelessly chosen, so it seems to me, merely in order to praise the hero's strength and in the desire to demonstrate it. In

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 2. 412-418.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* 2. 480-483.

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<sup>3</sup> τὸ added by Dindorf.



λόμενος· οὕτω μὲν γὰρ δὴ καὶ λέοντι παρα-  
 βαλὼν καλῶς ἂν<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸν ἐδόκει ἀφομοιωῖσαι·  
 τὸ δὲ ἡμερον τῆς φύσεως ἐνδεικνύμενος καὶ τὴν  
 ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρχομένων προθυμίαν. ὁ γὰρ ταῦρος  
 οὐκ ἔστι τῶν γενναίων μόνον ζώων οὐδὲ αὐτοῦ  
 χάριν χρήται τῇ ἀλκῇ, καθάπερ ὁ τε λέων καὶ σὺς  
 οἳ τε ἀετοί, διώκοντες τὰ λοιπὰ ζῷα καὶ κρείττους  
 γιγνόμενοι τροφῆς ἕνεκα τῆς αὐτῶν· διὸ δὴ καὶ  
 μᾶλλον ἂν τις αὐτοὺς φαίη τυραννίδος παρί-  
 68 δειγμα ἢ βασιλείας γεγονέναι. ὁ δὲ ταῦρος  
 σαφῶς, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, πρὸς βασιλείαν καὶ βασι-  
 λέως εἰκόνα πεποίηται. τροφῇ τε γὰρ ἐτοίμη  
 καὶ διαίτη χρήται νεμόμενος, ὥστε μηδὲν δεῖν  
 βιάζεσθαι μηδὲ πλεονεκτεῖν ταύτης ἕνεκεν, ἀλλ'  
 ὥσπερ τοῖς ὀλβίοις βασιλεύσιν ἀνελλιπῇ καὶ  
 ἄφθονα ὑπάρχειν<sup>2</sup> τὰ τῆς ἀναγκαίου κτήσεως.  
 69 βασιλεύει δὲ καὶ ἄρχει τῶν ὁμοφύλων μετ'  
 εὐνοίας, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, καὶ κηδεμονίας, τοῦτο  
 μὲν ἐξηγούμενος νομῆς, τοῦτο δὲ θηρίου φανέντος  
 οὐ φεύγων, ἀλλὰ πάσης τῆς ἀγέλης προμα-  
 χόμενος καὶ τοῖς ἀσθενέσι βοηθῶν, προθυμού-  
 μενος σῶζειν τὸ πλῆθος ἀπὸ τῶν χαλεπῶν καὶ  
 ἀγρίων θηρίων.<sup>3</sup> ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα χρὴ  
 καὶ βασιλέα τῷ ὄντι καὶ τῆς μεγίστης ἐν  
 70 ἀνθρώποις οὐκ ἀνάξιον τιμῆς. ἐνιοτέ γε μὴν  
 ἄλλης ἀγέλης ἐπιφανείσης ἀγωνίζεται πρὸς τὸν  
 ἐκείνης ἡγεμόνα νίκης ἕνεκα, ὡς κρείττω μὲν  
 αὐτὸν δόξαι, κρείττω δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀγέλην. καὶ  
 μὴν τό γε ἀνθρώποις μὴ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῶν  
 ἀφρονων ζώων ἡγεμονικώτατόν τε καὶ ἄριστον  
 πεφυκότα ὅμως προσίεσθαι τὴν τοῦ κρείττονος

<sup>1</sup> ἂν added by Jacobs.<sup>2</sup> ὑπάρχειν Arnim: ὑπάρχει.

## THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

that case it seems that he would surely have chosen the lion for his simile and thus have made an excellent characterization. No, his idea was to indicate the gentleness of his nature and his concern for his subjects. For the bull is not merely one of the nobler animals; nor does it use its strength for its own sake, like the lion, the boar, and the eagle, which pursue other creatures and master them for their own bellies' sake. (For this reason one might in truth say that these animals have come to be symbols of tyranny rather than of kingship.) But clearly, in my opinion, the bull has been used by the poet to betoken the kingly office and to portray a king. For the bull's food is ready to hand, and his sustenance he gets by grazing, so that he never needs to employ violence or rapacity on that score; but he, like affluent kings, has all the necessities of life, unstinted and abundant. He exercises the authority of a king over his fellows of the herd with good-will, one might say, and solicitude, now leading the way to pasture, now, when a wild beast appears, not fleeing but fighting in front of the whole herd and bringing aid to the weak in his desire to save the dependent multitude from dangerous wild beasts; just as is the duty of the ruler who is a real king and not unworthy of the highest honour known among men. Sometimes, it is true, when another herd appears upon the scene, he engages with its leader and strives for victory so that all may acknowledge his superiority and the superiority of his herd. Consider, again, the fact that the bull never makes war against man, but, notwithstanding that nature has made him of all unreasoning animals the best and best fitted to have dominion, he nevertheless

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<sup>3</sup> *θηρίων* added by Upton.

- ἡγεμονίαν, ἰσχύι μὲν καὶ θυμῷ καὶ βίᾳ μηδενὸς ἡττώμενον μηδὲ ὑπέικοντα, λογισμῷ δὲ καὶ φρονήσῃ ἐκόντα ὑποταττόμενον, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ τοῦτο θείη τις ἂν παίδευμα καὶ δίδαγμα<sup>1</sup> βασι-  
 71 λικὸν τῶν σωφρόνων βασιλέων, τὸ δεῖν ἀνθρώπων μὲν τῶν ὁμοίων κρείττονα φαινόμενον ἄρχειν, δικαίως καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχοντα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος σφάζειν τῶν ὑπηκόων, προβουλεύοντα καὶ προπολεμοῦντα, ὅταν δέη, καὶ φυλάττοντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγρίων καὶ παρανόμων τυράννων, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους βασιλέας, εἴ τινες ἄρα εἶεν, ἀμιλλᾶσθαι περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ ζητεῖν, εἰ δυνατόν εἴη, ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν ὅποι  
 72 ποτὲ ἀνθρώπων κρατεῖν· θεοῖς γε μὴν τοῖς ἀμείνοσιν ἔπεσθαι, καθάπερ οἶμαι νομεῦσιν ἀγαθοῖς, καὶ τὴν κρείττω καὶ μακαριωτέραν φύσιν προτιμᾶν, δεσπότης αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄρχοντας νομίζοντα ἐκείνους, καὶ τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ πρώτου βασιλέως θεοῦ κτῆμα ἀποφαίνοντα τιμιώτατον πρῶτον μὲν αὐτόν, ἔπειτα τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ὑφ' αὐτῷ<sup>2</sup> τεταγμένους;
- 73 Καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὥσπερ οἱ σῶφρονες νομεῖς, ἐπειδὴν χαλεπὸς καὶ ἄγριος ταῦρος γενόμενος ἄρχῃ ἀσελγῶς παρὰ φύσιν, τῆς μὲν αὐτοῦ καταφρονῶν ἀγέλης καὶ λυμαινόμενος, τοῖς δὲ ἔξωθεν ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ὑποχωρῶν καὶ προβαλλόμενος τὸ ἀδύνατον πλῆθος, μηδενὸς δὲ χαλεποῦ παρόντος ὑβρίζων καὶ θρασυνόμενος, τοῦτο μὲν ὁξὺ καὶ ἀπειλητικὸν μυκώμενος, τοῦτο δὲ ὀρθοῖς τοῖς κέρασι παίων τὸν οὐκ ἀνθιστάμενον, ἐπιδεικνύ-

<sup>1</sup> δίδαγμα Gasda : δόγμα.<sup>2</sup> ὑφ' αὐτῷ Arnim : ὑπ' αὐτῷ.

## THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

accepts the dominion of his superior; and although he acknowledges his inferiority to none as regards strength, spirit, and might, yet he willingly subordinates himself to reason and intelligence. Why should we not count this a training and lesson in kingship for prudent kings, to teach them that while a king must rule over men, his own kind, because he is manifestly their superior, who justly and by nature's design exercises dominion over them; and while he must save the multitude of his subjects, planning for them and, if need be, fighting for them and protecting them from savage and lawless tyrants, and as regards other kings, if any such there should be, must strive with them in rivalry of goodness, seeking if possible to prevail over them for the benefit of mankind at large; yet the gods, who are his superiors, he must follow, as being, I verily believe, good herdsmen, and must give full honour to their superior and more blessed natures, recognizing in them his own masters and rulers and showing that the most precious possession which God, the greatest and highest king, can have is, first himself and then those who have been appointed to be his subjects?

"Now we know how wise herdsmen deal with a bull. When he becomes savage and hard to handle, and rules outrageously in violation of the law of nature, when he treats his own herd with contempt and harms it, but gives ground before outsiders who plot against it and shields himself behind the helpless multitude, yet, when there is no peril at hand, waxes overbearing and insolent, now bellowing loudly in a menacing way, now goring with levelled horns any

- μενος<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐν τοῖς ἡττοσι καὶ τοῖς οὐ  
μαχομένοις, τὸ δὲ τῶν βοῶν πλῆθος οὐκ ἔων  
νέμεσθαι καθ' ἡσυχίαν δι' ἐκπληξιν καὶ φόβον,  
τότε τοῦτον οἱ δεσπότες καὶ βουκόλοι μετέστη-  
σαν καὶ ἠφάνισαν, ὥς οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον οὐδὲ  
74 συμφέροντα ἡγεῖσθαι τῆς ἀγέλης· τὸν δὲ πρῶτον  
μὲν ταῖς ἐπομέναις βουσίν, εὐψυχον δὲ καὶ  
ἄφοβον πρὸς τὰ θηρία, σεμνὸν δὲ καὶ μεγαλο-  
πρεπῆ καὶ δυνατὸν φυλάττειν καὶ προηγεῖσθαι  
τῆς ἀγέλης, τοῖς δὲ γε νομεῦσιν εἰκοντα καὶ  
πειθόμενον, ἑῷσι μέχρι γήρως ὑστάτου, καὶ ἥδη  
75 βαρύτερος τὸ σῶμα γένηται. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ  
θεοὶ καὶ ὁ δὴ μέγας βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, ἅτε  
κηδεμὼν καὶ πατὴρ κοινὸς ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν,  
Ζεὺς, ὃς ἂν ἀνθρώπων γένηται βίαιος καὶ ἄδικος  
καὶ παράνομος ἄρχων, τὴν ἰσχὺν οὐ τοῖς πολε-  
μίοις ἐνδεικνύμενος, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις καὶ τοῖς  
φίλοις, ἅπληστος μὲν ἡδονῶν, ἅπληστος δὲ  
χρημάτων, ὑπονοῆσαι ταχύς, ἀμείλικτος ὀργισ-  
θεὶς, ὀξύς πρὸς διαβολάς,<sup>2</sup> ἀπειθῆς λόγοις, πανοῦρ-  
γος, ἐπίβουλος, ταπεινός, αὐθάδης, τοὺς κακοὺς  
αὖξων, τοῖς κρείττοσι φθονῶν, παιδείας ἀσύνητος,  
φίλον οὐδένα νομίζων οὐδ' ἔχων, ὥς ἔλαττον  
76 αὐτοῦ τὸ<sup>3</sup> κτῆμα, ἐκείνον ἐκποδὼν ἐποίησατο  
καὶ μετέστησεν, ὥς οὐκ ἄξιον ὄντα βασιλεύειν  
οὐδὲ κοινωνεῖν τῆς αὐτοῦ τιμῆς καὶ ἐπωνυμίας,  
μετά τε αἰσχύνης καὶ προπηλακισμοῦ, καθάπερ  
οἶμαι Φάλαριν τε καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρον καὶ πολλοὺς  
77 ἄλλους τῶν ὁμοίων· τὸν δὲ γε ἀνδρεῖον καὶ

<sup>1</sup> δὲ after ἐπιδεικνύμενος deleted by Arnim.

<sup>2</sup> ὀξύς πρὸς διαβολάς Emperius; ὀξύτερος διαβολαῖς or ὑπὸ διαβολῆς.

## THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

who cannot resist, thus making show of his strength upon the weaker who will not fight, while at the same time he will not permit the multitude of the cattle to graze in peace because of the consternation and panic he inspires—when the owners and the herdsmen, I say, have such a bull, they depose and kill him as not being fit to lead the herd nor salutary to it. That bull, on the other hand, which is gentle towards the kine of his following but valiant and fearless towards wild beasts, that is stately, proud, and competent to protect his herd and be its leader, while yet submissive and obedient to the herdsmen—him they leave in charge till extreme old age, even after he becomes too heavy of body. In like manner do the gods act, and especially the great King of Kings, Zeus, who is the common protector and father of men and gods. If any man proves himself a violent, unjust and lawless ruler, visiting his strength, not upon the enemy, but upon his subjects and friends; if he is insatiate of pleasures, insatiate of wealth, quick to suspect, implacable in anger, keen for slander, deaf to reason, knavish, treacherous, degraded, wilful, exalting the wicked, envious of his superiors, too stupid for education, regarding no man as friend nor having one, as though such a possession were beneath him,—such a one Zeus thrusts aside and deposes as unworthy to be king or to participate in his own honour and titles, putting upon him shame and derision, as methinks he did with Phalaris<sup>1</sup> and Apollodorus<sup>1</sup> and many others like them. But the brave and

<sup>1</sup> Tyrants of monstrous cruelty. See Index.

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<sup>3</sup> Arnim, following Wilamowitz, deletes  $\tau\delta$ , but wrongly. One might read  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\omicron\nu\ \delta\nu$ , but the participle does not have to be expressed.

- φιλόανθρωπον καὶ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις εὖνουν καὶ τιμῶντα μὲν τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ συναγωνιῶντα μὴ τινος<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἀγαθῶν δόξῃ φαυλότερος, τοὺς δὲ ἀδίκους μετανοεῖν ἀναγκάζοντα, τοῖς δὲ ἰσθενέσιν ἀρήγοντα, τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀγάμενος ὥς τὸ πολὺ μὲν ἄγει πρὸς γῆρας, καθάπερ ἀκούομεν Κῦρόν τε καὶ Δηϊόκην τὸν Μῆδον καὶ Ἰδάνθυρσον<sup>2</sup> τὸν Σκύθην καὶ Λεύκωνα καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν Λακωνικῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πρότερόν
- 78 τινας· ἐὰν δὲ τὸ τῆς εἰμαρμένης ἀναγκαῖον ἐπείγῃ πρὸ τοῦ γήρως, ἄλλ' οὖν μνήμης γε<sup>3</sup> ἀγαθῆς καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν εὐφημίας εἰς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον ἠξίωσε, καθάπερ, εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, τὸν ἡμέτερον πρόγονον, τὸν νομισθέντα τοῦ Διὸς διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν Ἡρακλέα.
- 79 Ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ Φίλιππος ἡσθείς, Οὐ μάτην, εἶπεν, Ἀλέξανδρε, περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμεθα τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτῷ συνεχωρήσαμεν ἀνακτίζειν, Στάγειρα τῆς Ὀλυθίας οὖσαν. ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἄξιος πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων δωρεῶν, εἰ τοιαῦτά σε διδάσκει περὶ τε ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας, εἴτε Ὀμηρον ἐξηγούμενος εἴτε ἄλλον τρόπον.

<sup>1</sup> τινος Reiske: τις or τι.

<sup>2</sup> Ἰδάνθυρσον Wytttenbach: Ἀγάθυρσον or ἄν θυρσον.

<sup>3</sup> γε Reiske: τε.

<sup>1</sup> Cyrus the Elder, founder of the Persian Empire, reigned from 559 to 529 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Founder of the Median Empire, ruled 53 years according to Herodotus.

## THE SECOND DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

humane king, who is kindly towards his subjects and, while honouring virtue and striving that he shall not be esteemed as inferior to any good man therein, yet forces the unrighteous to mend their ways and lends a helping hand to the weak—such a king Zeus admires for his virtue and, as a rule, brings to old age, as, for instance, according to tradition, Cyrus<sup>1</sup> and Dēioces<sup>2</sup> the Mede, Idanthysus<sup>3</sup> the Scythian, Leucon,<sup>4</sup> many of the Spartan kings, and some of the earlier kings of Egypt. But if the inevitable decree of fate snatches him away before reaching old age, yet Zeus vouchsafes unto him a goodly renown and praise among all men for ever and ever, as indeed," concluded Alexander, "he honoured our own ancestor, who, because of his virtue, was considered the son of Zeus—I mean Heracles."

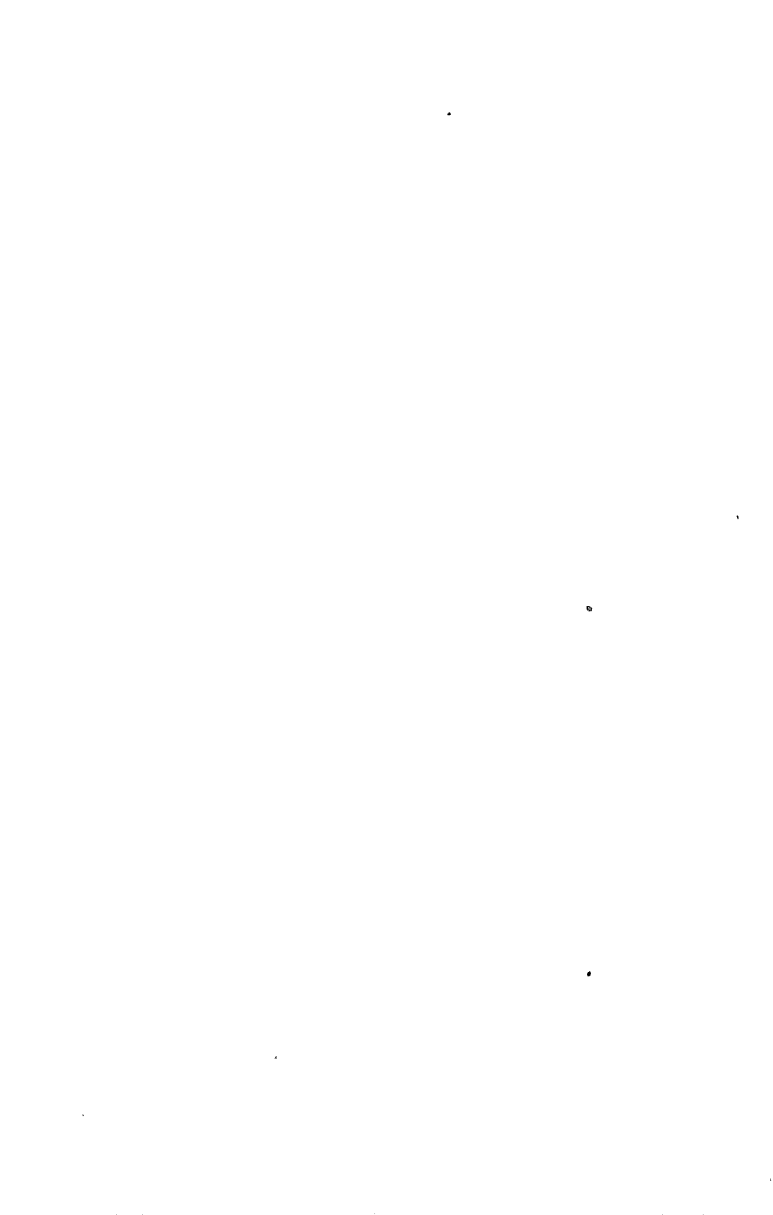
Now when Philip heard all this, he was delighted and said, "Alexander, it wasn't for naught that we esteemed Aristotle so highly, and permitted him to rebuild his home-town Stagira,<sup>5</sup> which is in the domain of Olynthus. He is a man who merits many large gifts, if such are the lessons which he gives you in government and the duties of a king, be it as interpreter of Homer or in any other way."

<sup>3</sup> The name of two Scythian kings. How long they lived is not known.

<sup>4</sup> Powerful king of Bosphorus, who reigned from 393 to 353 B.C.

<sup>5</sup> Stagira had been destroyed during Philip's operations against the Greek towns of Chalcidice. In 342 B.C. Aristotle was appointed tutor to Alexander, and at his own request his native city was rebuilt and a gymnasium erected there for the use of himself and his pupils.





## THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

Dio's protest in this Discourse that he is not flattering would seem to indicate clearly that he is addressing Trajan—otherwise his words would be meaningless—and many of the things said point to the existence of very cordial relations between the orator and that emperor. Hence it is inferred that the third Discourse is later than the first. Von Arnim suggests that it was delivered before Trajan on his birthday, September 18th, in A.D. 104.

Stoic and Cynic doctrine as to the nature of the true king is set forth. The reference to the sun is of Stoic origin. Then Trajan, the type of the true king, is contrasted with the Persian king to the latter's disadvantage.

### 3. ΠΕΡΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ Γ

- <sup>1</sup> Σωκράτης Ἀθήνησι, πρεσβύτης ἀνὴρ καὶ πένης, ὃν καὶ σὺ γινώσκεις ἀκοῇ πρὸ πάντων πολλῶν ἐτῶν γενόμενον, πυθομένου τινὸς εἰ εὐδαίμονα νομίζοι τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα, Τυχόν, εἶπεν, εὐδαίμων· οὐκ ἔφη δὲ αὐτὸς εἰδέναι διὰ τὸ μὴ συγγενέσθαι αὐτῷ μηδὲ γινώσκειν ὁποῖός ἐστι τὴν διάνοιαν, ὥς οὐκ ἀλλαχόθεν οἶμαι γινόμενον τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν, ἀπὸ χρυσωμάτων ἢ πόλεων ἢ χώρας ἢ ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, ἐκάστῳ δὲ παρὰ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ διανοίας.
- <sup>2</sup> Ὁ μὲν οὖν Σωκράτης, ὅτι ἐτύγχανε ἀπειρος ὢν τοῦ Πέρσου τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀπειρος ἡγείτο εἶναι καὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας αὐτοῦ. ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ γεναῖε αὐτοκράτορ, παραγέγονά σοι καὶ τυχὸν οὐδενὸς ἥττον ἔμπειρός εἰμι τῆς σῆς φύσεως, ὅτι τυγχάνεις χαίρων ἀληθείᾳ καὶ παρρησίᾳ μᾶλλον
- <sup>3</sup> ἢ θωπείᾳ καὶ ἀπάτῃ. αὐτίκα τὰς μὲν ἀλόγους ἡδονὰς ὑποπτεύεις καθάπερ ἀνθρώπους κόλακας, τοὺς δὲ πόρους ὑπομένεις, ἐλέγχους ὑπολαμβάνων εἶναι τῆς ἀρετῆς. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὀρῶ σε, αὐτοκράτορ, ἐντυγχάνοντα τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ συνιέντα φρονίμων καὶ ἀκριβῶν λόγων, φημὶ δὴ σαφῶς ἀνδρὰ εἶναι μακάριον, τὸν μεγίστην μὲν ἔχοντα

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<sup>1</sup> Darius Nothus : reigned from 424 to 405 B.C.

## THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

WHEN Socrates, who, as you also know by tradition, lived many years ago, was passing his old age in poverty at Athens, he was asked by someone whether he considered the Persian king<sup>1</sup> a happy man, and replied, "Perhaps so"; but he added that he did not really know, since he had never met him and had no knowledge of his character, implying, no doubt, that a man's happiness is not determined by any external possessions, such as gold plate, cities or lands, for example, or other human beings, but in each case by his own self and his own character.<sup>2</sup>

Now Socrates thought that because he did not know the Persian king's inner life, he did not know his state of happiness either. I, however, most noble Prince,<sup>3</sup> have been in your company and am perhaps as well acquainted with your character as anyone, and know that you delight in truth and frankness rather than in flattery and guile. To begin with, you suspect irrational pleasures just as you do flattering men, and you endure hardship because you believe that it puts virtue to the test. And when I see you, O Prince, perusing the works of the ancients and comprehending their wise and close reasoning, I maintain that you are clearly a blessed man in that you wield a

<sup>2</sup> Socrates is reported as giving this answer in Plato, *Gorgias* 470 e.

<sup>3</sup> The Emperor Trajan.

## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

- δύναμιν μετὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, κάλλιστα δὲ τῷ δύνα-  
 4 σθαι χροόμενοι. ὃ γὰρ ἔξδὸν ἀπάντων μὲν ἀπολαύειν<sup>1</sup>  
 τῶν ἡδέων, μηδὲν δὲ πειρᾶσθαι τῶν ἐπιπόνων,  
 ῥαθυμοῦντα δὲ ὡς οἶόν τε βιοτεύειν, συνελόντι  
 δὲ εἰπεῖν, πράττοντα ὃ τι βούλεται, οὐ μόνον  
 5 κωλύοντος οὐδενὸς<sup>2</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαινούντων ἀπάν-  
 των, οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ, ὅταν ἢ νομιμώτερος μὲν  
 δικαστῆς τῶν κατὰ κλήρον δικαζόντων, ἐπιει-  
 κέστερος δὲ βασιλεὺς τῶν ὑπευθύνων ἐν ταῖς  
 πόλεσιν ἀρχόντων, ἀλκιμώτερος<sup>3</sup> δὲ στρατηγὸς  
 τῶν ἐπομένων στρατιωτῶν, φιλοπονώτερος δὲ ἐν  
 ἅπασι τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης πονούντων,  
 ἔλαττον δὲ βουλόμενος τρυφᾶν τῶν μηδεμιᾶς  
 εὐπορούντων τρυφῆς, εὐνοώτερος δὲ τοῖς ὑπη-  
 κόοις τῶν φιλοτέκνων πατέρων, φοβερώτερος δὲ  
 τοῖς πολεμίοις τῶν ἀνικῆτων καὶ ἀμάχων θεῶν,  
 πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴποι τις τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθὸν  
 εἶναι τὸν δαίμονα, οὐκ αὐτῷ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι ;  
 6 Τῶν μὲν γὰρ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἡ<sup>4</sup> ἰδιωτῶν  
 ἡ<sup>5</sup> μικράν τινα ἀρχὴν ἐχόντων, ὀλίγος ὁ δαίμων καὶ  
 μόνου τοῦ ἔχοντος· ὅτῳ δ' ἂν παμπληθεῖς μὲν  
 ὑπακούωσι πόλεις, πάμπολλα δὲ ἔθνη κυβερ-  
 νᾶται διὰ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης, ἀνῆριθμα δὲ  
 φύλα ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἄμικτα ἀλλήλοισι ἀποβλέπη  
 πρὸς μίαν φρόνησιν, πάντων δὲ οὗτος ἀνθρώπων  
 γίγνεται σωτὴρ καὶ φύλαξ, ἅνπερ ἢ τοιοῦτος.  
 7 τοῦ γὰρ πάντων ἄρχοντος καὶ κρατοῦντος ἢ μὲν  
 φρόνησις ἱκανὴ καὶ τοὺς ἄφρονας ὠφελεῖν·  
 βουλεύεται γὰρ ὁμοίως ὑπὲρ πάντων. ἡ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> ἀπολαύειν Reiske : ἀπολαβεῖν or ἀπολαίοντα.

<sup>2</sup> ὃ τι βούλεται after οὐδενὸς, lacking in one MS., deleted by Geel.

### THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

power second only to that of the gods and nevertheless use that power most nobly. For the man who may taste of everything that is sweet and avoid everything that is bitter, who may pass his life in the utmost ease, who, in a word, may follow his own sweet will, not only without let or hindrance but with the approval of all—when that man, I say, is at once a judge more observant of the law than an empanelled jury, a king of greater equity than the responsible magistrates in our cities, a general more courageous than the soldiers in the ranks, a man more assiduous in all his tasks than those who are forced to work, less covetous of luxury than those who have no means to indulge in luxury, kindlier to his subjects than a loving father to his children, more dreaded by his enemies than are the invincible and irresistible gods—how can one deny that such a man's fortune is a blessing, not to himself alone, but to all others as well?

For in the case of the generality of men, those either in private station or holding some petty office, the individual's personal fortune is of slight account and concerns himself alone; but let untold cities yield obedience to a man, let countless nations be governed by his judgment, let tribes of men unnumbered and hostile to one another look to his prudence alone, and that man becomes the saviour and protector of men everywhere—that is, if such be his type. For when a man governs and holds sway over all mankind, his prudence avails to help even the imprudent, since he takes thought for

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<sup>3</sup> ἀλλικιμώτερος Capps, ἀνδρείότερος Weil: δικαιότερος.

<sup>4</sup> ἡ Capps, cf. §§ 7, 10 *infra*: καί. <sup>5</sup> ἡ added by Capps.

## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

σωφροσύνη καὶ τοὺς ἀκολαστοτέρους σωφρο-  
νεστέρους ποιεῖ· ἐφορᾷ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἅπαντας.  
ἡ δὲ δικαιοσύνη καὶ τοῖς ἀδίκους αὐτῆς μετα-  
δίδωσιν· ἡ δὲ ἀνδρεία καὶ τοὺς ἡττον εὐψύχους  
οὐ μόνον σφάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαρραλεωτέρους  
8 ποιεῖν δύναται. οὔτε γὰρ δειλὸς οὕτως ἄγαν  
οὔδεις ὥστε μὴ θαρρεῖν ἐπόμενος μεθ' οὐ τὸ<sup>1</sup> νικᾶν  
ἔτοιμον, οὔτε ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀνειμένος ὥστε  
ῥαθυμεῖν προσταττόμενον<sup>2</sup> ὁρῶν ᾧ μόνον τὸ προσ-  
τάττειν ἐνείμεν ὁ θεός, οὐδ' αὖ σφόδρα οὕτως  
ἀναίσχυντος ὥστε πονοῦντι<sup>3</sup> ὑπὲρ<sup>4</sup> ἐτέρων παρὼν  
ᾧ τὸ πονεῖν οὐκ<sup>5</sup> ἀναγκαῖον, τούτῳ δὲ μὴ  
9 συμπονεῖν ἐθέλειν. δοκεῖ μοι καὶ Ὅμηρος αὐτὸ  
τοῦτο φράζειν· μνησθεὶς γὰρ τοῦ χρηστοῦ βασι-  
λέως, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν εἶρηκεν,

ἀρετῶσι δὲ λαοὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

ὁ γὰρ τοιοῦτος βασιλεὺς τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις καλὸν  
κτῆμα τὴν ἀρετὴν νενόμικεν, αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ ἀναγ-  
10 καῖον. τίνι μὲν γὰρ δεῖ πλείονος φρονήσεως  
ἢ τῷ βουλευομένῳ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων; τίνι δὲ  
ἀκριβεστέρας δικαιοσύνης ἢ τῷ μείζονι τῶν  
νόμων; τίνι δὲ σωφροσύνης ἐγκρατεστέρας ἢ ὅτῳ  
πάντα ἔξεστι; τίνι δὲ ἀνδρείας ἰσχυροτέρας ἢ  
11 ὑφ' οὗ πάντα σφάζεται; τίνα δὲ μᾶλλον εὐφραίνει  
τὰ ἔργα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἢ τὸν σύμπαντας ἀνθρώπους  
θεατὰς καὶ μάρτυρας ἔχοντα τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς;  
ὥστε μήποτε πράξαντι μηδὲν οἷόν τε λαθεῖν, οὐ  
μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ ἡλίῳ πορεύεσθαι διὰ σκύτους·

<sup>1</sup> τὸ added by Capps.

<sup>2</sup> προσταττόμενον Capps: παρατάττοντα or προστάττοντα.

<sup>3</sup> πονοῦντι added by Cohoon.

### THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

all alike; his temperance serves to restrain even the intemperate, since his eye is over all alike; his justice gives of itself even to the unjust; and his courage is able, not only to save the less valiant, but even to fire them with greater courage. For no one is such a coward as not to feel reassured when he follows a general with whom victory is certain, nor so exceeding indifferent as to sit at ease when he sees submitting to take orders that man to whom God has apportioned the right to give orders only, nor, again, so completely lost to a sense of shame that he can watch a man toiling in behalf of another although under no necessity to toil—and yet refuse him aid. This, it seems to me, is exactly Homer's view as well; for, after speaking of the ideal king, he concludes by saying,

“And virtuous<sup>1</sup> the people beneath him.”<sup>2</sup>

Such a king considers virtue a fair possession for others but an absolute necessity for himself. Who, in fact, must exercise greater wisdom than he who is concerned with the weightiest matters; who, a keener sense of justice than he who is above the law; who, a more rigorous self-control than he to whom all things are permissible; who, a stouter courage than he upon whom the safety of everything depends? And who takes greater delight in the works of virtue than he who has all men as spectators and witnesses of his own soul?—so that nothing he may do can ever be hidden any more than the sun can run its

<sup>1</sup> Virtuous in the sense of possessing the good traits of character just mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> Homer, *Odyssey* 19. 114.

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<sup>4</sup> ὑπὲρ Capps : περ.

<sup>5</sup> οὐκ added by Cohoon.



## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

πάντα γὰρ τᾶλλα ἀναφαίνων πρῶτον ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδείκνυσι.

- 12 Λέγω δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ ἄγνοῶν ὅτι τὰ ῥηθέντα νῦν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐν πλείονι χρόνῳ ἀνάγκη λέγεσθαι· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι δέος μήποτε ἐγὼ φανῶ τι κολακεία λέγων· οὐ γὰρ ὀλίγην οὐδὲ ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ
- 13 δέδωκα βάσανον τῆς ἐλευθερίας. εἰ δὲ ἐγὼ πρότερον μὲν ὅτε πᾶσιν ἀναγκαῖον ἐδόκει ψεύδεσθαι διὰ φόβον, μόνος ἀληθεύειν ἐτόλμων, καὶ ταῦτα κινδυνεύων ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς, νῦν δέ, ὅτε πᾶσιν ἔξεστι τἀληθῆ λέγειν, ψεύδομαι, μηδενὸς κινδύνου παρεστῶτος, οὐκ ἂν εἰδείην οὔτε παρρησίας οὔτε κολακείας καιρὸν.
- 14 Καίτοι σύμπαντες<sup>1</sup> οἱ πράττοντες ὁτιοῦν ἐκόντες ἢ χρημάτων ἕνεκα πράττουσιν ἢ δόξης ἢ δι' ἡδονὴν τινα ἄλλην ἢ λοιπὸν οἶμαι δι'
- 15 ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ καλὸν αὐτὸ τιμῶντες. ἐγὼ δὲ χρήματα μὲν λαβεῖν παρ' οὐδενὸς πώποτε ἠξίωσα, πολλῶν δοῦναι βουλομένων, τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ δὲ ὀλίγων ὑπαρχόντων οὐ μόνον μεταδιδούς ἐτέροις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ρίπτων φανήσομαι πολλάκις.
- 16 ἡδονὴν δὲ ποίαν ἐθιρώμην, ὁπότε καὶ τῶν κολάκων οἱ φανερώς πεποιημένοι τέχνην ταύτην ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀπάντων ἀηδέστατον<sup>2</sup> τὸ κολακεύειν; πῶς γὰρ ἡδύ, ἢ ἄλλον ἀδίκως ἐπαινῇ τις, αὐτὸν δικαίως ψέγεσθαι;
- 17 Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ ἔνδοξον οὐδὲ καλὸν εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ κολακεύειν, ἵνα τιμῆς ἕνεκεν ἢ δι' ἀρετὴν τις τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεύῃ. πασῶν γὰρ ὥς ἔπος εἰπείν τῶν κακιῶν αἰσχίστην τις ἂν εὔροι τὴν κολα-

<sup>1</sup> καίτοι σύμπαντες Reiske : καὶ τοῖνον πάντες.

### THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

course in darkness; for, in bringing all other things to light, it reveals itself first.

These things I say in the full knowledge that my present statements will have to be repeated at greater length; and yet there is no danger of my appearing to speak aught in flattery, since I have given no slight nor fleeting evidence of my sincerity. If, in bygone days when fear made everyone think falsehood a necessity,<sup>1</sup> I was the only one bold enough to tell the truth even at the peril of my life, and yet am lying now when all may speak the truth without incurring danger, then I could not possibly know the time for flattery or flattery.

Again, all who act deliberately do so either for money, for reputation, or for some pleasurable end, or else, I suppose, for virtue's sake and because they honour goodness itself. But I could never bring myself to accept money from anyone, although many are willing to give it. Nay, little as I had, you will find that I not only shared it with others, but actually squandered it many a time. And what sort of pleasure was I seeking, when even those flatterers who openly follow the business acknowledge that to play the flatterer is of all things most distasteful? For what pleasure is there in praising someone else undeservedly merely to be deservedly blamed one's self?

Furthermore, flattery seems neither reputable nor honourable even when practised to gain distinction, or from some other worthy motive. Nay, of all vices, I may say, flattery will be found to be the meanest.

<sup>1</sup> Under the Emperor Domitian.

<sup>2</sup> ἀηδέστατον Reiske: ἀηδέστερον.

- 18 κείαν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ δικαιοτάτον διαφθείρει, τὸν ἔπαινον, ὥστε μηκέτι δοκεῖν πιστὸν μηδὲ ἀληθῶς γιγνόμενον, καὶ τότε πάντων δεινότατον, τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἑπαθλα τῇ κακίᾳ δίδωσιν. ὥστε πολὺ χεῖρον δρῶσι τῶν διαφθειρόντων τὸ νόμισμα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑποπτον ποιοῦσι τὸ νόμισμα, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἄπιστον.
- 19 Ἐπειτα δὲ οἶμαι αἰεὶ<sup>1</sup> ποτε μὲν ὁ πονηρὸς ἀνόητος λέγεται καὶ ἔστιν ὄντως, τῷ δὲ ἄφρονι πάντα ὑπερβέβληκεν ὁ κόλαξ. μόνος γὰρ τῶν ἀφανιζόντων τὴν ἀλήθειαν πρὸς ἐκείνους θαρρεῖ τὰ ψευδῇ λέγειν τοὺς μάλιστα εἰδότας ὅτι ψεύδεται. τίς γὰρ ἄπειρός ἐστι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πραγμάτων; ἢ τίς ἡλίθιος οὕτως ὅστις οὐκ οἶδε πότερον πόνοις ἢ ῥαθυμίᾳ χαίρει καὶ πότερον ἡδεται πλέον ἔχων ἢ τὰ δίκαια πράττων καὶ πότερον ἡδονῶν ἡττων ἐστὶν ἢ τῶν καλῶν πράξεων ἐραστής;
- 20 Καὶ τοίνυν ὁ μάλιστα οἶεται, χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐπαινουμένοις, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τούτου καὶ μάλιστα ἀποτυγχάνειν· τούναντίον γὰρ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς μὴ τελέως κούφοις.
- 21 αὐτίκα ὁ τὸν πένητα μακαρίζων ὡς πλούσιον αὐτὸς μὲν ψεύδεται, τῷ δὲ μακαριζομένῳ τὴν πενίαν ὀνειδίζει. πάλιν ὁ τὸν αἰσχιστον ὡς καλὸν ἐπαινῶν ἄλλο τι ἢ προφέρει τὸ αἶσχος αὐτῷ; ἢ ὁ τὸν ἀνάπηρον ὀλόκληρον εἶναι λέγων πῶς ἂν χαρίζοιτο ὑπομιμνήσκων τῆς ἀτυχίας; —ὁ δὲ αὖ τὸν ἀνόητον ὡς φρόνιμον ὑμῶν, οὗτος ἂν τυχὸν ἀπάντων εἴη πιθανώτερος διὰ τὴν ἄνοιαν τοῦ ἀκούοντος καὶ τοσοῦτῳ γε μείζονα

## THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

In the first place, it debases a thing most beautiful and just, even praise, so that it no longer appears honest or sincere, and—what is most outrageous—it gives to vice the prizes of virtue. Flatterers, therefore, do much more harm than those who debase the coinage: for whereas the latter cause us to suspect the coinage, the former destroy our belief in virtue.

Then again, as I see the matter, we always call the bad man a fool, and so he really is; but for downright folly the flatterer outdoes all, since he is the only perverter of the truth who has the hardihood to tell his lies to the very persons who know best that he is lying. For who does not know his own business? or who is so stupid as not to know whether work or idleness brings him joy, whether he finds pleasure in over-reaching another or in acting justly, and whether he is the slave of pleasure or a lover of noble deeds?

And, further, it seems to me that the flatterer fails worst just where he is most confident that he is succeeding—namely, in pleasing those whom he praises. Nay, he is odious rather than pleasing to them unless they be utter fools. For example, he who congratulates a poor man on his wealth not only lies himself, but holds up to scorn the poverty of the man he congratulates. Again, does not he who praises a most ugly person for his beauty simply cast his ugliness in his teeth? Or how could he who calls a cripple able-bodied please him by reminding him of his misfortune?—The man, however, who lauds the fool for his wisdom is perhaps the most convincing of all on account of the stupidity of his hearer and thus does

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<sup>1</sup> ἀεὶ added by Emperius.

- ἐργάζεται βλάβην· ἀναπαίθει γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ  
 βουλευέσθαι καὶ μὴ τοῖς φρονίμοις ἐπιτρέπειν.  
 22 ὁ μέντοι γε<sup>1</sup> τὸν δειλὸν ὡς ἀνδρεῖον θαυμάζων,  
 οὗτος δικαιοτάτα χρήται τῇ ἀνοίᾳ τοῦ κολα-  
 κενομένου· τάχιστα γὰρ ἂν οἶμαι ἀπόλοιτο  
 πειθόμενος αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας τὰ ἔργα  
 23 ἐπιχειρῶν.—καθόλου δὲ φωραθεὶς μὲν ὁ κόλαξ  
 οὐ καταγιγνώσκεται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μισεῖται·  
 δοκεῖ γὰρ καταγελῶν λέγειν. πείσας δὲ ὡς ἀλη-  
 θῶς λέγει οὐ μεγάλης τινὸς τυγχάνει χάριτος·  
 τί γὰρ καὶ δοκεῖ χαρίζεσθαι τῷ ἀληθῆ λέγων;  
 24 πολὺ γε μὴν πονηρότερός ἐστι τῶν ψευδομένων  
 μαρτύρων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐ διαφθείρουσι τὸν  
 δικαστήν, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐξαπατῶσιν, ὁ δὲ κολα-  
 κεύων ἅμα δεκάζει τῷ ἐπαίνῳ.  
 25 Ἵνα δὲ μήτε ἐγὼ κολακείας αἰτίαν ἔχω τοῖς  
 θέλουσι διαβάλλειν μήτε σὺ τοῦ κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς  
 ἐθέλειν ἐπαινέσθαι, ποιήσομαι τοὺς λόγους  
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ χρηστοῦ βασιλέως, ὁποῖον εἶναι δεῖ  
 καὶ τίς ἢ διαφορὰ τοῦ προσποιουμένου μὲν  
 ἄρχοντος εἶναι, πλείστον δὲ ἀπέχοντος ἀρχῆς καὶ  
 26 βασιλείας. εἰ δέ τις φήσῃ αἰε<sup>2</sup> με τοὺς αὐτοὺς  
 ποιεῖσθαι λόγους, τοῦτο ἂν εἴη κοινὸν ἐμοὶ τὸ  
 ἔγκλημα καὶ Σωκράτει. φασὶ γάρ ποτε Ἴππῖαν  
 τὸν Ἡλεῖον, διὰ χρόνου πλείονος ἀκούοντα τοῦ  
 Σωκράτους περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀρετῆς λέγοντος  
 καὶ παραβάλλοντος, ὥσπερ εἰώθεν, τοὺς κυ-  
 βερνήτας καὶ ἰατροὺς καὶ σκυτοτόμους καὶ κερα-  
 27 μέας, εἰπεῖν, ἅτε σοφιστήν, Πάλιν σὺ ταῦτά,  
 Σώκρατες; καὶ ὃς γελάσας ἔφη, Καὶ περὶ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> μέντοι γε Cohoon : μὲν γάρ. <sup>2</sup> αἰε added here by  
 Carps. Jacobs and Arnim would place it after αὐτοὺς.

### THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

all the greater harm, since he induces the fellow to take his own counsel and not trust to intelligent men. But the man who extols the coward as a hero makes the most justifiable use of the folly of him who is flattered; since, if the craven believes him and attempts to perform heroic deeds, he will come to grief all the more speedily.—Yet, generally speaking, when the flatterer is found out, he is not only condemned, but hated as well, since his words are thought to be mockery; while, if he convinces one of the truth of his words, he gets no very great thanks. For what great favour is he thought to confer by simply telling the truth? Besides, he is a much greater rascal than a lying witness: for the latter does not corrupt the judge, he merely deceives him; but the flatterer corrupts at the same time that he praises.

Accordingly, that I may not be open to the charge of flattery by my would-be detractors, and that you on your part may not be accused of a wanting to be praised to your very face, I shall speak of the ideal king, of what sort he should be, and how he differs from the man who pretends to be a ruler but is in reality far from true dominion and kingship. And if anyone shall say that I always say the same things, this will be the same charge that was laid against Socrates. For the story runs that once Hippias of Elis,<sup>1</sup> who had been listening for some time to the words of Socrates about justice and virtue and to his wonted comparisons with pilots, physicians, cobblers and potters, finally made the exclamation natural to a sophist, "The same things once more, Socrates!" to which the

<sup>1</sup> A Greek sophist who taught in Greece, and especially at Athens. The same account of this conversation is given in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* 4. 4. 5 f.

- αὐτῶν. σὺ μὲν γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὑπὸ σοφίας οὐδέποτε ταῦτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγεις, ἡμῖν<sup>1</sup> δὲ ἐν τούτῳ δοκεῖ τῶν καλλίστων εἶναι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ψευδομένους οἶδαμεν πολλὰ καὶ ἀνόμοια λέγοντας, τοῖς δὲ ἀληθεύουσιν οὐχ οἷόν τε
- 28 ἕτερα εἰπεῖν τῶν ἀληθῶν. ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ μὲν ἑώρων ἄλλην ὑπόθεσιν σπουδαιοτέραν ἢ σοὶ μᾶλλον προσήκουσαν, ἐκείνην ἂν ἐπεχείρουν ποιήσασθαι. νῦν δὲ οὔτε ἱατρὸν ἄλλους τινὰς ἀκούειν ἢ λέγειν λόγους φαίην ἂν ὀρθῶς ἢ τοὺς περὶ ὑγείας σώματος καὶ νόσου· οὗτοι γὰρ ὑγιεινοὶ καλοῦνται καὶ ἱατρικοί·<sup>2</sup> οὔτε κυβερνητήν ἢ τοὺς περὶ ὥρων καὶ ἀνέμων καὶ ἀστρων· οὗτοι γὰρ κυβερνητικοὶ δικαίως λέγονται· οὔτε ἄρχοντα καὶ βασιλέα ἢ τοὺς περὶ ἀρχῆς τε καὶ διοικήσεως ἀνθρώπων.
- 29 Ὡς δὴ καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐνόμιζε Σωκράτης πειράσσομαι εἰπεῖν. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν τὴν περὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐπύθετο τοῦ Σωκράτους
- 30 ὁ ἐκείνο τὸ ἐρώτημα ἐρωτήσας, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, τοῦτο μὲν ἐπίστασαι παντὸς μᾶλλον, ὅτι τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον ἀνθρώπων ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ἰσχυρότατος καὶ μηδὲ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν ἥττονα ἔχων δύναμιν, ᾧ γε ἔνεστι καὶ τὰ ἀδύνατα δοκοῦντα ποιῆσαι δυνατά, εἰ βούλοιτο, πεζεύεσθαι μὲν τὴν<sup>3</sup> θάλατταν, πλεῖσθαι δὲ τὰ ὄρη, τοὺς δὲ ποταμοὺς ἐκλείπειν ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων πινομέ-
- 31 νους. ἢ οὐκ ἀκήκοας ὅτι Ξέρξης ὁ τῶν Περσῶν

<sup>1</sup> Capps suggests that Dio may have written ἡμῖν δὲ ἐν τούτῳ δοκεῖ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τὰ καλλίστα· "but this appears to me to be one . . . ." Cf. § 113.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἱατρικοί Jacobs: ἱατροί or ἱατροῖς.

### THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

other replied with a laugh, "Yes, and on the same subjects. Now you by reason of your wisdom probably never say the same about the same things, but to me this appears a thing most excellent. We know that liars say many things and all different, while those who stick to the truth cannot find anything else to say than just the truth." So too with me: if I knew of any subject more serious or more suited to you, that is the subject that I should attempt to handle. But as it is, just as I should say that the proper subject for the physician to listen to or discuss is physical health and disease (indeed, the terms applied to physicians, *hygieinoi* and *iatrikoi*, mean "men who are concerned with health and with healing"), and for the navigator, seasons and winds and stars (for navigators are rightly termed *kybernetikoi*, "men concerned with the steering of ships"), so I maintain that the proper subject for the ruler and king is the government and control of men.

So in discussing this subject also I shall endeavour to set forth the views of Socrates.<sup>1</sup> After the answer about happiness<sup>2</sup> Socrates' interrogator put the following question to him: "Socrates," said he, "you know perfectly well that of all men under the sun that man is most powerful and in might no whit inferior to the gods themselves who is able to accomplish the seemingly impossible—if it should be his will, to have men walk dryshod over the sea, to sail over the mountains, to drain rivers dry by drinking—or have you not heard that Xerxes, the king of the

<sup>1</sup> Dio is imitating Xenophon's account in the *Memorabilia*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 1.

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<sup>3</sup> *την* added by Emperius.



βασιλεὺς τὴν μὲν γῆν ἐποίησε θάλατταν, διελὼν τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ὄρων καὶ διαστήσας ἀπὸ τῆς ἡπείρου τὸν Ἄθω, διὰ δὲ τῆς θαλάττης τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἄγων ἤλαυνεν ἐφ' ἄρματος, ὥσπερ τὸν Ποσειδῶνά φησιν Ὀμηρος ; καὶ τυχὸν ὁμοίως οἱ τε δελφῖνες καὶ τὰ κήτη κάτωθεν ὑπέπλει τὴν σχεδίαν, ὅποτε ἐκεῖνος ἤλαυνε.

- 32 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Οὐδὲ τοῦτό σοι ἔχω εἰπεῖν, εἴτε μέγιστον ὁ ταῦτα ποιῶν δύναται, καθάπερ σὺ λέγεις, εἴτε ἐλάχιστον ἢ τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν. αὐτίκα εἰ μὲν ἦν σώφρων καὶ ἀνδρεῖος καὶ δίκαιος καὶ μετὰ γνώμης ἔπραττεν ὅσα ἔπραττεν, ἰσχυρὸν αὐτὸν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ μεγίστην ἔχειν τῷ
- 33 ὄντι δύναμιν· εἰ δὲ αὖ δειλὸς καὶ ἀνόητος καὶ ἀσελγὴς καὶ παράνομος καὶ δι' ὕβριν ταῦτα ἐπιχειρῶν, τοῦναντίον ἔμοιγε ἀσθενέστερος εἶναι δοκεῖ τῶν σφόδρα πενήτων καὶ μηδὲ ἓνα γῆς κεκτημένων βῶλον, ὥστε διαθρύψαι μακέλλη τροφῆς ἕνεκεν, οὐχ ὅπως τὰ μέγιστα διαθρύπτειν
- 34 ὄρη, καθάπερ σὺ φῆς. ὁ γὰρ ἀδύνατος μὲν ὀργὴν ἐπικατασχεῖν, πολλάκις ὑπὲρ μικρῶν γιγνομένην, ἀδύνατος δὲ ἐπιθυμίαν παῦσαι τῶν αἰσχίστων, ἀδύνατος δὲ ἀπώσασθαι λύπην, ἐνίοτε μηδενὸς λυπηροῦ παρόντος, οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ ὑπομεῖναι πόνους, οὐδὲ τοὺς<sup>1</sup> ἡδονῆς ἕνεκεν γιγνομένους, ἀδύνατος δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπελάσαι φόβον, οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦντα ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς, ἀλλὰ τὰ μέγιστα βλάπτοντα, πῶς οὐκ ἀσθενὴς οὗτος σφόδρα, ἡττώμενος μὲν γυναικῶν, ἡττώμενος δὲ εὐνούχων ;

<sup>1</sup> τοὺς Reiske : τῆς.

<sup>1</sup> A mountain at the extreme end of the peninsula of Acte

### THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

Persians, made of the dry land a sea by cutting through the loftiest of the mountains and separating Athos<sup>1</sup> from the mainland, and that he led his infantry through the sea,<sup>2</sup> riding upon a chariot just like Poseidon in Homer's description? And perhaps in the same way the dolphins and the monsters of the deep swam under his raft as the king drove along."

"I cannot tell you that either," replied Socrates; "I mean whether the man who does such things has the greatest power, as you affirm, or the least power, or none at all. If, for example, he was temperate, brave, and just, if all his acts were marked by judgment, I think he was a powerful man and really had the greatest might. But if, on the other hand, he was cowardly, foolish, licentious, and lawless, and undertook what he did in wanton insolence, then, on the contrary, I think he was a weaker man than the veriest beggar who has not even a clod of earth to break up with the pick to gain his livelihood—to say nothing of breaking through the highest mountains, the feat of which you speak. For he who cannot check a fit of anger, which is often caused by mere trifles; who cannot conquer a lust for the basest things; who cannot thrust pain aside, imaginary as it often is; who cannot endure toil, even to gain pleasure; who cannot drive fear from his soul, though it avails naught in the midst of alarms but works the greatest mischief—must not such a man be greatly lacking in strength, be weaker than a woman, weaker than a

which extends into the Aegean Sea. Xerxes, fearing the voyage around it in his invasion of Greece in 480 B.C., had a canal  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles long cut through the isthmus.

<sup>2</sup> He crossed the Hellespont, now called the Dardanelles, by a bridge of boats. See Herodotus 7. 22, 33-34.

- 35 ἡ σὺ τοῦτον ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι λέγεις τὸν καὶ τοῦ  
μαλακωτάτου πάντων ἀσθενέστερον, ὕπνου ; ὑφ'  
οὗ ξυμποδισθεῖς, πολλάκις ἄνευ δεσμών, οὐχ  
ὅπως ἄλλοις, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἑαυτῷ δύναται βοηθεῖν  
οὐδὲ ἐπικούρου οὐδένα καλέσαι τῶν βουλομένων  
ἀμύνειν.
- 36 Ἐὰντα δὲ ἀκούσας εἶπεν, Ἐκείνο μέντοι οἶσθα  
δήπου, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὅτι τῆς ἀπάσης οἰκουμένης  
τοῦ πλείστου καὶ ἀρίστου βασιλεύει μέρους.  
ἔξω γὰρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας καί  
τινων ὀλίγων ἐθνῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐ-  
ρώπην ξύμπαντα τᾶλλα ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ πεποίηται,
- 37 καὶ τῆς μὲν καλουμένης Ἀσίας ὅλης ἄρχει  
μέχρις Ἰνδῶν· πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν φασιν  
ὑπακούειν· τῆς δὲ Λιβύης τοῦ πλείονος μέρους·  
ἐν δὲ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας·  
ἀπάντων τούτων κρατεῖ· ὅθεν δὴ καὶ μέγας  
βασιλεὺς κέκληται μόνος ἐκείνος.
- 38 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης εἶπεν, Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦτο οἶδα  
ὅλως γε, εἰ βασιλεὺς ἐστὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν<sup>1</sup> οὐδεμιᾶς  
πόλεως ἢ κώμης. Σὺ ἄρα, εἶπε, μόνος ἀνήκοος  
εἰ τούτων ἂ πάντες ἴσασιν ; Ἀκούω, ἔφη, πολ-  
λῶν λεγόντων ἂ σὺ λέγεις καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ  
βαρβάρων· ὃ δὲ οὐκ ἐγὼ με γιννώσκω ὃ λέγω,
- 39 τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· οὐκ οἶδα, ὦ ἄριστε, εἰ νομίμως  
καὶ δικαίως τούτων ἀπάντων προέστηκε καὶ  
τοιοῦτος ὢν ὅποιον εἴρηκα πολλάκις· εἰ μὲν γὰρ  
εὐγνώμων καὶ φιλόνθρωπος καὶ νόμιμος ὢν ἐπὶ  
σωτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τῶν ἀρχομένων  
ἐπιμελεῖται, αὐτὸς πρῶτος εὐδαίμων καὶ φρόνιμος  
ὢν, καθάπερ εἶπον, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μεταδιδούς

### THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

eunuch? Or do you call that man strong who is weaker than the softest of things?—I mean sleep, enchained by which, often without fetters, he cannot help himself, let alone others, nor call to his aid anyone willing to fight in his defence.”

On hearing this, the other exclaimed: “However, I presume you know, Socrates, that of the entire inhabited world the Persian king rules over the largest and best part; for, excluding Greece, Italy, and a few other peoples scattered throughout Europe, he has made all the rest subject to him; and of what we call Asia he governs everything as far as the Indies, many of whose people are said to own his sway too, as well as the greater part of Africa; while in Europe he governs Thrace and Macedonia. All these he holds in subjection, and this is the reason that he alone has received the title of ‘The Great King.’”

“But I am not absolutely sure even on this point,” replied Socrates, “whether he is king of any city or hamlet at all.” “Have you alone,” interjected the other, “never heard what all the world knows?” “Yes,” he replied, “I do hear many people say just what you are saying—many, both Greeks and barbarians; but what keeps me from forming a definite opinion on the point I raise is this: I do not know, my good sir, whether he is placed in right and lawful authority over all these people and is a man of the stamp I have mentioned time and again. If he is a man of good mind and heart, respects the law, cares for his subjects with an eye to their safety and welfare, and is, to begin with, happy and wise himself, as I have described him, and shares this happiness of his with

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<sup>1</sup> Capps conjectures  $\tau\eta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta\varsigma \eta$ , “king of the empire or of no city or hamlet at all.”

- τῆς<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ εὐδαιμονίας, οὐ δίχα θεὸς τό τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ τότε χαίρων μάλιστα καὶ τότε νομίζων ἄριστα πράττειν, ὅταν ὁρᾷ καλῶς πράττοντας τοὺς ἀρχομένους, δυνάμει τε μέγιστός ἐστι καὶ βασι-  
 40 λεὺς ἀληθῶς· εἰ δὲ φιλήδονος καὶ φιλοχρήματος καὶ ὑβριστῆς καὶ παράνομος, αὐτὸν οἰόμενος αὔξειν μόνου,<sup>2</sup> ὥς ἂν πλείστα μὲν χρήματα κεκτημένος, μεγίστας δὲ καὶ πλείστας καρπούμενος ἡδονάς, ῥαθύμως δὲ διάγων καὶ ἀπόνως, τοὺς δὲ ὑπηκόους ἅπαντας ἡγούμενος δούλους καὶ ὑπη-  
 41 ρέτας τῆς αὐτοῦ τρυφῆς, οὐδὲ ποιμένος ἐπιεικοῦς ἔχων ἦθος, σκέπης καὶ νομῆς<sup>3</sup> προνοούμενος τοῖς αὐτοῦ κτήνεσιν,<sup>4</sup> ἔτι δὲ θήρας ἀπαμύνων καὶ φῶρας προφυλάττων, ἄλλ' αὐτὸς<sup>5</sup> πρῶτος διαρπάζων τε καὶ φθείρων καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτρέπων, καθάπερ, οἶμαι, πολεμίων λείαν, οὐκ ἂν ποτε εἴποιμι τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄρχοντα ἢ αὐτοκράτορα ἢ βασιλέα, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον τύραννον καὶ λευστήρα, ὥς ποτε προσεῖπεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων τὸν Σικυώνιον τύραννον, εἰ καὶ πολλὰς μὲν ἔχοι τιάρας, πολλὰ δὲ σκῆπτρα καὶ πολλοὶ<sup>6</sup> ὑπακούοιεν αὐτῷ.
- 42 Τοιαῦτα μὲν ἐκείνος εἰώθει λέγειν, προτρέπων αἰεὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ βελτίους ποιῶν καὶ ἄρχοντας καὶ ἰδιώτας.
- "Ομοια δὲ εἰρήκασι περὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας οἱ μετ' αὐτόν, ὥς οἶόν τε ἐπόμενοι τῇ σοφωτάτῃ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ before τῆς deleted by Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> Capps conjectures αὐτῷ οἰόμενος ἄρχειν μόνῳ "thinking that he is ruling for himself alone."

<sup>3</sup> νομῆς Emperius: μονῆς.

### THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

others, not divorcing his own interest from that of his subjects, but rejoicing most and regarding himself as most prosperous when he sees his subjects prosperous too—then he is most powerful and a king in very truth. If, on the other hand, he loves pleasure and wealth, is overbearing and lawless, and is minded to exalt himself alone to the end that he may get the most wealth and enjoy the most and greatest pleasures, leading an idle and effortless life and looking upon his subjects one and all as but slaves and ministers to his own luxury; if he lacks even the quality of a good shepherd, who takes thought for the shelter and pasturing of his own flock, and, besides, keeps off wild beasts and guards it against thieves; nay, if he is the very first to plunder and destroy them and to grant the same privilege to others as though they were veritable spoil of the enemy—never should I style such a ruler either emperor or king. Much rather should I call him a tyrant and oppressor, as Apollo once called the tyrant of Sicyon<sup>1</sup>—yea, even though he had many tiaras, many sceptres, and many obeyed his behests.”

Such was the sage’s habitual message while he constantly incited to virtue and tried to make both rulers and subjects better.

In a similar vein his successors have spoken about government and kingship, following his most wise

<sup>1</sup> Cleisthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon, consulted the oracle of Delphi as to whether he should banish the cult of Adrastus, and got the reply that Adrastus was king of Sicyon, while he was an oppressor (λευστήρ). See Herodotus 5, 67. 1 f.

<sup>4</sup> κτήνεσιν emendation in Palatine MS. : κτήμασιν.

<sup>5</sup> ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς Emperius : ἀλλὰ.

<sup>6</sup> καὶ πολλοὶ added by Cohoon, πολλοὶ δ’ Reiske.

- 43 γνώμη. αὐτὰ δὲ πρῶτα δηλοῖ τὰ ὀνόματα τὴν  
 διαφορὰν τῶν πραγμάτων. λέγεται γὰρ ἡ μὲν  
 ἀρχὴ νόμιμος ἀνθρώπων διοικήσεις καὶ πρόνοια  
 ἀνθρώπων κατὰ νόμον, βασιλεία δὲ ἀνυπεύθυνος  
 44 ἀρχή,<sup>1</sup> ὁ δὲ νόμος βασιλέως δόγμα. ὁ δὲ τύραν-  
 νος καὶ ἡ τυραννὶς ἐναντίον τούτοις βίαιος καὶ  
 παράνομος χρήσις<sup>2</sup> ἀνθρώπων τοῦ δοκοῦντος  
 ἰσχύειν πλέου.<sup>3</sup>
- 45 Τρία γὰρ εἶδη τὰ φανερώτατα πολιτειῶν ὀνο-  
 μάζεται γιγνομένων κατὰ νόμον καὶ δίκην μετὰ  
 δαίμονός τε ἀγαθοῦ καὶ τύχης ὁμοίας· μία μὲν  
 ἡ πρώτη καὶ μάλιστα συμβῆναι δυνατὴ, περὶ  
 ἧς ὁ νῦν λόγος, εὖ διοικουμένης πύλεως ἢ πλειό-  
 νων ἐθνῶν ἢ ξυμπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς  
 ἀγαθοῦ γνώμη καὶ ἀρετῇ· δευτέρα δὲ ἀριστο-  
 46 κρατία καλουμένη, οὔτε ἐνὸς οὔτε πολλῶν τινων,  
 ἀλλὰ ὀλίγων τῶν ἀρίστων ἡγουμένων, πλεῖον  
 ἀπέχουσα ἤδη τοῦ δυνατοῦ καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος·  
 τοῦτο ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ Ὅμηρος εἰπεῖν διανοη-  
 θεῖς,

οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη· εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω,  
 εἰς βασιλεύς, ᾧ ἔδωκε Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυ-  
 λομήτεω.

- 47 τρίτη δὲ πασῶν ἀδυνατωτάτη σχεδὸν ἢ σωφ-  
 ροσύνη καὶ ἀρετῇ δήμου προσδοκῶσά ποτε

<sup>1</sup> After ἀρχή the MSS. have these words, which all the editors reject: βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνυπεύθυνος ἀρχῶν "king and autocrat mean the same thing, i.e. irresponsible ruler."

<sup>2</sup> Capps conjectures ἀρχή τις "a sort of government."

<sup>3</sup> After πλέου the MSS. have these . . . . . deletes: οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς διανοοῦμεθα καὶ φαιμέν περὶ τοῦ θείου καὶ θεοφιλοῦς αὐτοκράτορος καὶ βασιλέως—"So too do

### THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

doctrine as closely as they might. And the very terms they use make the distinctions clear at the outset. "Government" is defined as the lawful ordering of men and as oversight over men in accordance with law; "monarchy," as an irresponsible government where the king's will is law<sup>1</sup>; "tyrant," or rather "tyranny," on the contrary, as the arbitrary and lawless exploitation of men by one regarded as having superior force on his side.

The three most conspicuous forms of government—governments based on law and justice and enjoying the favour of heaven and fortune—are expressly named. One is the first to come into existence and the most practicable<sup>2</sup>—that which forms the subject of the present address—where we have a city, or a number of peoples, or the whole world, well ordered by one good man's judgment and virtue; second, the so-called "aristocracy," where not one man, nor a considerable number of men, but a few, and they the best, are in control—a form of government, at length, far from being either practicable or expedient. It seems to me that Homer too had this in mind when he said:

"The rule  
Of the many is not well. One must be chief  
In war, and one the king, to whom the son  
Of Cronus, crafty in counsel, the sceptre doth  
give."<sup>3</sup>

Third, possibly the most impracticable one of all, the one that expects by the self-control and virtue of the

<sup>1</sup> This is Aristotle's teaching. Cf. *Pol.* 7. 2. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1406 a 23. <sup>3</sup> *Iliad* 2. 204 f.

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we think and speak of our divine and highly favoured emperor and king."



εὐρήσειν κατάστασιν ἐπιεικῇ καὶ νόμιμον, δημοκρατία προσαγορευομένη, ἐπιεικὲς ὄνομα καὶ πρᾶον, εἴπερ ἦν δυνατόν.

- 48 Ἰρσι δὲ ταύταις ὥσπερ εἴρηται πολιτείαις τρεῖς ἐναντίαι καὶ παράνομοι διαφθοραί, ἡ μὲν πρώτη<sup>1</sup> τυραννίς, ἐνὸς ὕβρει καὶ βία τοῦ κακίστου τῶν ἄλλων ἀπολλυμένων· ἡ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνην ὀλιγαρχία σκληρὰ καὶ ἄδικος, πλεονεξία πλουσίων τινῶν καὶ πονηρῶν ὀλίγων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς
- 49 καὶ ἀπόρους συστᾶσα· ἡ δὲ ἐξῆς ποικίλη καὶ παντοδαπὴ φορὰ πλήθους οὐδὲν εἰδότης ἀπλῶς, ταραττομένου δὲ αἰεὶ καὶ ἀγριαίνοντος ὑπὸ ἀκολάστων δημαγωγῶν ὥσπερ κλύδωνος ἀγρίου καὶ χαλεποῦ ὑπὸ ἀνέμων σκληρῶν μεταβαλλομένου.

- Τούτων μὲν οὖν ὁ λόγος ἄλλως<sup>2</sup> ἐπεμνήσθη, πολλὰ παθήματα καὶ συμφορὰς ἐκίστης αὐτῶν
- 50 ἐκ τοῦ πρότερον χρόνου δεῖξαι δυνάμενος· περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐδαίμονός τε καὶ θείας καταστάσεως τῆς νῦν ἐπικρατούσης χρὴ διελθεῖν ἐπιμελέστερον. πολλαὶ μὲν οὖν εἰκόνες ἐναργεῖς καὶ παραδείγματα οὐκ ἀμυδρὰ τῆσδε τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἔν τε ἀγέλαις καὶ σμήνεσι διασημαινούσης τῆς φύσεως τὴν κατὰ φύσιν τοῦ κρείττονος τῶν ἐλαττόνων ἀρχὴν καὶ πρόνοιαν· οὐ μὴν φανερώτερον ἂν<sup>3</sup> οὐδὲ κάλλιον ἕτερον γένοιτο τῆς τοῦ παντὸς ἡγεμονίας, ἣ ὑπὸ τῷ πρώτῳ τε καὶ ἀρίστῳ θεῷ.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> After πρώτη the MSS. have these words, which Arnim rejects: τε καὶ ἀρίστη καὶ μόνη δυνατή—"and best and alone feasible."

<sup>2</sup> ἄλλως conjectured by Capps in place of ἄλλως.

<sup>3</sup> ἂν added by Jacobs.

### THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

common people some day to find an equitable constitution based on law. Men call it "democracy"—a specious and inoffensive name, if the thing were but practicable.

To these forms of government—three in number, as I have said—are opposed three degenerate forms not based on law: The first is "tyranny," where one man's high-handed use of force is the ruin of the others. Next comes oligarchy, harsh and unjust, arising from the aggrandizement of a certain few wealthy rascals at the expense of the needy masses. The next in order is a motley impulsive mob<sup>1</sup> of all sorts and conditions of men who know absolutely nothing but are always kept in a state of confusion and anger by unscrupulous demagogues, just as a wild rough sea is whipped this way and that by the fierce blasts.

These degenerate forms I have merely touched on in passing, though I could point to many mischances and disasters that each of them has suffered in the past, but it is my duty to discuss more carefully the happy and god-given polity at present in force. Now there are many close parallels and striking analogies to this form of government to be found in nature, where herds of cattle and swarms of bees indicate clearly that it is natural for the stronger to govern and care for the weaker. However, there could be no more striking or beautiful illustration than that government of the universe which is under the control of the first and best god.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Polybius 10. 4, 3, ἡ τοῦ πλῆθους φροδᾶ,

<sup>4</sup> After θεῶν the MSS. have the words τὰ περὶ τοῦ Διός, which Arnim and Sonny regard as a copyist's note to indicate that here followed what Dio said about Zeus.

- 51 Τοιοῦτος<sup>1</sup> δὲ ὢν πρῶτον μὲν ἐστὶ θεοφιλῆς, ἅτε τῆς μεγίστης τυγχάνων παρὰ θεῶν τιμῆς καὶ πίστεως. καὶ πρῶτόν γε καὶ μάλιστα θεραπεύσει τὸ θεῖον, οὐχ ὁμολογῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πεπεισμένος εἶναι θεοῦς, ἵνα δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχη
- 52 τοὺς κατ' ἀξίαν ἄρχοντας. ἡγεῖται δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις συμφέρειν τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόνοιαν οὕτως ὥς αὐτῷ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρχήν. καὶ μὴν ἐκεῖνο ἑαυτῷ συνειδὼς ὥς οὐποτε δῶρον δέξεται παρὰ κακῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐδὲ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀναθήμασιν οὐδὲ θυσίαις οἶεται χαίρειν τῶν ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν, παρὰ μόνων δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν προσέσθαι τὰ δεδομένα. τοιγαροῦν θεραπεύειν ἀφθόνως αὐτοὺς σπουδάζει καὶ τούτοις· ἐκείνοις γε μὴν οὐδέποτε παύσεται τιμῶν, τοῖς καλοῖς ἔργοις καὶ ταῖς δικαίαις πράξεσιν. ἕκαστόν γε μὴν τῶν θεῶν ἱλάσκεται
- 53 κατὰ<sup>2</sup> δύναμιν. ἡγεῖται δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀρετὴν ὁσιότητα, τὴν δὲ κακίαν πᾶσαν ἀσέβειαν. εἶναι γὰρ ἐναγείς καὶ ἀλιτηρίους οὐ μόνον τοὺς τὰ ἱερὰ συλῶντας ἢ λέγοντάς τι βλάσφημον περὶ τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τοὺς τε δειλοὺς καὶ ἀδίκους καὶ ἀκρατεῖς καὶ ἀνοήτους καὶ καθόλου τοὺς ἐναντίον τι πρίπτοντας τῇ τε
- 54 δυνάμει καὶ βουλήσει τῶν θεῶν. οὐ μόνον δὲ ἡγεῖται θεοῦς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δαίμονας καὶ ἥρωας ἀγαθοὺς τὰς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ψυχὰς μεταβαλούσας ἐκ τῆς θνητῆς φύσεως· τοῦτο δὲ βεβαιοῖ τὸ δόγμα οὐχ ἥκιστα χαριζόμενος αὐτῷ.
- 55 Τὴν τε τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμέλειαν οὐ πάρεργον οὐδὲ ἀσχολίαν ἄλλως νενόμικεν, βαρυνόμενος οἶμαι τὰς φροντίδας, ἀλλὰ ἔργον αὐτοῦ καὶ

### THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

A ruler of this character is, to begin with, highly favoured of the gods, seeing that he enjoys their greatest respect and confidence, and he will give the first and chief place to religion, not merely confessing but also believing in his heart that there are gods, to the end that he too may have worthy governors under him. And he believes that his own oversight is advantageous to others just as the rule of the gods is to himself. Furthermore, being firmly resolved in his own heart never to receive a gift from wicked men, he believes that the gods also do not delight in the offerings or sacrifices of the unjust, but accept the gifts made by the good alone. Accordingly, he will be zealous to worship them with these also without stint. Of a truth he will never cease honouring them with noble deeds and just acts. Each one, indeed, of the gods he will propitiate as far as within him lies. Virtue he regards as holiness and vice as utter impiety, being firmly persuaded that not only those who rob temples or blaspheme the gods are sinners<sup>1</sup> and accursed but, much moreso, the cowardly, the unjust, the licentious, the fools, and, in general, those who act contrary to the power and will of the gods. Furthermore, he believes not only in gods but also in good spirits and demi-gods, which are the souls of good men that have cast off this mortal nature; and in confirming this belief he does no small service to himself as well.

Then, the care bestowed on his subjects he does not consider an incidental thing or mere drudgery, when weighed down, let us say, by cares, but as his

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<sup>1</sup> τοιοῦτος Reiske: τοσοῦτος.

<sup>2</sup> After κατὰ the MSS. have the words τῇν τοῦ θεοῦ, which Wilamowitz rejects.

## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

- τέχνην ταύτην. καὶ ὅταν μὲν ἄλλο τι ποιῇ, οὐδὲν ἡγεῖται σπουδαῖον οὐδὲ τῶν αὐτοῦ πράττειν· ὅταν δὲ ἀνθρώπους ὠφελῇ, τότε νομίζει τὸ προσήκον ἀποτελεῖν, ἅτε ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ ταχθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον, ᾧ ἀπειθεῖν οὐ θέμις οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἄχθεσθαι, ἅτε προσηκούσας
- 56 αὐτῷ νομίζων τὰς ἐργασίας. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω μαλακὸς οὐδὲ φιλήδονος ὅς οὐχ ἡδεται τῇ αὐτοῦ πράξει καὶ τύχῃ ἐπίπονος. ὥς ἥκιστα μὲν κυβερνήτης ἂν<sup>1</sup> ἀχθεσθείη τοῖς ἐν θαλάττῃ πόνους, ἥκιστα δὲ γεωργὸς τοῖς περὶ γεωργίαν ἔργοις, ἥκιστα δὲ κυνηγέτης οἷς δεῖ<sup>2</sup> θηρῶντα κάμνειν· καίτοι σφόδρα μὲν ἐπίποιον γεωργία,
- 57 σφόδρα δὲ κυνηγεσία. οὐ μὴν ἀπαξιοῖ τὸ κάμνειν καὶ ἐνοχλεῖσθαι τῶν ἄλλων ἕνεκεν, οὐδὲ ταύτῃ χεῖρον πράττειν νειόμικεν, ἂν δέη πλείστους αὐτὸν ἀνέχεσθαι πόνους καὶ πλείστα πράγματα ἔχειν. ὁρᾷ γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον οὐδενὸς ἐλάττω τῶν θεῶν ὄντα οὐκ ἀχθόμενον, εἰ σωτηρίας ἕνεκεν ἀνθρώπων καὶ βίου τὸν αἰῶνα διαπράττεται πάντα ὅσα πράττει.
- 58 <sup>3</sup> Καὶ τοίνυν τὴν μὲν ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν ἀναγκαίας νομίζει καὶ τοῖς ἀμελοῦσι τοῦ δικαίου καὶ βουλομένοις τυραννεῖν, εἰ μὴ τάχιστα ἀπολοῦνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ
- 59 μᾶλλον ἔτι τούτων ὁρᾷ δεομένους αὐτούς, ὅσῳ δὲ πλείους μὲν ἔχει τοὺς μισοῦντας, πλείους δὲ τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας, οὐδένα δὲ πιστὸν οὐδὲ κηδόμενον, τοσοῦτῳ γε μᾶλλον, εἰ σωθήσεται τινα χρόνον, καὶ ἀγρυπνητέον εἶναι καὶ φροντι-

<sup>1</sup> ἂν added by Jacobs.

### THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

own work and profession. And when he is otherwise engaged, he does not feel that he is doing anything worth while or that he is attending to his own business; it is only when he helps men that he thinks he is doing his duty, having been appointed to this work by the greatest god, whom it is not right for him to disobey in aught nor yet to feel aggrieved, believing, as he does, that these tasks are his duty. For no one is so effeminate or enslaved to pleasure as not to like his own occupation even if it chance to be laborious. A sea-captain, for example, never finds his toil at sea irksome, nor a farmer his work in tilling the soil; never is the huntsman wearied by the hardships of the chase; and yet both farming and hunting are most laborious. No indeed, the king does not object to toil and discomfort in behalf of others, nor does he deem his lot any the worse simply because he has to face the most tasks and have the most troubles. For he sees that the sun, too, although inferior to none of the gods, frets not because, to preserve man and life, he must accomplish all his many tasks throughout the ages.

And again, he considers courage, self-control, and prudence necessary even for those who disregard justice and wish to play the tyrant, if they are not speedily to perish; nay, he sees that they stand in need of these qualities even more than those others, and that the more such a man is beset by those who hate him and by those who plot against him, while he has no one on whom he can rely or look to for sympathy; so much the more, if he is to remain safe for any time, must he be on the alert and use his wits, guard-

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<sup>2</sup> *oIs dei Emperius* : *ws del* or *dv dei* or *eIs del*.

<sup>3</sup> *Emperius* and *Arnim* place §§ 58-61 after § 85.

στέον, ὥς<sup>1</sup> ἀμυνόμενόν τε μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἐπιβουλεύμενον μὴ ἀγνοεῖν τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας, καὶ τῶν ἡδονῶν ἀφεκτέον καὶ γαστρὶ καὶ ὕπνῳ καὶ ἀφροδισίοις ἐλάχιστα προσεκτέον ἢ<sup>2</sup> τῷ φιλουμένῳ μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων, μηδένα δὲ ἔχοντι ἐπιβουλεύοντα.

60 Εἰ δὲ δεῖ τὰς αὐτὰς μὲν φροντίδας ἔχειν ἢ καὶ<sup>3</sup> πλείους, πολὺ δὲ μείζους ἀσχολίας, ὁμοίως δὲ εὐλαβεῖσθαι τὰς ἡδονάς, ὁμοίως δὲ τοὺς κινδύνους ὑπομένειν, πόσω γε κρεῖττον μετὰ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀρετῆς ἢ μετὰ πονηρίας καὶ ἀδικίας πάντα ταῦτα ἐπιτηδεύειν, καὶ μετὰ ἐπαίνου φαίνεσθαι τοιοῦτον ἢ μετὰ ψύγου, ἀγαπώμενον μὲν ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων, ἀγαπώμενον  
61 δὲ ὑπὸ θεῶν, ἢ τοῦναντίον μισούμενον; καὶ τοίνυν τὸ μὲν παρὸν βραχὺ τι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ἀσυλλόγιστον, κατέχει δὲ τοῦ βίου τὸ πλεῖστον ἢ μνήμη τῶν προγεγονότων καὶ ἢ τῶν μελλόντων ἐλπίς. πότερον οὖν τοῖν ἀνδροῖν ἡγούμεθα εὐφραίνειν τὴν μνήμην<sup>4</sup> καὶ πότερον ἀνιᾶν, καὶ πότερον θαρρύνειν τὰς ἐλπίδας καὶ πότερον ἐκπλήττειν; οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡδίονα ἀνάγκη τὸν βίον εἶναι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ βασιλέως.

62 Ὅρῃς γὰρ ὅτι πανταχοῦ τὸ βέλτιον τοῦ ἡττονος ἔταξεν ὁ θεὸς προνοεῖν τε καὶ ἄρχειν, οἶον τέχνην μὲν ἀτεχνίας, ἀσθενείας δὲ δύναμιν, τοῦ δὲ ἀνιοήτου τὸ φρόνιμον προνοεῖν καὶ προ-  
βουλεύειν ἐποίησεν. ἐν πάσαις δὲ ταύταις ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις τὸ ἄρχειν οὐδαμῶς ῥάθυμον, ἀλλὰ ἐπίπονον, οὐδὲ πλεονεκτοῦν ἀνέσεως καὶ σχολῆς,

<sup>1</sup> ὡς Emperius: καὶ.

### THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

ing against defeat by his enemies and plotting to have full knowledge of the plotters, and so much the more must he abstain from pleasure and refuse to yield under any pressure to the allurements of high living, sloth, and carnal pleasure—yea, much more than the man beloved by all who has no one plotting against him.

Therefore, if the unjust ruler must have the same anxieties as the other—or even more—and much more exacting toil, if he must equally steel himself against pleasure, must equally face danger, how much better it is for him to show justice and virtue rather than wickedness and injustice in doing all this, to win credit rather than censure for his acts, to have the love of men and gods instead of their hate? Besides, man's present is short and uncertain; the most of his life is filled with remembrance of the past and expectation of the future. Which, therefore, of the two men do we think finds joy in remembrance, and which remorse? Which do we think is encouraged by his expectations and which dismayed? Therefore of necessity the life of the good king is more pleasant also.

Once more, you see that God has everywhere appointed the superior to care for and rule over the inferior: skill, for instance, over unskilfulness, strength over weakness; and for the foolish he has made the wise to have care and thought, to watch and plan; and with all these responsibilities governing is by no means easy; nay, it is laborious and does not get the greater share of relaxation and ease, but rather of

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<sup>2</sup> The words ἡ . . . ἐπιβουλεύοντα are rejected by Arnim.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ added by Reiske.

<sup>4</sup> μνήμην Geel: γνώμην.



- 63 ἀλλὰ φροντίδων καὶ πόνων. αὐτίκα ἐν νηὶ ἐπιβάταις ἔξεστιν ἀμελεῖν καὶ μηδὲ ὄραν τὴν θάλατταν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ὅποι γῆς εἰσι, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, τοῦτο εἰδέναι· καὶ πολλοὶ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον πλέουσι ταῖς εὐδαίαις, οἱ μὲν πεττεύοντες, οἱ δὲ ἄδοντες, οἱ δὲ εὐωχούμενοι δι' ἡμέρας· ὅταν δὲ καταλάβῃ χειμῶν, ἐγκαλυψάμενοι περιμένουσι τὸ συμβησόμενον· οἱ δὲ τινες καθυπνώσαντες οὐδὲ ἀνέστησαν, ἕως ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ
- 64 λιμένι. τῷ κυβερνήτῃ δὲ ἀνάγκη μὲν ὄραν πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀνάγκη δὲ ἀποβλέπειν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ἀνάγκη δὲ προσκοπεῖν τὴν γῆν· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ βυθῷ χρὴ λαυθάνειν αὐτόν, ἢ λήσεται περιπεσὼν ὑφάλοις πέτραις ἢ ἀδύλοις
- 65 ἔρμασι· μόνῳ δὲ ἐκείνῳ τῆς μὲν νυκτὸς ἡττον ἔξεστι καθυπνώσαι ἢ τοῖς νυχευομένοις.<sup>1</sup> ἡμέρας δὲ εἴ ποῦ τι βραχὺ κλέψειε τοῦ ὕπνου, καὶ τοῦτο μετέωρον καὶ ἀμφίβολον, ὥς ἀναβοᾷ<sup>2</sup> πολλάκις ἢ τὸ ἰστίον στέλλειν ἢ παράγειν τὸ πηδάλιον ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν ναυτικῶν· ὥστε καὶ κοιμώμενος ἐκεῖνος μᾶλλον ἐπιμελεῖται τῆς νεῶς ἢ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ σφόδρα ἐγρηγορότες.
- 66 Ἐν γε μὴν τῷ στρατεύεσθαι τῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστος αὐτῷ μόνῳ ἐπιμελεῖται καὶ ὅπλων καὶ τροφῆς, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ πορίζων, ἀλλ' ἔτοιμα ἀξιῶν ἔχειν· μόνῃς δὲ φροντίζει τῆς
- 67 ὑγιείας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ, μόνῃς δὲ τῆς σωτηρίας. τῷ στρατηγῷ δὲ ἔργον ἐστὶν ἅπαντας μὲν ὠπλίσθαι καλῶς, ἅπαντας δὲ εὐπορεῖν σκέπης, οὐ μόνον δὲ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων γαστέρας πληροῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἵππων· εἰ δὲ μὴ πάντες ἔχωσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἄχθεται ἢ αὐτὸς

### THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

care and toil. Thus, on board ship the passengers may disregard the sea and not even look at it; yes, not even know "where on earth they are," as the saying is—and many do sail the sea after this fashion in fair weather, some gambling, some singing, some feasting the livelong day. Then when a storm comes on, they wrap themselves up and await the event, while some few retire and do not rise from their beds until they reach port. But the pilot—he must look out to sea, must scan the sky, must see the land in time; nay, nor should what is in the depths escape him either, else he will unexpectedly strike submerged rocks or hidden reefs. He is the only one who during the night has less chance to sleep than the night-watch; while by day, if he does by any chance snatch a wink of sleep, even this is anxious and fitful, since he shouts out frequently, "Furl the sail," or "Hard on the tiller," or gives some other nautical command. And so, even when dozing, he has more thought for the ship than any of the others who are widest awake.

To take another illustration: On a campaign, the individual soldier sees to weapons and food for himself alone, and besides, does not furnish them himself but expects to find them ready at hand. It is only his own health, only his own safety that he has to think of. But it is the general's duty to see that all are well equipped, that all are provided with shelter, and to furnish sufficient food not only for the men but for the horses as well; and if all do not have their supplies, he is much more vexed than he would

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<sup>1</sup> νυχευομένοις Capps, cf. τῶν ἀεὶ φυλαττόντων § 85: νηχομένοις.

<sup>2</sup> ἀναβοᾷ Capps: ἀναβοᾶν.

νοσῶν· σωτηρίαν γε μὴν τὴν ἐκείνων οὐ περὶ ἐλάττονος ποιεῖται τῆς αὐτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ δὴ νικᾶν μὲν ἀδύνατον ἄνευ σωτηρίας τῶν στρατιωτῶν· ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς νίκης πολλοὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν αἰροῦνται.

68 Πάλιν δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἡμῶν τὸ μὲν σῶμα, ἅτε ἀνόητον, οὐδὲ αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν ἱκανόν ἐστιν οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φροντίζειν πέφυκεν, ὃ γε<sup>1</sup> τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπολιπούσης οὐδὲ ὀλίγον δύναται διαμένειν, ἀλλὰ παραχρῆμα λύεται καὶ ἀπόλλυται· ἡ ψυχὴ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου πάσας μὲν φροντίδας φροντίζει, πᾶσαις δὲ ἐπινοίαις σκύλλεται<sup>2</sup> καὶ  
69 πολλὰ μὲν ἀνιᾶται λυπούμενου.<sup>3</sup> καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα παρούσης αὐτῆς μόνον αἰσθάνεται τῆς ἀλγηδύνος· ἡ ψυχὴ δὲ πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι τὴν ἀλγηδόνα ἀνιᾶται, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ μὴ μελλούσης γίγνεσθαι, δι' ὀρρωδίαν. θανάτου δὲ σῶμα μὲν οὐδέποτε ᾗσθετο· ψυχὴ δὲ καὶ τούτου<sup>4</sup> συνίησι, καὶ πολλὰ πᾶσχει ῥυομένη μὲν ἐκ νόσων τὸ σῶμα, ῥυομένη δὲ ἐκ πολέμων, ῥυομένη δὲ ἐκ χειμῶνος, ῥυομένη δὲ ἐκ θαλάσσης. οὕτω πανταχῇ ἐπιπονώτερον ψυχὴ καὶ ταλαιπωρότερον σώματος, ὅμως δὲ θεϊότερον καὶ βασιλικώτερον.

70 Καὶ μὴν τῶν γε ἀνθρώπων πᾶς ἂν ὁμολογήσειεν ὡς ἰσχυρότερον καὶ ἡγεμονικώτερον ἀνὴρ γυναικός. ἀλλ' ἐκείναις μὲν τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἔργων κατ' οἰκίαν ἐστί, καὶ ἄπειροι μὲν ὡς τὸ πολὺ χειμῶνων διατελοῦσιν, ἄπειροι δὲ  
71 πολέμων, ἄπειροι δὲ κινδύνων. τοῖς δὲ ἀνδράσι προσήκει μὲν στρατεύεσθαι, προσήκει δὲ ναυ-

<sup>1</sup> γε Reiske: τε.

## THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

be if ill himself; while the safety of his men he considers just as important as his own. Indeed, victory is impossible if the soldiers be not saved, and to win victory many good men choose even to die.

Again, the body of each one of us, being devoid of intelligence, is not in a position to help itself, nor by its very nature can it take thought for itself; indeed, when the soul departs, it cannot endure even a short time, but suffers immediate decay and dissolution; whereas the soul feels every care in its behalf, is troubled by every fancy when it is hurt, and is greatly distressed. Only when the soul is present is the body sensitive to pain; but the soul is distressed before the pain comes; often, too, through foreboding when it is not going to come. As for death, the body never feels it, but the soul understands it and suffers greatly, now rescuing the body from disease, now from war, rescuing it from storms and rescuing it from the sea. So, while from every point of view the soul is more subject to hardship and suffering than the body, yet it is the more divine and regal part.

Then compare the lots of man and woman. Now everyone would admit that man is stronger than woman and more fitted to lead. Consequently, to her falls the larger share of the household tasks, and, for the most part, she remains unacquainted with storms and wars, unacquainted with dangers in general; while it is the man's part, on the other

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<sup>2</sup> πάσαις δὲ ἐπινοίαις σκύλλεται Καρπς πάσας δὲ ἐπινοίας σκύλλει.

<sup>3</sup> λυπουμένου Καρps: λυπουμένη.

<sup>4</sup> τούτου Reiske: τούτο.

- τιλίας ποεῖν,<sup>1</sup> ἀνάγκη δὲ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τὰ ἔργα διαπονεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἂν τις μακα-  
 72 ρίσειε τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰς γυναῖκας. ὅσοι δ' αὖ δι' ἀσθένειάν τε καὶ μαλακίαν ἐξήλωσαν τὸν ἐκείνων βίον, ὥσπερ Σαρδανάπαλλος, διαβόητοι μέχρι νῦν εἰσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς αἰσχροῖς.
- 73 Τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὁρᾷς τὸν ἥλιον, πόσῳ μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπερέχει μακαριότητι θεὸς ὢν· ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἀναίνεται δι' αἰῶνος ἡμῖν ὑπουργῶν καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔνεκα σωτηρίας πρᾶττων ἵπαντα.
- 74 τί γὰρ ἂν<sup>2</sup> ἄλλο τις εἴποι τὸν ἥλιον ἐργάζεσθαι δι' αἰῶνος ἢ ὁπόσων ἀνθρωποὶ δέονται; ποιοῦντα μὲν καὶ διακρίνοντα τὰς ὥρας, αὖξοντα δὲ καὶ τρέφοντα πάντα μὲν τὰ ζῶα, πάντα δὲ τὰ φυτά, χοριγοῦντα δὲ τὸ κύλλιστον καὶ ἡδιστον ὁρά-  
 μάτων, φῶς, οὗ χωρὶς οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὄφελος οὐδὲν τῶν καλῶν, οὔτε οὐρανίων οὔτε ἐπιγείων, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦ ζῆν· καὶ ταῦτα οὐδέποτε κάμνει
- 75 χαριζόμενος. ἡπού γε δουλείαν δουλεύειν φαίη τις ἂν πάνυ ἰσχυράν. εἰ γὰρ καὶ σμικρὸν ἀμελήσειε καὶ παραβαίη τῆς αὐτοῦ τάξεως, οὐδὲν κωλύει πάντα μὲν οὐρανόν, πᾶσαν δὲ γῆν, πᾶσαν δὲ θάλατταν οἴχεσθαι, πάντα δὲ τοῦτον τὸν εὖειδῆ καὶ μακάριον κόσμον τὴν αἰσχίστην καὶ
- 76 χαλεπωτάτην ἀκοσμίαν φανῆναι. νῦν δέ, ὥσπερ ἐν λύρᾳ φθόγγων ἀπτόμενος ἐμμελῶς, οὐδέποτε ἐξίσταται τῆς καθαρᾶς τε καὶ ἄκρας ἁρμονίας,

<sup>1</sup> ποεῖν Capps: πλεῖν. Imperius proposed to delete προσήκει δὲ πλεῖν.

<sup>2</sup> ἂν added by Dindorf.

### THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

hand, to serve in the army, to sail the sea, and to do the hard outdoor work. Yet no one would on that account deem women happier than men. Nay, every man whose weakness and lack of virility have led him to emulate their life, as Sardanapallus did, is to this day branded with the shame of it.

But this is the best illustration: You see how greatly the sun, being a god, surpasses man in felicity and yet throughout the ages does not grow weary in ministering to us and doing everything to promote our welfare. For what else would one say that the sun accomplishes throughout the ages except what man stands in need of? Does he not cause and mark out the seasons, give growth and nourishment to all living creatures and to all plant life? Does he not lavish upon us the fairest and most delightful of visions, even his light, without which we should have no profit of the other beautiful things, be they in heaven or on earth; nay, not even of life itself? And he never grows weary in showering these blessings upon us. Verily one might say that he endures a servitude most exacting; for, if he were to be careless but for a moment and leave his appointed track, absolutely nothing would prevent the whole heavens, the whole earth, and the whole sea from going to wrack and ruin, and all this fair and blissful order from ending in the foulest and most dread disorder. But now, as though touching the strings of the lyre with an artist's touch,<sup>1</sup> he never swerves from his pure and exquisite harmony, ever moving along his

<sup>1</sup> Just as Apollo's (the sun god's) lyre had seven strings, so the sun directed the motions of the seven heavenly spheres. See Macrobius 1. 19. 15.

- 77 μίαν αἰὲ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπιδὼν ὁδόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ δεῖται μὲν ἀλέας ἢ γῆ ὥστε γεννηθῆσαι τὰ φυόμενα καὶ ὥστε αὐξῆσαι καὶ ὥστε ἐπιτελέσαι, δεῖται δὲ τὰ ζῶα καὶ σωτηρίας ἕνεκα τῶν σωμάτων καὶ ἡδονῆς τῆς κατὰ φύσιν, δεόμεθα δὲ πάντων μάλιστα ἡμεῖς, ἅτε πλείστης χρῆζοντες βοηθείας, θέρος ἐποίησεν αἰὲ καὶ μᾶλλον, ἐγγυτέρω προσιῶν τῆς ἡμετέρας οἰκίσεως, ἵνα πάντα μὲν φύσῃ, πάντα δὲ θρέψῃ, πάντα δὲ τελειώσῃ, θείαν δὲ καὶ θαυμαστὴν παρίσχη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὐφροσύνην τε καὶ ἑορτήν.
- 78 Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὖ πάλιν τᾶλλα τε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν χρίᾳ γιγνόμεθα τῆς ἐναντίας κράσεως· δεῖται μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ ψύχους τὰ σώματα συνίστασθαι, δεῖται δὲ πυκνώσεως τὰ φυτά, δεῖται δὲ ὄμβρων ἢ γῆ· πάλιν ἅπειςιν ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀφιστάμενος τὸ μέτριον. οὕτω δὲ πάνν ἀσφαλῶς καὶ ἀραρότως τηρεῖ τοὺς ὄρους πρὸς τὸ ἡμῖν συμφέρον, ὥστε εἴτε προσιῶν ὀλίγον ἐγγυτέρω γένοιτο, πάντα ἂν συμφλέξειεν, εἴτε ἀπιδὼν μικρὸν ὑπερβάλοι, πάντα ἂν ἀποψυγείη τῷ
- 80 κρύει. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀσθενέστεροι φέρειν ἔσμεν τὴν μεταβολὴν ἀθρόαν γιγνομένην, κατ' ὀλίγον ταῦτα μηχανᾶται καὶ τρόπον τινὰ λανθάνει συνεθίζων μὲν ἡμᾶς διὰ τοῦ ἡρος ὑπενεγκεῖν τὸ θέρος, προγυμνάζων δὲ διὰ τοῦ μετοπώρου χειμῶνα ἀνέχεσθαι, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ χειμῶνος θάλπων κατ' ὀλίγον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ θέρους ἀναψύχων, ὥστε ἀλύπως ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς ἑκατέραν τὴν ὑπερβολήν.
- 81 Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὖ τὸ φῶς ὁρᾶσθαι μὲν ἡδιστον, πρῶττειν δὲ ἀδύνατον ὅτιοῦν χωρὶς αὐτοῦ, κοιμώμενοι δὲ πᾶσαν μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἄγομεν, οὐδὲν

## THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

one recurrent track. And since the earth needs warmth to bring forth her produce, to give it increase, and to bring it to perfection, since animals need it likewise both for the preservation of their bodies and for their natural pleasure, and since we, being so utterly dependent in our helplessness, need it above all others, he brings on summer step by step as he approaches nearer and nearer to our habitation, that he may give growth to everything, nourish everything, perfect everything, and spread a divine and wondrous feast of good cheer before man.

But when, on the other hand, we and all other things come to need the opposite temperature—for our bodies need to be braced up by cold, plants need hardening, and the earth needs rain—he goes away from us again, withdrawing a moderate distance; and with such perfect nicety of adjustment does he observe his bounds with respect to our advantage that, if in his approach he got a little nearer, he would set everything on fire, and if he went a little too far in his departure, everything would be stiffened with frost.<sup>1</sup> And since a sudden change would be too much for our weakness, he brings all this to pass gradually, and in a way he accustoms us insensibly in the spring to endure the heat of summer and in the late autumn gives preliminary training to support the chill of winter—in the one case taking off the chill of winter little by little, in the other, reducing the heat of summer, so that we reach either extreme without discomfort.

And furthermore, since it is so great a pleasure to see the light and impossible to do anything without it, and since, when we are asleep, we do absolutely

<sup>1</sup> There is a similar observation in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, 4. 3. 8.



δὲ χρώμεθα τῷ φωτί, ὅσον μὲν ἱκανὸν ἐγρηγο-  
 ρῆναι χρόνον, ἡμέραν ἐποίησεν, ὅσον δὲ κοιμᾶσθαι  
 ἀναγκαῖον, νύκτα ἀπέδειξε, περὶ πᾶσαν ἰὼν γῆν,  
 ἄλλοτε ἄλλους ἀναπαύων τε καὶ ἀνιστάς, ἀφ-  
 ιστάμενος μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν μηκέτι δεομένων φωτός,  
 τοῖς δὲ αἰὲ δεομένοις ἐπιφαινόμενος. καὶ ταῦτα  
 μηχανώμενος δι' αἰῶνος οὐδέποτε κάμνει.

- 82 Ὅπου δὲ θεὸς ὁ πάντων κάλλιστος καὶ  
 φανερώτατος οὐχ ὑπερορᾷ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον  
 ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμελούμενος, ἡπού γε ἄνθρωπον  
 θεοφιλῇ καὶ φρόνιμον χρὴ βαρύνεσθαι τὸ τοιοῦτο,  
 83 ἀλλὰ μὴ καθ' ὅσον οἷός τέ ἐστι μιμῆσθαι τὴν  
 ἐκείνου δύναμιν καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν; ταῦτα δὲ  
 λογιζόμενος οὐκ ἄχθεται καρτερῶν· κατανοεῖ δὲ  
 τοὺς μὲν πόνους ὑγίειάν τε παρέχοντας καὶ  
 σωτηρίαν, ἔτι δὲ δόξαν ἀγαθὴν, τὴν δὲ αὖ τρυφὴν  
 ἅπαντα τούτων τὰναντία. ἔτι δὲ οἱ μὲν πόνου  
 αὐτοὺς ἐλάττους αἰὲ ποιοῦσι καὶ φέρειν ἐλα-  
 φροτέρους, τὰς δὲ ἡδονὰς μείζους καὶ ἀβλαβε-  
 στέρας, ὅταν γίγνωνται μετὰ τοὺς πόνους. ἡ  
 δέ γε τρυφή τοὺς μὲν πόνους αἰὲ χαλεπωτέρους  
 ποιεῖ φαίνεσθαι, τὰς δὲ ἡδονὰς ἀπομαραίνει καὶ  
 84 ἀσθενεῖς ἀποδείκνυσιν. ὁ γὰρ αἰὲ τρυφῶν ἄν-  
 θρωπος, μηδέποτε δὲ ἀπτόμενος πόνου μηδενός,  
 τελευτῶν πόνον μὲν οὐκ ἂν οὐδένα ἀνάσχοιτο,  
 ἡδονῆς δὲ οὐδεμιᾶς ἂν αἰσθοιτο, οὐδὲ τῆς σφο-  
 85 δροτάτης. ὥστε ὁ φιλόπονος καὶ ἐγκρατὴς οὐ  
 μόνον βασιλεύειν ἱκανώτερός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 ἥδιον βιοτεύει<sup>1</sup> πολὺ τῶν ἐναντίων.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> βιοτεύει Ἀτνίμ: βιοτεύειν.

<sup>2</sup> After ἐναντίων the MSS. have ἐγρηγόρσεως δὲ καὶ ὕπνου  
 τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις ἐξ ἴσου μέτεστι, τῶν μὲν φυλαττόντων ἐν  
 μέρει, τῶν δὲ ἀναπαυομένων ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς ἀγρυπνότερός ἐστι

### THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

nothing and make no use of the light, he has made day the time requisite for our waking hours, and turned into night the time necessary for sleep, making a complete revolution around the earth and sending now these men to rest or awakening them, now those : departing from those who no longer need his light and appearing to those who need it in their turn. And he never grows weary of bringing these things to pass throughout the ages.

But where a god, the fairest and most conspicuous of all, does not neglect his eternal watch over man, can it possibly be right for man, intelligent object of the god's care, to feel oppressed by similar duties? Should he not, so far as in him lies, imitate the god's power and goodness? Reasoning thus, the good king endures without repining. He realizes too that toil brings health and salvation and goodly report as well; while, on the other hand, luxurious ease brings quite the opposite. Then again, toil endured ever grows less and easier to support, the while it makes pleasure greater and less harmful if it follows the toil. Ease, on the other hand, makes toil appear more and more difficult in that it lessens pleasure and blunts its edge. The man who lives in the lap of luxury and never puts his hand to a single task, ends by being unable to endure any task or to feel any pleasure at all, however intense. Consequently, he who loves to toil and exercises self-control is not only better qualified to be king but is able to live a much more pleasant life than those in the opposite case.

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τῶν ἀεὶ φυλαττόντων.—“Watching and sleep the soldiers divide equally among them, some taking their turn on guard while others are sleeping. But the general gets less sleep than those mounting continuous guard.” These words Emperius warns belong to §§ 66-67.

- 86 Φιλίαν<sup>1</sup> γε μὴν ἀπάντων νενόμικε τῶν αὐτοῦ  
κτημάτων κάλλιστον καὶ ἱερώτατον. οὐ γὰρ  
οὕτως αἰσχρὸν εἶναι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν<sup>2</sup> οὐδὲ  
ἐπικίνδυνον χρημάτων ἀπορεῖν ὥς φίλων, οὐδ'  
ἂν οὕτως τῇ χορηγίᾳ καὶ τοῖς στρατοπέδοις καὶ  
τῇ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει διαφυλάττειν τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν  
87 ὥς τῇ πίστει τῶν φίλων. μόνος μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς  
πρὸς οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἱκαιὸς ἐστι· τοῖς δὲ  
βασιλεῦσιν ὅσῳ πλείω τε καὶ μείζω πράττειν  
ἀνάγκη, πλείονων δεῖ καὶ τῶν συνεργούντων καὶ  
μετ' εὐνοίας πλείονος. ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὰ μέγιστα  
καὶ σπουδαιότατα.<sup>3</sup> τῶν πραγμάτων ἢ πιστεύειν  
88 ἐτέροις ἢ προῖεσθαι. καὶ τοίνυν τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώ-  
ταις οἱ νόμοι παρέχουσι τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι ῥηδίως  
ὑπὸ τούτων οἷς ἂν συμβάλωσιν ἢ χρήματα  
πιστεύσαντες ἢ οἶκον ἐπιτρέψαντες ἢ ἔργου τινὸς  
κοινωνήσαντες, ζημιούντες τὸν ἀδικούντα· τοῖς  
δὲ βασιλεῦσι τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι πιστεύσαντας  
οὐκ ἔστι παρὰ τῶν νόμων ζητεῖν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ  
89 τῆς εὐνοίας. καὶ γὰρ ἰσχυροτάτους μὲν εἰκὸς  
ἀπάντων εἶναι τοὺς ἐγγὺς τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τὴν  
ἀρχὴν συνδιοικούντας· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων οὐκ ἔστιν  
ἄλλη φυλακὴ πλὴν τὸ ἀγαπᾶσθαι· ὥς τοῖς μὲν  
τυχοῦσιν οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἰκὴ μεταδιδόναι δυνά-  
μεως, ὅσῳ δ' ἂν τις τοὺς φίλους ἰσχυροτέρους  
90 ποιῇ, τοσοῦτ' ἰσχυρότερος αὐτὸς γίγνεται.  
91 <sup>4</sup> Καὶ τοίνυν ὅσα μὲν ἀναγκαῖα καὶ χρήσιμα

<sup>1</sup> Before φιλιαν Emperius and Arnim put §§ 58-61.

<sup>2</sup> τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Weil: τὸ βασιλεύειν.

<sup>3</sup> σπουδαιότατα Reiske: σπουδαιότερα.

<sup>4</sup> Before καὶ the MSS. have the following words, which Dindorf rejects: ὅρα δὲ ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων κτημάτων τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα μόνον καὶ χρήσιμα δοκεῖ πᾶσι, τέρψιν δὲ οὐδεμίαν παρέχεται· τὰ δὲ ἡδέα μόνον, συμφέροντα δὲ οὐ· τοῦναντίον δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα

## THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

Friendship, moreover, the good king holds to be the fairest and most sacred of his possessions, believing that the lack of means is not so shameful or perilous for a king as the lack of friends, and that he maintains his happy state, not so much by means of revenues and armies and his other sources of strength, as by the loyalty of his friends. For no one, of and by himself, is sufficient for a single one of even his own needs; and the more and greater the responsibilities of a king are, the greater is the number of co-workers that he needs, and the greater the loyalty required of them, since he is forced to entrust his greatest and most important interests to others or else to abandon them. Furthermore, the law protects the private individual from being easily wronged by men with whom he enters into business relations, either by entrusting them with money, or by making them agents of an estate, or by entering into partnership with them in some enterprise; and it does so by punishing the offender. A king, however, cannot look to the law for protection against betrayal of a trust, but must depend upon loyalty. Naturally, those who stand near the king and help him rule the country are the strongest, and from them he has no other protection than their love. Consequently, it is not a safe policy for him to share his power carelessly with the first men he meets; but the stronger he makes his friends, the stronger he becomes himself.

Once more, necessary and useful possessions do

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τῶν ἡδέων ἀσύμφορα εὐρίσκεται.—“Note too that in the case of other possessions, some are universally regarded as necessary merely and useful: they give no delight. Others are pleasurable merely and not necessary. On the contrary, most pleasurable things are found to be harmful.”

- τῶν κτημάτων, οὐ πάντως ἡδονὴν τινα ἔχει τοῖς  
 κεκτημένοις· ὅσα δὲ τερπνὰ, οὐκ εὐθὺς διὰ τοῦτο  
 καὶ συμφέροντα· τοῦναντίον γὰρ πολλὰ τῶν  
 92 ἡδέων ἀσύμφορα ἐξελέγχεται. αὐτίκα τείχη  
 μὲν καὶ ὅπλα καὶ μηχανήματα καὶ στρατόπεδα  
 τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐστὶ κτημάτων τοῖς κρατοῦσιν·  
 ἄνευ γὰρ τούτων οὐχ οἷόν τε σώζεσθαι τὴν  
 ἀρχήν· τέρψιν δὲ οὐχ ὁρῶ ποίαν δίχα γε τῆς  
 93 ὠφελείας ἔχει. καλὰ δὲ ἄλση καὶ οἰκίαι πολυ-  
 τέλεις καὶ <sup>1</sup> ἀνδριάντες καὶ γραφαὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς τε  
 καὶ ἄκρας τέχνης καὶ χρυσοῖ κρατῆρες καὶ  
 ποικίλαι τράπεζαι καὶ πορφύρα καὶ ἐλέφας καὶ  
 ἤλεκτρος καὶ μύρων ὁσμαι καὶ θεαμάτων παν-  
 τοίων καὶ ἀκουσμάτων τέρψεις διὰ τε φωνῆς  
 καὶ ὀργάνων, πρὸς δὲ αὖ τούτοις γυναῖκες ὥραϊαι  
 καὶ παιδικὰ ὥραϊα, ξύμπαντα ταῦτα οὐδεμιᾶς  
 ἔνεκα χρείας, ἀλλ' ἡδονῆς εὕρημένα φαίνεται.  
 94 μόνη δὲ τῇ φιλῷ συμβέβηκεν ἀπάντων μὲν εἶναι  
 συμφορώτατον, ἀπάντων δὲ ἡδιστον. εὐθὺς  
 οἶμαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων τὰ μέγιστα, ὅπλα καὶ  
 τείχη καὶ στρατεύματα καὶ πόλεις, ἄνευ τῶν  
 διοικούντων φίλων οὔτε χρήσιμα οὔτε συμφέ-  
 ροντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ἐπισφαλῆ· οἱ δέ γε φίλοι  
 καὶ δίχα τούτων ὠφέλιμοι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν  
 95 πολέμῳ μόνον χρήσιμα, τοῖς δὲ ἕει βιωσομένοις  
 ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἂν ἡ δυνατόν ἀχρεῖα καὶ βαρέα· ἄνευ  
 δὲ φιλίας οὐδ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ ζῆν ἀσφαλές.  
 96 Καὶ μὴν ὧν εἶπον ἡδέων τὸ μὲν κοινωνεῖν  
 φίλοις τερπνότερον, μόνον δὲ ἀπολαύειν ἐν ἐρημίᾳ  
 πάντων ἀηδέστατον, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑπομείνειεν·  
 ἔτι δὲ λυπηρότερον, εἰ δεήσειε κοινωνεῖν τοῖς μὴ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ added by Reiske.

### THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

not in all cases afford their owner some pleasure, nor does it follow that because a thing is pleasing it is also profitable. On the contrary, many pleasant things prove to be unprofitable. Fortifications, for example, arms, engines, and troops are possessions necessary for a ruler, since without them his authority cannot be maintained, but I do not see what gratification they afford—at least, apart from their utility; and on the other hand, beautiful parks, costly residences, statues, paintings in the exquisite early style, golden bowls, inlaid tables, purple robes, ivory, amber, perfumes, everything to delight the eye, delightful music, both vocal and instrumental, and besides these, beautiful maidens and handsome boys—all these evidently subserve no useful purpose whatever, but are obviously the inventions of pleasure. To friendship alone has it been given to be both the most profitable of all and the most pleasurable of all. To illustrate: I presume that our greatest necessities, arms, walls, troops, and cities, without friends to control them, are neither useful nor profitable; nay, they are exceedingly precarious; while friends, even without these, are helpful. Besides, these things are useful in war only, while for men who are going to live in unbroken peace—if such a thing be possible—they are a useless burden. Without friendship, however, life is insecure even in peace.

Once more, the pleasures I have mentioned afford more delight when shared with friends; to enjoy them in solitude is the dreariest thing imaginable, and no one could endure it. But it would be still more disagreeable if you had to share them with

- 97 ἀγαπῶσι. ποία μὲν γὰρ εὐφροσύνη προσφιλῆς  
 εἰ μὴ<sup>1</sup> καὶ πάντων<sup>2</sup> παρείη τὰ μέγιστα, ποῖον δὲ  
 συμπόσιον ἢδὺ χωρὶς εὐνοίας τῶν παρόντων;  
 ποία δὲ θυσία κεχαρισμένη θεοῖς ἄνευ τῶν  
 98 συνευωχουμένων; οὐ γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια  
 ταῦτα ἡδίστα καὶ ἀνυβριστότατα ὅσα γίνεται  
 μετὰ φιλίας τῶν συνόντων καὶ ὅσα μαστεύουσιν  
 εὐνοίαι ἀνθρώποις ἐπῆλθε παρὰ παιδικῶν ἢ παρὰ  
 99 γυναικῶν; πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπωνυμίαι τῆς φιλίας  
 ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ χρεῖαι· ἢ δὲ μετὰ κάλλους καὶ  
 ὥρας γιγνομένη φιλία δικαίως ἔρος ὠνόμασται  
 καὶ δοκεῖ κάλλιστος τῶν θεῶν.
- 100 Καὶ μὴν τά γε ὠφέλιμα φάρμακα τοῖς μὲν  
 νοσοῦσιν ὠφέλιμα, τοῖς δὲ ὑγιαίνουσι περιττά.  
 φιλίας δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὑγιαίνουσιν αἰεὶ σφόδρα δεῖ καὶ  
 τοῖς νοσοῦσιν· ἢ συμφυλάττει μὲν πλοῦτον,  
 ἐπαρκεῖ δὲ πενία, λαμπρύνει μὲν δόξαν, ἀμαυροῖ  
 101 δὲ ἀδοξίαν. μόνον δὲ τοῦτο τὰ μὲν δυσχερῆ  
 πάντα μειοῖ, τὰ δὲ ἀγαθὰ πάντα αὔξει. ποία  
 μὲν γὰρ συμφορὰ δίχα φιλίας οὐκ ἀφόρητος,  
 ποία δὲ εὐτυχία χωρὶς φίλων οὐκ ἄχαρις; εἰ δὲ  
 σκυθρωπὸν ἐρημία καὶ πάντων φοβερώτατον, οὐ  
 τὴν ἀνθρώπων ἐρημίαν χρὴ τοιοῦτον νομίζειν,  
 ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν φίλων· ἐπεὶ τῶν γε μὴ εὐνοούντων  
 102 πολλάκις ἢ ἐρημία κρείττων. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδ'  
 εὐτυχίαν ἐκείνην νενόμικα, ἢ μηδένα ἔχει τὸν  
 συνηδόμενον. ῥῆον γὰρ ἂν τις συμφορὰν τὴν  
 χαλεπωτάτην φέροι μετὰ φίλων ἢ μόνος εὐτυχίαν  
 τὴν μεγίστην. ὥς ἐκείνου ἀθλιώτατον ἐγὼ κρίνω

<sup>1</sup> Arnim would delete μὴ.<sup>2</sup> πάντων Capps: πάντα.

### THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

people who disliked you. Nay, what festivity could please unless the most important thing of all were at hand, what symposium could delight you if you lacked the good-will of the guests? What sacrifice is acceptable to the gods without the participants in the feast? Indeed, are not even those love relations the pleasantest and least wanton which are based on the affection of the lovers, and which men whose object is good-will experience in the society of boys or women? Many are the names applied to friendship just as its services undoubtedly are many; but where youth and beauty enter in, there friendship is rightly called love and is held to be the fairest of the gods.

Again, salutary drugs are salutary to the sick, but of no use to the well. Of friendship, however, men stand ever in the greatest need, whether in health or in sickness: it helps to defend wealth and relieves poverty; it adds lustre to fame and dims the glare of infamy. It is this alone that makes everything unpleasant seem less so and magnifies everything good. For what misfortune is not intolerable without friendship, and what gift of fortune does not lose its charm if friends be lacking? And ~~the absence of friends~~ is cheerless and of all things the most to be feared, it is not the absence of men that we should consider as solitude, but the absence of friends; for often complete solitude is preferable to the presence of persons not well-disposed. For my part, I have never regarded even good fortune to be such if attended by no friend to rejoice with me, since the severest strokes of misfortune can more easily be borne with friends than the greatest good fortune without them. For with good right I judge that



- δικαίως, ὃς ἐν μὲν ταῖς συμφοραῖς πλείστους ἔχει  
 τοὺς ἐφηδομένους, ἐν δὲ ταῖς εὐτυχίαις οὐδένα  
 103 τὸν συνηδόμενον. ὧ γὰρ πλείστοι μὲν καὶ  
 ἄριστοι φίλοι, δυσμενεῖς δὲ παυρότατοι,<sup>1</sup> εἴ τις  
 ἄρα ἐστί, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν οἱ ἀγαπῶντες, πλείους  
 δὲ οἱ ἐπαινοῦντες, ψέγειν δὲ οὐδεὶς δυνάμενος,  
 πῶς ὁ τοιοῦτος οὐ τελέως εὐδαίμων; ὁ γὰρ  
 τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχει τοὺς συνηδο-  
 μένους, οὐδένα δὲ ἐφηδόμενον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο  
 εὐτυχεῖ<sup>2</sup> ἐφ' ἅπασι, διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχειν  
 φίλους, μηδένα δὲ ἐχθρόν.
- 104 Εἰ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ὦτα<sup>3</sup> καὶ γλῶττα καὶ  
 χεῖρες ἀνθρώποις<sup>4</sup> τοῦ παντὸς ἄξια οὐ μόνον πρὸς  
 τὸ ἡδεσθαι ζῶντας, ἀλλὰ δύνασθαι ζῆν, τούτων  
 οὐκ ἔλαττον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον φίλοι χρήσιμοι.
- 105 διὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μόλις ὁρᾶν ἔστι τὰ  
 ἐμποδῶν, διὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς  
 πέρασι θεᾶσθαι. καὶ διὰ μὲν τῶν ὠτων οὐκ ἂν  
 τις ἀκούσαι ἢ τῶν σφόδρα ἐγγύθεν, διὰ δὲ τῶν
- 106 εὐνοούντων οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὅπουδήποτε  
 ἀνῆκοός ἐστι. καὶ τῇ μὲν γλώττῃ μόνοις τοῖς  
 παροῦσι σημαίνει, καὶ ταῖς χερσίν, εἰ καὶ  
 σφόδρα εἴη καρτερός, οὐκ ἂν ἐργάσαιτο πλείον  
 ἔργον ἢ δύο ἀνδρῶν· διὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων δύναται  
 καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις διαλέγεσθαι καὶ πάντων  
 ἔργων ἐφικνεῖσθαι. οἱ γὰρ εὐνοοῦντες πάντα  
 ἐκείνῳ συμφέροντα καὶ λέγουσι καὶ δρῶσι.
- 107 τὸ δὲ δὴ πάντων παραδοξότατον, ἓνα γὰρ  
 ὄντα ἐγχωρεῖ, ὅστις πολὺφίλος, πολλὰ μὲν

<sup>1</sup> δυσμενεῖς δὲ παυρότατοι Cuius: δυσμενῆς δὲ φαυλότατος.

<sup>2</sup> τοῦτο εὐτυχεῖ Carps: τὸ εὐτυχεῖν.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ ὦτα adited by Geel.

### THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

man most wretched who in misfortune has the largest number to gloat over him but in good fortune no one to rejoice with him. When a man has hosts of excellent friends and his foes very few in number—if he has any foe at all—when he has many who love him, still more who admire him, and no one who can censure him, is he not perfectly happy? For such a man has multitudes to share his joy but not one to gloat over him in misfortune, and for this reason he is fortunate in all things, in that he has hosts of friends but not a single enemy.

If eyes, ears, tongue, and hands are worth everything to a man that he may be able merely to live, to say nothing of enjoying life, then friends are not less but more useful than these members. With his eyes he may barely see what lies before his feet; but through his friends he may behold even that which is at the ends of the earth. With his ears he can hear nothing save that which is very near; but through those who wish him well he is without tidings of nothing of importance anywhere. With his tongue he communicates only with those who are in his presence, and with his hands, were he never so strong, he can not do the work of more than two men; but through his friends he can hold converse with all the world and accomplish every undertaking, since those who wish him well are saying and doing everything that is in his interest. The most surprising thing of all, however, is that he who is rich in friends is able, although but one man, to do a multiplicity of things at the same time, to deliberate about many matters

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<sup>a</sup> ἀνθρώποις von der Muehl : ἀνθρώπων.

ἐν ταύτῳ χρόνῳ πράττειν, περὶ πολλῶν δὲ ἅμα  
 βουλευέσθαι, πολλὰ<sup>1</sup> δὲ ὁρᾶν, πολλὰ δὲ ἀκούειν,  
 ἐν πολλοῖς δὲ ἅμα εἶναι τόποις, ὃ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς  
 χαλεπόν, ὡς μηδαμοῦ μηδὲν ἔρημον ἀπολείπεσθαι  
 τῆς ἐκείνου προνοίας.

108 Καὶ τοίνυν οὐχ ἦττον αἱ τῶν φίλων εὐπάθειαι  
 τὸν ἀγαθὸν πεφύκασιν εὐφραίνειν τῆς αὐτοῦ τινος  
 τέρψεως. πῶς γὰρ οὐ μακαριστόν, ὅτῳ πάρεστι  
 πολλοῖς<sup>2</sup> μὲν σώμασιν ἡδόμενον εὐφραίνεσθαι,

109 πολλαῖς δὲ ψυχαῖς εὐτυχοῦντα χαίρειν; εἰ δὲ  
 δόξα τοῖς φιλοτίμοις περισπούδαστον, πολλάκις  
 ἂν εὐδοξεῖν εἴη τῶν φίλων ἐπαινουμένων. εἰ δὲ  
 πλοῦτος πέφυκεν εὐφραίνειν τοὺς κτωμένους,  
 πολλάκις ἂν εἴη πλούσιος ὁ τοῖς φίλοις μετα-  
 δίδους τῶν παρόντων.

110 Καὶ τοίνυν ἡδὺ μὲν χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐλευθερίοις,<sup>3</sup>  
 ἀφθόνων ὄντων, ἡδὺ δὲ λαμβάνειν δῶρα, δικαίως  
 λαμβάνοντα καὶ δι' ἀρετὴν· ὁ τοίνυν τοῖς φίλοις  
 χαριζόμενος ἡδεται ἅμα μὲν ὡς διδούς, ἅμα δὲ  
 ὡς αὐτὸς χρώμενος.<sup>4</sup> καὶ γὰρ δὴ παλαιός ἐστιν  
 ὁ λόγος ὁ κοινὰ ἀποφαίνων τὰ τῶν φίλων. οὐκοῦν  
 ἀγαθῶν παρόντων τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οὐχ ἥκιστα ἂν  
 εἴη ταῦτα κοινά.

111 Ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐ πάντως ὑπερβάλ-  
 λειν τοὺς ἰδιώτας ὁ τοιοῦτος βασιλεὺς βούλεται,  
 πολλαχοῦ δὲ καὶ ἔλαττον ἐκείνων ἔχειν, οἶον  
 σχολῆς, ῥαθυμίας, ἀνέσεως· ἐν μόνῃ δὲ φιλίᾳ

<sup>1</sup> πολλὰ Geel: περὶ πολλῶν.

<sup>2</sup> Before πολλοῖς the MSS. have πολλαῖς δὲ διανοαῖς φροντί-  
 ζοντα βουλευέσθαι,—“many minds with which to plan when  
 he thinks,” deleted by Emperius.

<sup>3</sup> ἐλευθερίοις Arnim: ἐλευθέροις.

<sup>4</sup> χρώμενος Capps: κτώμενος.

### THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

simultaneously, to see many things, to hear many things, and to be in many places at once—a thing difficult even for the gods—with the result that there is nothing remaining anywhere that is bereft of his solicitude.

Once more, the happy experiences of his friends are bound to delight a good man no less than some joy of his own. For is that man not most blessed who has many bodies with which to be happy when he experiences a pleasure, many souls with which to rejoice when he is fortunate? And if glory be the high goal of the ambitious, he may achieve it many times over through the eulogies of his friends. If wealth naturally gladdens its possessor, he can be rich many times over who shares what he has with his friends.

Then, too, while it is a pleasure to show favours to good men and true when one's means are ample, it is also a pleasure to receive gifts when they are deserved and for merit. Hence, he who shows his friends a favour rejoices both as giver and as receiver at the same time. Old, in sooth, is the proverb which says that "Common are the possessions of friends."<sup>1</sup> Therefore, when the good have good things, these will certainly be held in common.

Now, while in any other matter, such as leisure, ease, and relaxation, our good king does not wish to have unvarying advantage over private citizens and, indeed, would often be satisfied with less, in the one matter of friendship he does want to have the

<sup>1</sup> The proverb in this form is found in the *Ἀδελφοί* of Menander (Kock fr. 9). Cf. Terence, *Adelphi* 803: *Nam vetus verbum hoc quidemst, communia esse amicorum inter so omnia.*

- 112 βούλεται πλεονεκτεῖν.<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἀλλοιῶν<sup>2</sup> οὐδὲν ἡγεῖ-  
 ται<sup>3</sup> που εἶναι<sup>3</sup> ἢ ἄτοπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγάλλεται  
 μᾶλλον μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν νεωτέρων ἀγαπώμενος  
 ἢ οἱ γονεῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων  
 ἢ τοὺς παῖδας ἀγαπῶσι, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν  
 συνόντων ἢ τοὺς ἐξ ἴσου συνόντας ἀγαπῶσι,  
 μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκοῇ μόριον ἀκουόντων ἢ οἱ  
 113 σφόδρα ἐγγὺς ὄντες ἀγαπῶνται.<sup>4</sup> φιλοσυγγενέ-  
 τatos δὲ ὦν καὶ φιλοικειότατος ἔσθ' ὅπη μεῖζον  
 ἀγαθὸν νενόμικε τὴν φιλίαν τῆς συγγενείας.  
 ἄνευ μὲν γὰρ συγγενείας οἱ φίλοι χρήσιμοι, ἄνευ  
 δὲ φιλίας οὐδὲ οἱ σφόδρα ἐγγὺς ὠφελίμοι. τοσού-  
 του δὲ ἀξίαν κρίνει τὴν φιλίαν, ὥστε οὐδένα  
 ἡγεῖται τῶν πώποτε ἡδικῆσθαι ὑπὸ φίλου, ἀλλὰ  
 τοῦτο δὴ ἐν τῶν λεγομένων ἀδυνάτων εἶναι<sup>5</sup>  
 114 ἅμα γάρ τις ἀδικῶν πεφώραται καὶ δῆλον πεποί-  
 ηκεν ὅτι οὐκ ἦν φίλος. ὅσοι δὲ πεπόνθασι  
 δεινόν, ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν πεπόνθασι, λεγομένων μὲν  
 φίλων, ἀγνοουμένων δὲ ὅτι ἦσαν ἐχθροί. δεῖ  
 οὖν καταμέμφεσθαι<sup>6</sup> τὴν αὐτῶν ἄγνοιαν, ἀλλὰ  
 115 μὴ ψέγειν τὸ τῆς φιλίας ὄνομα. καίτοι πατέρα  
 γε ὄντα οὐκ ἀδύνατον νιδὸν ἀδικῆσαι καὶ παῖδα  
 περὶ τοὺς γονέας ἐξαμαρτεῖν, ὁμοίως δὲ ἀδελφοὺς  
 ἀλλήλων κακόν τι ἀπολαῦσαι. οὕτως δὲ πάνυ  
 τὴν φιλίαν ἱερὸν νενόμικεν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς  
 αὐτῷ πειράται ποιεῖν φίλους.

<sup>1</sup> Arnim follows Emperius in putting §§ 128–132 after πλεονεκτεῖν.

<sup>2</sup> ἀλλοῖον Capps: ἄλλο μὲν.

<sup>3</sup> που εἶναι Capps: ποιεῖν.

<sup>4</sup> ἀγαπῶνται Cohoon: ἀγαπῶσι or ἀγαπῶσιν.

<sup>5</sup> After εἶναι the MSS. have ὥστε καὶ παθεῖν ὑπὸ φίλου κακῶς τῶν ἀδυνάτων εἶναι κέκρικεν.—“So that he considers suffering

## THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

larger portion; and he doubtless thinks it in no wise peculiar or strange—nay, he actually exults because young people love him more than they do their parents, and older men more than they do their children, because his associates love him more than they do their peers, and those who know him only by hearsay love him more than they do their nearest neighbours. Extremely fond of kith and kin though he may be, yet, in a way, he considers friendship a greater good than kinship. For a man's friends are useful even without the family tie, but without friendship not even the most nearly related are of service. So high a value does he set on friendship as to hold that at no time has anyone been wronged by a friend, and that such a thing belongs to the category of the impossible; for the moment one is detected doing wrong, he has shown that he was no friend at all. Indeed, all who have suffered any outrage have suffered it at the hands of enemies—friends in name, whom they did not know to be enemies. Such sufferers must blame their own ignorance and not reproach the name of friendship. Furthermore, it is not impossible for a father to be unjust to a son and for a child to sin against its parents; brother, too, may wrong brother in some way; but friendship our king esteems as such an altogether sacred thing that he tries to make even the gods his friends.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He means, apparently, that friendship is such a sacred thing that it is a fitting relation to exist between the gods and men, and that therefore the good king may venture to form it even with the gods without impropriety.

wrong at the hands of a friend to belong to the category of the impossible." *Emperius deletes.*

<sup>6</sup> *καταμέμφεσθαι* Reiske; *καὶ μέμφεσθαι*.

- 116 Ἐν ἅπασιν μὲν οὖν τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἔστι  
 συννοεῖν, ὅτι πάντα τὰναντία τοῖς τυράννοις  
 κακὰ πρόσσεστιν ὧν ἐμνήσθημεν ἀγαθῶν, οὐχ  
 ἥκιστα δὲ ἐν τῷ νῦν λεγομένῳ. πάντων γὰρ  
 ἀπορώτατός ἐστι φιλίας τύραννος· οὐδὲ γὰρ  
 117 δύναται ποιεῖσθαι φίλους. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ὁμοίους  
 αὐτῷ, πονηροὺς ὄντας, ὑφορᾶται, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν  
 ἀνομοίων καὶ ἀγαθῶν μισεῖται. ὁ δὲ μισούμενος  
 ἐχθρὸς καὶ τοῖς δικαίοις<sup>1</sup> καὶ τοῖς ἀδίκοις. οἱ  
 μὲν γὰρ δικαίως μισοῦσιν αὐτόν, οἱ δὲ τῶν  
 118 αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἐπιβουλεύουσιν. ὥστε ὁ  
 μὲν Πέρσης ἓνα τινὰ ἔσχεν, ὀφθαλμὸν βασιλέως  
 λεγόμενον, καὶ τοῦτον οὐ σπουδαῖον ἄνθρωπον,  
 ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ  
 βασιλέως οἱ φίλοι πάντες εἰσὶν ὀφθαλμοί.  
 119 Φιλοῖκεῖος δὲ καὶ φιλοσυγγενὴς πῶς οὐκ ἂν  
 εἴη διαφερόντως; ὅς γε τοὺς οἰκείους καὶ τοὺς  
 120 συγγενεῖς μέρος νενόμικε τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς, καὶ  
 προνοεῖ γε οὐ μόνον ὅπως μετέχωσι τῆς λεγο-  
 μένης εὐδαιμονίας, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὅπως ἄξιοι  
 δοκῶσι κοινωνεῖν τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ τοῦτο ἐσπού-  
 δακεν ἐξ ἅπαντος, ὅπως μὴ διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν  
 αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν φαίνεται προτι-  
 μῶν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀρθῶς ζῶντας<sup>2</sup> μάλιστα  
 πάντων ἀγαπᾷ, τοὺς δὲ μή, οὐ<sup>3</sup> φίλους ἀλλ'<sup>4</sup>  
 121 ἀναγκαίους νενόμικεν. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ φίλους ἔστι  
 διαλύσασθαι δυσχέριάν τινα ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐνιδύοντα·  
 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς συγγενεῖς οὐχ οἷόν τε διαλύσασθαι  
 τὴν συγγένειαν, ἀλλ' ὅποιοί ποτ' ἂν ᾧσιν, ἀνάγκη

<sup>1</sup> καὶ τοῖς δικαίοις added by Capps, who deletes ἀδίκους after ἀδίκους.

<sup>2</sup> ὀρθῶς added by Capps: μὲν ζῶντας or μὲν ἐγγίζοντας.

<sup>3</sup> τοὺς δὲ μή, οὐ Capps: καί.

<sup>4</sup> ἀλλ' added by Capps.

### THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

Now, while it may be gathered from all that has been said that tyrants suffer all the ills that are the opposites of the blessings we have enumerated, this is especially true as regards the matter we are now discussing. For the tyrant is the most friendless man in the world, since he cannot even make friends. Those like himself he suspects, since they are evil, and by those unlike himself, and good, he is hated; and the hated man is an enemy to both the just and the unjust. For some men do justly hate him; while others, because they covet the same things, plot against him. And so the Persian king had one special man, called the "king's eye"<sup>1</sup>—not a man of high rank, but just an ordinary one. He did not know that all the friends of a good king are his eyes.

And should not the ties of blood and kinship be especially dear to a good king? For he regards his kith and kin as a part of his own soul, and sees to it that they shall not only have a share of what is called the king's felicity, but much more that they shall be thought worthy to be partners in his authority; and he is especially anxious to be seen preferring them in honour, not because of their kinship, but because of their qualifications. And those kinsmen who live honourable lives he loves beyond all others, but those who do not so live he considers, not friends, but relatives. For other friends he may cast off when he has discovered something objectionable in them, but in the case of his kinsmen, he cannot dissolve the tie; but whatever their character, he must allow the title to

<sup>1</sup> He guarded the king in every way. See Herodotus, 110, 112.



- 122 τοῦτο ἀκούειν τὸ ὄνομα. γυναῖκα δὲ οὐ κοίτης  
μόνον ἢ ἀφροδισίων κοινωνὸν νενόμικεν, βουλῆς  
δὲ καὶ ἔργων καὶ τοῦ ξύμπαντος βίου συνεργόν.
- 123 Μόνος δὲ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν οὐχ ἡδυπάθειαν  
νενόμικε, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον καλοκάγαθειαν, τὴν δὲ  
ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἀνάγκην ἀλλὰ βούλησιν, τὴν δὲ  
καρτερίαν οὐ ταλαιπωρίαν ἀλλ' ἀσφάλειαν, καὶ  
τὰς μὲν ἡδονὰς αὖξει τοῖς πόνοις καὶ μείζους διὰ  
τοῦτο καρποῦται, τοὺς δὲ πόνους ἐπελαφρύνει
- 124 τῷ ἔθει. ταῦτα δὲ ἡγεῖται συμφέροντα καὶ ἡδέα·  
ὁρᾷ γὰρ τοὺς μὲν ἰδιώτας, εἰ μέλλουσιν ὑγιαίνειν  
καὶ παραμένειν εἰς γῆρας, οὐποτε ἀργῶ καὶ ἀπόνῳ  
τῷ σώματι τρυφήν προσφέροντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν  
πρότερον<sup>1</sup> τέχνας ἐργαζομένους, ἐνίας αὐτῶν καὶ  
πολὺν ἐχούσας τὸν κάματον, τοὺς μὲν χαλκέας,
- 125 τοὺς δὲ ναυπηγούς, τοὺς δὲ οἰκοδόμους· ὅσοι δὲ  
κέκτηνται γῆν, διαπονοῦντας πρότερον τὰ περὶ  
γεωργίαν, ὅσοι δὲ ἐν ἄστει διάγουσι, τῶν κατὰ
- 126 πόλιν τι πράττοντας· τῶν τε σχολὴν ἀγόντων  
τὰ γυμνάσια μεστὰ καὶ τὰς<sup>2</sup> παλαίστρας, καὶ  
τοὺς μὲν τρέχοντας ἐν τοῖς δρόμοις, τοὺς δὲ αὖ  
παλαίοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλο τι παρὰ<sup>3</sup> τὴν ἀγωνίαν,  
οὐκ ὄντας ἀθλητάς—ἀπλῶς δὲ εἰπεῖν, ἕκαστον<sup>4</sup>  
τῶν μὴ σφόδρα ἀνοήτων ὅτιοῦν ἀσχοῦντα<sup>5</sup> καὶ
- 127 σίτων ἀπολαύοντα<sup>6</sup> ὑγιεινῶν καὶ ποτῶν.<sup>7</sup> ὁ δ'<sup>8</sup>  
ἄρχων ἀπάντων τούτων διαφέρει τῷ μὴ μάτην  
πονεῖν μηδὲ τὸ σῶμα μόνον αὖξειν, ἀλλ' ἐνεκα πρά-  
ξεων· ἥ γὰρ ἦλθε πρὸς τι τῶν δεομένων προνοίας ἢ  
ἐφθασεν ὅπου δεῖ τάχους ἢ κατήνυσέν τι τῶν οὐ

<sup>1</sup> πρότερον added by Capps.<sup>2</sup> τὰς added by Reiske.<sup>3</sup> παρὰ Capps: περὶ.<sup>4</sup> ἕκαστον Cohoon: ἐκάστων.<sup>5</sup> ὅτιοῦν ἀσχοῦντα added by Cohoon.

## THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

be used. His wife, moreover, he regards not merely as the partner of his bed and affections, but also as his helpmate in his counsel and action, and indeed in his whole life.

He alone holds that happiness consists, not in flowery ease, but much rather in excellence of character; virtue, not in necessity but in free-will; while patient endurance, he holds, does not mean hardship but safety. His pleasures he increases by toil, and thereby gets more enjoyment out of them, while habit lightens his toil. To him "useful" and "pleasurable" are interchangeable terms; for he sees that plain citizens, if they are to keep well and reach old age, never give nourishment to an idle and inactive body, but that a part of them work first at trades, some of which—such as smithing, shipbuilding, the construction of houses—are very laborious; while those who own land first toil hard at farming, and those who live in the city have some city employment; he sees the leisured class crowd the gymnasia and wrestling-floors—some running on the track, others again wrestling, and others, who are not athletes, taking some form of exercise other than the competitive—in a word, everyone with at least a grain of sense doing something or other and so finding his meat and drink wholesome. But the ruler differs from all these in that his toil is not in vain, and that he is not simply developing his body, but has the accomplishment of things as his end and aim. He attends to some matter needing his supervision, he acts promptly where speed is needed, accomplishes something not

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<sup>6</sup> ἀπολαύοντα Cohoon: καὶ λουτρῶν καί.

<sup>7</sup> ποτῶν Cohoon: πάντων.

<sup>8</sup> δ' added by Cohoon.

ῥαδίῳ ἀνυσθῆναι ἢ στρατιὰν ἐξέταξεν ἢ χώραν  
 ἡμέρωσεν ἢ πόλιν ὥκισεν ἢ ποταμούς ἐξευξεν ἢ  
 γῆν ὁδεύτην ἐποίησεν.

- 128 <sup>1</sup> Οὐχ οὕτως δ' ἡγεῖται μακάριον ὅτι ἔξεστι  
 κεκτῆσθαι καλλίστους μὲν ἵππους, κάλλιστα δὲ  
 ὄπλα, καλλίστην δὲ ἐσθῆτα, καὶ τᾶλλα ὁμοίως,  
 ἀλλ' ὅτι φίλους τοὺς καλλίστους, καὶ πολὺ γε  
 αἴσχιον φιλίας ἐνδεέστερον ἔχειν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἢ  
 129 τούτων τινός. αἱ γὰρ ἐξ ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐκλέ-  
 ξασθαι τοὺς πιστοτάτους ὑπάρχει, καὶ σχεδὸν  
 οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ὃς οὐκ ἂν ἄσμενος ὑπακούσειεν  
 αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ χρῆσθαι, πῶς οὐ καταγέλαστον  
 τὸ μὴ χρῆσθαι τοῖς σπουδαιοτάτοις; οἱ μὲν  
 γὰρ πολλοὶ τῶν δυναστῶν τοὺς ὁπωσδήποτε  
 πλησίον γενομένους καὶ τοὺς κολακεύειν ἐθέλου-  
 τας, τούτους μόνους ὀρώσι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους  
 πάντας ἀπελαύνουσι, καὶ τοὺς γε βελτίστους ἔτι  
 130 μᾶλλον. ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἀπάντων ποιεῖται τὴν ἐκλογὴν,  
 ἄτοπον ἡγούμενος Νισαίου μὲν ἵππους μετα-  
 πέμπεσθαι ὅτι βελτίους εἰσὶ τῶν Θετταλῶν, καὶ  
 κύνας Ἰνδικάς, ἀνθρώποις δὲ μόνοις χρῆσθαι τοῖς  
 131 ἐγγύς. πάντα γὰρ ὑπάρχει τούτῳ δι' ὧν ἐστὶ  
 φιλία κτητόν. προσάγεται γὰρ εἰς εὐνοίαν τοὺς  
 μὲν φιλοτίμους ἔπαινος, τοὺς δὲ ἡγεμονικοὺς  
 τὸ ἀρχῆς μεταλαμβάνειν, τοὺς δὲ αὖ πολε-  
 μικοὺς τὸ πράττειν τι τῶν πολεμικῶν, τοὺς  
 δὲ ἐπιμελεῖς τὸ πράγματα διοικεῖν, τοὺς γε  
 132 μὲν φιλοστόργους ἢ συνήθεια. τίς οὖν δύναται  
 μᾶλλον ἄρχοντας ἀποδεικνύειν; τίς δὲ πλειόνων  
 δεῖται τῶν ἐπιμελουμένων; τίς δὲ κύριος μειζόνων

<sup>1</sup> §§ 128-132 placed after § 111 by Emperius and Arnim.

### THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

easy of accomplishment, reviews an army, subdues a province, founds a city, bridges rivers, or builds roads through a country.

He does not count himself fortunate just because he can have the best horses, the best arms, the best clothing, and so forth, but because he can have the best friends; and he holds that it is far more disgraceful to have fewer friends among the private citizens than any one of them has. For when a man can select his most trustworthy friends from among all men—and there is scarcely a man who would not gladly accept his advances—surely it is ridiculous that he should not have the best. Most potentates have an eye only for those who get near them no matter how, and for those who are willing to flatter, while they hold all others at a distance and the best men more especially. The true king, however, makes his choice from among all men, esteeming it perverse to import horses from the Nisaeen plains<sup>1</sup> because they surpass the Thessalian breed, or hounds from India,<sup>2</sup> and only in the case of men to take those near at hand; since all the means for making friends are his. For instance, the ambitious are won over to friendliness by praise, those who have the gift of leadership by participation in the government, the warlike by performing some sort of military service, those having executive ability by the management of affairs, and, assuredly, those with a capacity for love, by intimacy. Now, who is more able to appoint governors? Who needs more executives? Who has it in his power to give

<sup>1</sup> A plain south of the Caspian Sea, celebrated for its breed of horses; Strabo, 11. 9. Cf. Herodotus, 3. 106; 7. 40, 196.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Herodotus, 1. 192; 7. 187.

μεταδοῦναι πραγμάτων ; τίνι δὲ μᾶλλον<sup>1</sup> ἔξεστιν  
 ἐτέρῳ πιστεύειν τὰ πρὸς πόλεμον ; αἱ παρὰ τίνος  
 δὲ τιμαὶ φανερώτεραι ; ἢ παρὰ τίνι δὲ εὐδοξότερα  
 τράπεζα ; εἰ δὲ ὠνητὸν ὑπῆρχε φιλία, τίς  
 εὐπορώτερος χρημάτων, ὥστε μηδένα ἔχειν τὸν  
 ἀντιποιησόμενον ;

- 133 Ἄτε δὲ δὴ<sup>2</sup> ἄνθρωπον ὄντα φύσει τῶν ἐν τῷ  
 βίῳ διαφερόντων καὶ τοῦτον τῶν ἄλλων τι ὥσπερ  
 παραμύθιον ἔχειν δεῖ· ὅθεν δὴ πολλὰ πολλοῖς  
 προσέπεσε νοσήματα ἀγεννῇ καὶ λυμαινόμενα  
 τὰς ψυχάς, ἔτι δὲ καθαιροῦντα τὸ ἀξίωμα<sup>3</sup> τῆς  
 134 βασιλείας· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ ῥάδης ἀλούς μινυρίζων  
 διετέλει καὶ θρηνῶν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, ἀμελήσας  
 δὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας, τοὺς παλαιοὺς ὑποκρινό-  
 μενος ἡγάπα βασιλέας· ὁ δὲ αὐλήσεως ἐραστῆς  
 135 ἐγένετο· ὁ δὲ ἀγαθὸς βασιλεὺς τῶν μὲν τοιούτων  
 οὐδέποτε ἀκροᾶται συνεχῶς· κύλλιστον δὲ εὖρεμα  
 ἡγεῖται κυνηγεσίαν, καὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα χαίρει·  
 δι' οὗ τὸ μὲν σῶμα γίγνεται ῥωμαλεώτερον, ἢ  
 ψυχὴ δὲ ἀνδρειότερα, τὰ πολεμικὰ δὲ ἅπαντα  
 136 ἀσκεῖται. καὶ γὰρ ἵππεῦσαι καὶ δραμεῖν ἵναγ-  
 καῖον καὶ ὑφίστασθαι πολλὰ τῶν ἀλκίμων θηρίων  
 καὶ καῦμα ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ ψυχὸς ὑπομένειν, πολ-  
 λάκις δὲ καὶ λιμοῦ καὶ δίψους πειραθῆναι, διὰ δὲ  
 τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐθίζεται πάντα<sup>4</sup> καρτερεῖν μεθ'  
 137 ἡδονῆς—οὐ μέντοι τὴν γε Περσικὴν θήραν. ἐκεῖνοι  
 μὲν γὰρ παραδείσοις περιλαβόντες, ὅποτε ἐπι-  
 θυμήσειαν, ὥσπερ ἐν εἰρκτῇ τὰ θηρία ἔκτεινον, ὥς

<sup>1</sup> μᾶλλον added by Geel.

<sup>2</sup> ἄτε δὲ δὴ Cohoon : ἐπεὶ δὲ δεῖ or ἐπειδὴ

<sup>3</sup> τὸ ἀξίωμα Emperius, τὰ ἀξιώματα.

### THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

a part in greater enterprises? Who is in a better position to put a man in charge of military operations? Who can confer more illustrious honours? Whose table lends greater distinction? And if friendship could be bought, who has greater means to forestall every possible rival?

Since nature made him a man, and a man of exalted station in life, he too needs some distraction as it were to relieve his more serious duties; and it is this, alas! which for many has proved to be the source of many ignoble and soul-destroying vices—vices which also destroy the high esteem in which royalty is held. One king, having become enamoured of singing, spent his time warbling and wailing in the theatres and so far forgot his royal dignity that he was content to impersonate the early kings upon the stage;<sup>1</sup> another fell in love with flute-playing;<sup>2</sup> but the good king never makes a practice even of listening to such things. He considers hunting the best recreation and finds his greatest delight therein. It makes his body stronger, his heart braver, and affords a field for the practice of every military activity. For he must ride, run, in many cases meet the charge of the big game, endure heat and withstand cold, often be tortured by hunger and thirst, and he becomes habituated to enduring any hardship with pleasure through his passion for the chase. But he does not hold this opinion of the Persian chase. Those people would enclose the game in parks and then, whenever they listed, slaughter it as if it were in a pen, showing that

<sup>1</sup> Nero.

<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy "Auletes."

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<sup>4</sup> ἐθίζεται πάντα Capps: ἐθίζοντα.

## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

μήτε ζητοῦντες πονεῖν μήτε αὖ κινδυνεύοντες, ἅτε  
ἀσθενῇ καὶ δεδουλωμένα· ὁμοίως δὲ ἀφηροῦντο τὴν  
ἐπὶ τῷ εὐρεῖν τε χαρὰν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ φθάσαι  
σπουδὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ συμβῆναι ἀγωνίαν.  
138 ὅμοιον γὰρ ἐποιοῦν ὥσπερ εἰ πολεμικοὶ φάσκοντες  
εἶναι ἀφέντες τὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι· τοὺς  
αἰχμαλώτους οἴκοι λαβόντες ἔκτεινον.

### THE THIRD DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

they neither sought hard work nor ran any risk since their quarry was weak and broken in spirit. But they robbed themselves alike of the joy of uncovering the game, of the excitement in running it down, and of the struggle on coming to close quarters. It is just as if they had claimed to be fond of war and then, letting slip the chance to engage their enemy, had seized the prisoners at home and put them to death.





## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

In the fourth Discourse Alexander the Great is represented as conversing with Diogenes, who tells him that the real king is a son of Zeus even as Homer says. Then he goes on to give the Cynic doctrine that this sonship is evidenced by qualities of mind and character, not by military power and wide dominion. He concludes by picturing graphically the spirit of avarice, the spirit of the love of pleasure, and the spirit of ambition, which rule the lives of ordinary men.

The reference at the very end to the happy fortune of those who received a good *daimon* or *genius* at their birth has led to the reasonable conjecture that this address was delivered before Trajan on his birthday, September 18th in A.D. 103.

#### 4. ΠΕΡΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ Δ

- 1 Φασί ποτε Ἀλέξανδρον Διογένει συμβαλεῖν οὐ πάνυ τι σχολάζοντα πολλὴν ἄγοντι σχολήν. ἦν γὰρ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων τε καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν, ὁ δὲ φυγὰς ἐκ Σινώπης. ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι καὶ γράφουσι πολλοί,<sup>1</sup> τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὐχ ἡττον θαυμάζοντες καὶ ἐπαινοῦντες, ὅτι τοσούτων ἄρχων καὶ τῶν τότε μέγιστον δυνάμενος οὐχ ὑπερεώρα πένητος ἀνθρώπου συνουσίαν
- 2 νοῦν ἔχοντος καὶ δυναμένου καρτερεῖν. οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι χαίρουσι φύσει πάντες τιμωμένην ὀρῶντες φρόνησιν ὑπὸ τῆς μεγίστης ἐξουσίας τε καὶ δυνάμεως, ὥστε οὐ μόνον τᾷληθῇ διηγοῦνται περὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ πλάττουσιν ὑπερβάλλοντες, προσέτι καὶ τᾷλλα ἀφαιρούμενοι τῶν φρονίμων, οἷον χρήματα καὶ τιμὰς καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος δύναμιν, ὅπως διὰ μόνην δόξωσι
- 3 τιμᾶσθαι τὴν ξύνεσιν. ὥς δὲ εἰκὸς ἐκείνοις γενέσθαι τὴν ξυνουσίαν νῦν<sup>2</sup> εἵποισι ἄν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τυγχάνομεν σχολὴν ἄγοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πραγμάτων.
- 4 Ἦν μὲν γάρ, ὥς φασιν, ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνθρώ-

<sup>1</sup> Some editors suspect a lacuna here, for a reference to Diogenes' wisdom is implied in what followed. However, that is taken for granted.

<sup>2</sup> νῦν Capps, ἐκῶν Cohoon: ἐκείνην.

<sup>1</sup> The famous Cynic philosopher.

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

THEY tell us that once upon a time Alexander when not over busy met Diogenes,<sup>1</sup> who had an abundance of time on his hands. For the one was king of Macedonia and many other countries beside, while the other was an exile from Sinope; <sup>2</sup> and there are many who in speaking and writing of this encounter give no less admiration and credit to Alexander than to Diogenes because, although he was ruler over so many people and had greater power than any other man of his day, he did not disdain to converse with a poor man who had intelligence and the power of endurance. For all men without exception are naturally delighted when they see wisdom honoured by the greatest power and might; hence they not only relate the facts in such cases but add extravagant embellishments of their own; nay more, they strip their wise men of all else, such as wealth, honours, and physical strength, so that the high regard in which they are held may appear to be due to their intelligence alone. And so I should like on this occasion to tell what in all likelihood was the nature of their conversation, since it happens too that I have nothing else that demands my attention.

Now it should be explained that Alexander was by

<sup>2</sup> An important town on the southern shore of the Euxine or Black Sea.

## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

πων φιλοτιμώτατος καὶ μάλιστα δόξης ἐραστῆς  
 καὶ τοῦ καταλιπεῖν ὡς μέγιστον αὐτοῦ ὄνομα ἐν  
 πᾶσιν Ἑλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις, καὶ ἐπεθύμει γε  
 τιμᾶσθαι σχεδὸν οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μόνον  
 πανταχοῦ, ἀλλ' εἴ πως δυνατὸν ᾗν, ὑπὸ τε τῶν  
 5 ὀρνίθων καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι θηρίων. τῶν μὲν  
 οὖν ἄλλων πάντων κατεφρόνει καὶ οὐδένα ᾔετο  
 ἀξιόμαχον αὐτῷ περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος,  
 οὔτε τὸν Πέρσην οὔτε τὸν Σκύθην οὔτε τὸν Ἰνδὸν  
 οὔτε ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν οὐδένα οὔτε<sup>1</sup> ἄνδρα οὔτε  
 6 πόλιν. ᾗσθάνετο γὰρ ὅτι μικροῦ διεφθαρμένοι  
 πάντες εἰσὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καὶ ἀργίας  
 καὶ τοῦ κερδαίνειν καὶ ἡδονῆς ἥττονες. περὶ  
 Διογέτους δὲ πυνθανόμενος τῶν τε λόγων οὐς  
 ἔλεγεν καὶ τῶν ἔργων ἃ ἔπραττεν καὶ ὅπως  
 διήνεγκε τὴν φυγὴν, ἐνόητε μὲν κατεφρόνει τῆς  
 τε πενίας τᾶνδρὸς καὶ τῆς εὐτελείας, ἅτε νέος ὢν  
 7 καὶ τραφεὶς ἐν βασιλικῷ τύφῳ, πολλάκις δὲ  
 ἐθαύμαζε καὶ ἐζηλοτύπει τῆς τε ἀνδρείας τοῦτου  
 καὶ τῆς καρτερίας, καὶ μάλιστα τῆς δόξης, ὅτι  
 τοιοῦτος ὢν πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησι γιννώσκοιτο καὶ  
 θαυμάζοιτο, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἡδύνατο τῶν ἄλλων οἶος  
 8 ἐκείνος γενέσθαι τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ· καὶ ὅτι αὐτῷ μὲν  
 ἔδει τῆς Μακεδόνων φάλαγγος καὶ τοῦ Θετταλῶν  
 ἱππικοῦ καὶ Θρακῶν καὶ Παιόνων καὶ ἄλλων  
 πολλῶν, εἰ μέλλοι βαδίζειν ὅποι βούλοιτο καὶ  
 τυγχάνειν ὧν ἐπιθυμοῖ· ὁ δὲ μόνος ἀπῆει πάννυ  
 ἀσφαλῶς οὐ μόνον ἡμέρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ νυκτὸς ἐνθα  
 9 αὐτῷ ἐδόκει· καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν χρυσοῦ καὶ  
 ἀργυρίου παμπόλλου ἔδειτο, ὥστε ἐπιτελέσαι τι  
 ὧν ἐβούλετο· ἔτι δὲ εἰ μέλλοι πειθομένους ἔξεν  
 Μακεδόνας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας, θεραπευ-

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

common report the most ambitious of men and the greatest lover of glory. He was anxious to leave his name the greatest among all the Greeks and barbarians and longed to be honoured, not only—as one might put it—by mankind the world over, but, if it were at all possible, by the birds of the air and the beasts of the mountains. Moreover, he looked down upon all other men and thought that no one was a dangerous rival in this matter—neither the Persian king nor the Scythian nor the Indian nor any man or city among the Greeks. For he perceived that they had all been well-nigh ruined in soul by luxury and idleness and were the slaves of money and pleasure. But as to Diogenes, when Alexander heard of the words which this man spoke and of the deeds which he did and how he bore his exile, though at times he despised the man for his poverty and shabbiness, quite naturally, as he himself was young and had been reared in royal luxury, yet often he would admire and envy the man for his courage and endurance, and especially for his great reputation, because all the Greeks knew and admired him for what he was, and no one else could match him in point of distinction. He himself needed his Macedonain phalanx, his Thessalian cavalry, Thracians, Paeonians, and many others if he was to go where he wished and get what he desired; but Diogenes went forth unattended in perfect safety by night as well as by day whithersoever he cared to go. Again, he himself required huge sums of gold and silver to carry out any of his projects; and what is more, if he expected to keep the Macedonians and the other Greeks submissive, must

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<sup>1</sup> *οὔτε* added by Reiske.

- τέον αὐτῷ τοὺς τε ἄρχοντας καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ὄχλον  
 10 λόγοις τε καὶ δώροις πολλάκις· ὁ δὲ οὐδένα ἀνθρώ-  
 πων ὑπῆει θωπεύων, ἀλλὰ τάλιθῃ πρὸς ἅπαντας  
 λέγων καὶ οὐδεμίαν δραχμὴν κεκτημένος, ὥς ἐβού-  
 λετο ἔπραττε καὶ τῶν προκειμένων οὐδενὸς ἀπετύγ-  
 χανε καὶ τὸν βίον ἔζη μόνος ὃν ἡγεῖτο ἄριστον  
 καὶ εὐδαιμονέστατον, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἠλλάξατο τὴν  
 ἐκείνου βασιλείαν οὐδὲ τὸν τῶν Περσῶν τε καὶ  
 Μήδων πλούτον ἀντὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πενίας.
- 11 Διὰ ταῦτα δὴ δακνόμενος, εἴ τις αὐτοῦ διοίσει  
 ῥαδίως οὕτως καὶ ἀπραγμόνως ζῶν, καὶ προσέτι  
 οὐχ ἡττον ὀνομαστός ἔσοιτο, τυχὸν δέ τι καὶ  
 ὠφελήθησέσθαι νομίζων ἀπὸ τῆς συνουσίας  
 τῶνδρός, πάλαι μὲν ἐπεθύμει θεάσασθαι τὸν
- 12 ἄνδρα καὶ συγγενέσθαι αὐτῷ· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκεν εἰς  
 Κόρινθον καὶ τίς τε πρεσβείας ἀπεδέξατο τὰς  
 παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων  
 διώκησεν, ἔφη τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ὅτι σχολάσαι τι  
 βούλοιο, καὶ ὥχετο, οὐκ ἐπὶ θύρας τοῦ Διο-  
 γένους· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτῷ θύραι οὔτε μείζους οὔτε  
 ἐλάττους, οὐδὲ οἶκος ἴδιος οὐδὲ ἐστία,<sup>1</sup> καθάπερ
- 13 τοῖς μακαρίοις, ἀλλὰ οἴκοις μὲν ἐχρήτο ταῖς  
 πόλεσι, καὶ ἐνταῦθα διέτριβεν ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς τε  
 καὶ ἱεροῖς, ἅπερ ἰδρύνονται τοῖς θεοῖς, ἐστίαν δὲ  
 ἐνόμιζε τὴν γῆν ἅπασαν, ἥπερ ἐστὶ κοινὴ τῶν
- 14 ἀνθρώπων ἐστία καὶ τροφός. καὶ τότε ἐτύγχανεν  
 ἐν τῷ Κρανεῖῳ διατρίβων μόνος· οὐδὲ γὰρ  
 μαθητὰς τινας οὐδὲ τοιοῦτον ὄχλον περὶ αὐτὸν

<sup>1</sup> ἐστία Imperius: ἐστία.

<sup>1</sup> θύραι means literally "doors, or gate." From the Eastern custom of receiving petitions at the gate of the palace the

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

time and again curry the favour of their rulers and the general populace by words and gifts; whereas Diogenes cajoled no men by flattery, but told everybody the truth and, even though he possessed not a single drachma, succeeded in doing as he pleased, failed in nothing he set before himself, was the only man who lived the life he considered the best and happiest, and would not have accepted Alexander's throne or the wealth of the Medes and Persians in exchange for his own poverty.

Therefore Alexander, being nettled to think that anyone living so easy and care-free a life was going to surpass himself and in addition should be no less famous, and thinking perhaps too that he would receive some benefit from an interview with the man, had long desired to behold him and converse with him; and when he had come to Corinth and had received the Greek embassies and regulated the affairs of the allies as well, he told his attendants that he wished to have a little leisure and went off—I will not say to the court<sup>1</sup> of Diogenes, for he had no court either great or small, nor house nor hearth of his own as the well-to-do have, but he made the cities his home and used to live there in the public buildings and in the shrines, which are dedicated to the gods, and took for his hearth-stone the wide world, which after all is man's common hearth and nourisher. On that day it happened that Diogenes was all alone in the Craneion,<sup>2</sup> for he had no pupils

gate came to mean "the royal court," Cf. the expression, "The Sublime Porte," which meant "The Ottoman court," or the Government of the Turkish empire.

<sup>2</sup> A cypress grove and a gymnasium in a suburb of Corinth. Here it evidently means the gymnasium.



## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

- εἶχεν, ὥσπερ οἱ σοφισταὶ καὶ αὐληταὶ καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι τῶν χορῶν. προσήλθεν οὖν αὐτῷ καθημένῳ καὶ ἡσπάσατο. καὶ ὃς ἀνέβλεψε πρὸς αὐτὸν γοργόν, ὥσπερ οἱ λέοντες, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ἀποστήναι σμικρόν· ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἀλεαινόμενος
- 15 πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον. ὁ οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος εὐθὺς ἡγάσθη τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὸ θάρσος καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν, ὅτι οὐ κατεπλάγη ἐπιστάντος αὐτῷ. καὶ γὰρ πῶς πεφύκασιν οἱ μὲν θαρραλέοι τοὺς θαρραλέους φιλεῖν, οἱ δὲ δειλοὶ τούτους<sup>1</sup> μὲν ὑφορῶνται καὶ μισοῦσιν ὡς ἐχθρούς, τοὺς δὲ ἀγεννεῖς προσίενται καὶ ἀγαπῶσιν. ὅθεν τοῖς μὲν ἀλήθεια καὶ παρρησία πάντων ἐστὶν ἡδιστον, τοῖς δὲ κολακεία καὶ ψεῦδος, καὶ ἀκούουσιν ἡδέως οἱ μὲν τῶν πρὸς χάριν ὁμιλούντων, οἱ δὲ τῶν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν.
- 16 Ὁ οὖν Διογένης ὀλίγον ἐπισχὼν ἤρετο αὐτὸν ὅστις εἴη καὶ τί βουλόμενος ἦκοι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἥ, ἔφη, τῶν ἐμῶν τι ληψόμενος; Ἡ γάρ, ἔφη, χρήματα ἔστι σοι καὶ ἔχεις ὅτου ἂν μεταδοίης; Πολλά γε εἶπε, καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξια, ὧν σὺ οὐκ οἶδα εἴ ποτε δυιήσῃ μεταλαβεῖν. οὐ μέντοι ἄορας οὐδὲ λέβητας οὐδὲ κρατῆρας οὐδὲ κλίνας καὶ τραπέζας τυγχάνω κεκτημένος, ὥς τινές φασι κεκτῆσθαι
- 17 Δαρεῖον ἐν Πέρσαις. Τί δέ, ἔφη, οὐκ οἶσθα Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν βασιλέα; Τό γε ὄνομα, εἶπεν, ἀκούω πολλῶν λεγόντων, ὡς κολοιῶν περιπετομένων, αὐτὸν δὲ οὐ γινώσκω· οὐ γάρ εἰμι ἔμπειρος αὐτοῦ τῆς διανοίας. Ἀλλὰ νῦν, ἔφη, γνώση καὶ

<sup>1</sup> τούτους Capps: τοὺς.

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<sup>1</sup> Darius Codomannus, the last king of Persia, who soon after this was defeated by Alexander.

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

at all nor any such crowd about him as the sophists and flute-players and choral masters have. So the king came up to him as he sat there and greeted him, whereat the other looked up at him with a terrible glare like that of a lion and ordered him to step aside a little, for Diogenes happened to be warming himself in the sun. Now Alexander was at once delighted with the man's boldness and composure in not being awestruck in his presence. For it is somehow natural for the courageous to love the courageous, while cowards eye them with misgiving and hate them as enemies, but welcome the base and like them. And so to the one class truth and frankness are the most agreeable things in the world, to the other, flattery and deceit. The latter lend a willing ear to those who in their intercourse seek to please, the former, to those who have regard for the truth.

Then after a brief pause Diogenes asked the king who he was and what object he had in coming to him. "Was it," he said, "to take some of my property?" "Why, have you any property?" replied the other; "do you own anything that you might share with one?" "Much indeed," he replied, "and very valuable, in which I do not at all feel sure that you will ever be able to have a share. Yet it is not glaives or cauldrons or mixing-bowls or couches and tables such as Darius<sup>1</sup> is reported by some writers to possess in Persia that I happen to own." "What," retorted the other, "do you not know Alexander the king?" "I hear many speak his name, to be sure," said he, "like so many jackdaws flitting about, but the man I know not, for I am not acquainted with his mind." "But now," came the

- τὴν διάνοιαν· ἤκω γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ἑμαυτὸν τε<sup>1</sup>  
 παρέξων σοι καταμαθεῖν καὶ σὲ ὀψόμενος.
- 18 Ἀλλὰ χαλεπῶς, ἔφη, με ἂν ἴδοις, ὥσπερ τὸ φῶς  
 οἱ τὰ ὄμματα ἀσθενεῖς. τότε δέ μοι εἶπέ, σὺ  
 ἐκεῖνος εἰ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὃν λέγουσιν ὑποβολι-  
 μαῖον; καὶ ὃς ἀκούσας ἠρυθρίασε μὲν καὶ  
 ὠργίσθη, κατέσχε δ' ἑαυτόν· μετενόει δὲ ὅτι εἰς  
 λόγους ἠξίωσεν ἐλθεῖν ἀνδρὶ σκαιῷ τε καὶ
- 19 ἀλαζόνι, ὥς αὐτὸς ἐνόμιζεν. ὁ οὖν Διογένης  
 καταμαθὼν αὐτὸν τεταραγμένον τὴν ψυχὴν,<sup>2</sup>  
 ἐβουλήθη μεταβαλεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν βολήν,<sup>3</sup> ὥσπερ  
 οἱ παίζοντες<sup>4</sup> τοῖς ἀστραγίλοις. εἰπόντος δὲ  
 αὐτοῦ, Πύθεν δέ σοι ἐπῆλθεν ἡμᾶς ὑποβολιμαῖος  
 εἰπεῖν; Ὀπόθεν; ἔφη. καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου  
 ἀκούω ταῦτα περὶ σοῦ λέγειν. ἢ οὐκ Ὀλυμπιάς  
 ἐστίν ἢ εἰπούσα ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ Φιλίππου τυγχάνεις  
 γεγονώς, ἀλλ' ἐκ δράκοντος ἢ Ἀμμωνος ἢ οὐκ  
 οἶδα ὅτου ποτὲ θεῶν ἢ ἡμιθέων<sup>5</sup> ἢ θηρίων;  
 καίτοι οὕτως<sup>6</sup> ὑποβολιμαῖος ἂν εἴης.<sup>7</sup>
- 20 Ἐνταῦθα ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐμειδίασεν καὶ ἦσθη  
 ὥς οὐδέποτε, καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ὁ Διογένης οὐ  
 μόνον οὐ σκαιός, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεξιώτατος ὑπάντων  
 καὶ μόνος εἰδώς χαρίζεσθαι. Τί οὖν, ἔφη,  
 πότερον ἀληθὴς ἢ ψευδὴς εἶναι δοκεῖ σοι ὁ
- 21 λόγος; Ἀδελον, ἔφη, ἐστίν. ἐὰν μὲν γὰρ ᾗς  
 σώφρων καὶ τὴν τοῦ Διὸς ἐπιστάμενος τέχνην  
 τὴν βασιλικήν, οὐθέν σε κωλύει τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι
- 22 υἱόν· ἐπεὶ τοῦτό γε καὶ Ὀμηρόν φασι λέγειν, ὅτι  
 πατήρ ἐστίν ὁ Ζεὺς, ὥσπερ τῶν θεῶν, καὶ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> τε Reiske: γε.<sup>2</sup> τὴν ψυχὴν added by Capps.<sup>3</sup> βολήν Capps: ψυχὴν.<sup>4</sup> παίζοντες τοῖς ἀστραγάλαις Bamberger: παῖδες τοῖς ἀστρα-  
 γάλοις οἱ τοὺς ἀστραγάλους.

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

answer, "you shall know his mind also, since I have come for the very purpose of letting you know me thoroughly and of seeing you." "Well, it would be hard for you to see me," rejoined the other, "just as it is for men with weak eyes to see the light. But tell me this: are you the Alexander whom they call a bastard?" At this the king flushed and showed anger, but he controlled himself and regretted that he had deigned to enter into conversation with a man who was both rude and an imposter, as he thought. Diogenes, however, marking his embarrassment, would fain change his throw just like men playing at dice. So when the king said, "What gave you the idea of calling me a bastard?" he replied, "What gave it? Why, I hear that your own mother says this of you. Or is it not Olympias<sup>1</sup> who said that Philip is not your father, as it happens, but a dragon or Ammon or some god or other or demigod or wild animal? And yet in that case you would certainly be a bastard."

Thereupon Alexander smiled and was pleased as never before, thinking that Diogenes, so far from being rude, was the most tactful of men and the only one who really knew how to pay a compliment. "Well then," said he, "do you think the story is true or false?" "It is uncertain," was the reply; "for if you are self-controlled and know the royal art of Zeus, nothing prevents your being a son of Zeus; for this is what they claim Homer says: that Zeus is the father, not

<sup>1</sup> Wife of Philip II, king of Macedon and mother of Alexander the Great.

<sup>5</sup> ἡμιθέων Capps: ἀνθρώπων. Herwerden would delete ἡ ἀνθρώπων.

<sup>6</sup> καίτοι οὕτως Cobet: καὶ τοιοῦτος δν.

<sup>7</sup> After εἴης Geel puts § 54.

- ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων οὐδὲ τῶν φαύλων  
 τε καὶ ἀγεννῶν οὐδενός· ἐὰν δὲ δειλὸς ᾖ καὶ  
 23 τρυφερὸς καὶ ἀνελεύθερος, οὔτε σοι θεῶν οὔτε  
 ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἀγαθῶν προσήκει. ἀλλὰ τοῖς  
 μὲν ἐν Θήβαις Σπαρτοῖς ποτε λεγομένοις σημεῖον  
 λέγεται εἶναι τοῦ γένους λόγῃ τις οἶμαι ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 σώματος· ὅστις δὲ τοῦτο τὸ σημεῖον μὴ ἔχοι, οὐ  
 δοκεῖν τῶν Σπαρτῶν εἶναι· τοῖς δὲ τοῦ Διὸς  
 ἐκγόνοις οὐκ οἶει σημεῖον ἐνεῖναι<sup>1</sup> τῇ ψυχῇ, ἐξ  
 οὗ φανεροὶ ἔσονται τοῖς δυναμένοις γνωρίζειν εἴτε  
 ἐξ ἐκείνου γεγονότες εἰσιν εἴτε μὴ; πάννυ οὖν  
 ἦσθη τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος.
- 24 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἤρετο αὐτόν, Πῶς ἂν, ἔφη,  
 κάλλιστα βασιλεύοι τις; καὶ ὃς δεινὸν ὑποβλέ-  
 ψας, Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ ἔστιν, ἔφη, βασιλεύειν κακῶς  
 οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ κακῶς ἀγαθὸν εἶναι. ὁ γὰρ βασιλεὺς  
 ἀνθρώπων ἀριστός ἐστιν, ἀνδρειότατος ὢν καὶ δι-  
 καιότατος καὶ φιλανθρωπότατος καὶ ἀνίκητος ὑπὸ
- 25 παντὸς πόνου καὶ πάσης ἐπιθυμίας. ἢ σὺ οἶει τὸν  
 ἀδύνατον ἡνιοχεῖν ἡνίοχον εἶναι τοῦτον; ἢ τὸν  
 ἄπειρον τοῦ κυβερνᾶν κυβερνήτην, ἢ τὸν οὐκ  
 ἐπιστάμενον ἰᾶσθαι ἰατρόν; οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδ' ἂν  
 πάντες φῶσιν Ἕλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι καὶ πολλὰ  
 διαδήματα καὶ σκῆπτρα καὶ τιάρας προσάψωσιν  
 αὐτῷ, καθάπερ τὰ περιδέραια τοῖς ἐκτιθεμένοις  
 παιδίοις, ἵνα μὴ ἀγνοῇται. καθάπερ οὖν οὐκ ἔστι  
 κυβερνᾶν μὴ κυβερνητικῶς, οὕτως οὐδὲ βασιλεύειν  
 μὴ βασιλικῶς.

<sup>1</sup> ἐνεῖναι Geel: εἶναι.

<sup>1</sup> From the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus sprang up, according to the myth, fully armed men, who fought with

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

only of gods but of men as well, though not of slaves nor of any mean and ignoble man. If, however, you are cowardly and love luxury and have a servile nature, then you are in no way related to the gods or to good men. Why, methinks of old the 'Sown men,' as they were called, of Thebes<sup>1</sup> had what seemed a spear mark on their bodies as a sign of their origin, and he who did not have this mark was not regarded as one of the 'Sown men.' And do you not think that in the souls of the offspring of Zeus also a sign is to be found by which those who have the power to judge will know whether they are of his seed or not?" Of course Alexander was greatly delighted with this thought.

Hereupon he put the following question to Diogenes. "How," said he, "could one be the best king?" At this the other, eyeing him sternly, answered, "But no one can be a bad king any more than he can be a bad good man; for the king is the best one among men, since he is most brave and righteous and humane, and cannot be overcome by any toil or by any appetite. Or do you think a man is a charioteer if he cannot drive, or that one is a pilot if he is ignorant of steering, or is a physician if he knows not how to cure? It is impossible, nay, though all the Greeks and barbarians acclaim him as such and load him with many diadems and sceptres and tiaras like so many necklaces that are put on castaway children lest they fail of recognition. Therefore, just as one cannot pilot except after the manner of pilots, so no one can be a king except in a kingly way."

one another until only five remained. These were made citizens of Thebes and with their reputed descendants were called Sown men.

- 26 Καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος φοβηθεὶς μὴ ἄρα ἄπειρος ἀνα-  
φανῇ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐπιστήμης, Καὶ τίς, ἔφη, σοι  
δοκεῖ τὴν τέχνην ταύτην παραδιδόναι; ἢ ποῖ δεῖ  
27 πορευθέντα μαθεῖν; ὁ οὖν Διογένης εἶπεν, Ἄλλ'  
ἐπίστασαι αὐτήν, εἴπερ ἀληθὴς ὁ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος  
λόγος καὶ γέγονας ἐκ τοῦ Διός· ἐκεῖνος γάρ  
ἐστίν ὁ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ταύτην πρῶτος καὶ  
μάλιστα ἔχων καὶ οἷς ἐθέλει μεταδιδούς· οἷς δὲ  
ἂν μεταδῶ, πάντες οὗτοι Διὸς παῖδες εἰσὶ τε καὶ  
28 λέγονται. ἢ σὺ οἶει τοὺς σοφιστὰς εἶναι τοὺς  
διδάσκοντας βασιλεύειν; ἀλλ' ἐκείνων μὲν οἱ  
πολλοὶ οὐχ ὅπως βασιλεύειν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ζῆν ἴσα-  
29 σιν. οὐκ οἶσθα, ἔφη, ὅτι διττὴ ἐστὶν ἡ παιδεία, ἡ  
μὲν τις δαιμόνιος, ἡ δὲ ἀνθρωπίνη; ἡ μὲν οὖν θεία  
μεγὰ καὶ ἰσχυρὰ καὶ ῥαδία, ἡ δὲ ἀνθρωπίνη  
μικρὰ καὶ ἀσθενὴς καὶ πολλοὺς ἔχουσα κινδύνους  
καὶ ἀπάτην οὐκ ὀλίγην· ὅμως δὲ ἀναγκαῖα προσ-  
30 γενέσθαι ἐκείνῃ, εἰ ὀρθῶς γίγνοιτο. καλοῦσι δὲ  
οἱ πολλοὶ ταύτην μὲν “παιδείαν,” καθάπερ οἶμαι  
“παιδιάν,” καὶ νομίζουσι τὸν πλείστα γράμματα  
εἰδότα, Περσικά τε καὶ Ἑλληνικά καὶ τὰ Σύρων  
καὶ τὰ Φοινίκων, καὶ πλείστοις ἐντυγχάνοντα  
βιβλίοις, τοῦτον σοφώτατον καὶ μάλιστα πεπαι-  
δευμένον· πάλιν δὲ ὅταν ἐντύχωσι τῶν τοιούτων  
τισὶ μοχθηροῖς καὶ δειλοῖς καὶ φιλαργύροις,  
ὀλίγου ἄξιόν φασι τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπον·  
τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν ἐνίοτε μὲν “παιδείαν,” ἐνίοτε δὲ  
31 “ἀνδρείαν” καὶ “μεγαλοφροσύνην.” καὶ οὕτω δὴ

<sup>1</sup> Homer calls kings *διογενεῖς* (sprung from Zeus).

<sup>2</sup> So Plato puns on the Greek word for education. τὴν περὶ  
τὰς Μούσας παιδείαν τε καὶ παιδιάν, *Laws* 656c:—“The education

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

Then Alexander in alarm, lest after all he might be found ignorant of the science of kingship, said, "And who, think you, imparts this art, or where must one go to learn it?" To which Diogenes replied, "Well, you know it if the words of Olympias are true and you are a son of Zeus, for it is he who first and chiefly possesses this knowledge and imparts it to whom he will; and all they to whom he imparts it are sons of Zeus and are so called.<sup>1</sup> Or do you think that it is the sophists who teach kingship? Nay, the most of them do not even know how to live, to say nothing of how to be king. Do you not know," he continued, "that education is of two kinds, the one from heaven, as it were, the other human? Now the divine is great and strong and easy, while the human is small and weak and full of pitfalls and no little deception; and yet it must be added to the other if everything is to be right. This human sort, however, is what most people call 'education'—meaning thereby something for children,<sup>2</sup> I suppose—and they have the notion that he who knows the most literature, Persian or Greek or Syrian or Phoenician, and has read the most books is the wisest and best educated person; but again, when people find any knaves or cowards or avaricious men among these, then they say the fact is as insignificant as the individual.<sup>3</sup> The other kind men sometimes call simply education, at other times, 'true manhood' and 'high-mindedness.' And it was for that reason that men of old

and play for children in the Muses." See also Plutarch, *Moralia* 80 c. *μὴ παιδιᾶς ἀλλὰ παιδείας ἕνεκα*, "Not for the play of children but for education."

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.*, neither proves anything against the "human" education.



- Διὸς παῖδας<sup>1</sup> ἐκάλουν οἱ πρότερον τοὺς τῆς ἀγαθῆς παιδείας ἐπιτυγχάνοντας καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνδρείους, πεπαιδευμένους ὡς Ἡρακλέα ἐκείνου. οὐκοῦν ὅστις ἂν ἐκείνην τὴν παιδείαν ἔχη καλῶς πεφυκώς, ῥαδίως καὶ ταύτης γίγνεται μέτοχος, ὀλίγα ἀκούσας καὶ ὀλιγάκις, αὐτὰ τὰ μέγιστα καὶ κυριώτατα, καὶ μεμύηται καὶ φυλάττει ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτόν ἔτι<sup>2</sup> τι τούτων ἀφέλοιτο οὔτε καιρὸς οὔτε ἄνθρωπος σοφιστῆς,<sup>3</sup> ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν πυρὶ τις ἢ<sup>4</sup> ἐκκαύσαι βουλόμενος· ἀλλὰ κὰν ἐμπρήσῃ τις τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὥσπερ τὸν Ἡρακλέα φασὶν αὐτὸν ἐμπρήσαι, μένοι ἂν<sup>5</sup> αὐτοῦ τὰ δόγματα ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, καθάπερ οἶμαι τῶν κατακεκαυμένων<sup>6</sup> νεκρῶν τοὺς ὀδόντας φασὶ διαμένειν, τοῦ ἄλλου σώματος δαπανηθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός. οὐ γὰρ μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑπομνησθῆναι δεῖται μόνον· ἔπειτα εὐθὺς οἶδέν τε καὶ ἐγνώρισεν, ὡς ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὰ δόγματα ἔχων ταῦτα ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ διανοίᾳ. προσέτι δέ, ἐὰν μὲν ἀνδρὶ περιπέσῃ ὥσπερ ὁδὸν ἐπισταμένῳ, ῥαδίως ἐκείνιος ἐπέδειξεν αὐτῷ, καὶ μαθὼν εὐθὺς ἅπεισιν· ἐὰν δὲ ἀγνοοῦντι καὶ ἀλαζόνι σοφιστῇ, κατατρίψει περιίγων αὐτόν, ὅτε μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς, ὅτε δὲ πρὸς δύσιν, ὅτε δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἔλκων, οὐδὲν αὐτὸς εἰδὼς ἀλλὰ εἰκάζων, καὶ πολὺ πρότερον αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τοιούτων ἀλαζόνων πεπλανημένος. ὥσπερ αἱ ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἀκόλαστοι κύνες ἐν τῇ θήρᾳ μηδὲν

<sup>1</sup> Διὸς παῖδας Casaubon: δίχα παιδείας.

<sup>2</sup> ἔτι τι Jacobs, τι Dindorf: ἔτι.

<sup>3</sup> οὔτε before σοφιστῆς deleted by Empirius.

<sup>4</sup> ἢ added by Capps.

<sup>5</sup> μένοι ἂν Jacobs: μένειν.

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

called those persons ' sons of Zeus ' who received the good education and were manly of soul, having been educated after the pattern of the great Heracles. Whoever, then, being noble by nature, possesses that higher education, readily acquires this other also, having only to learn a few things in a few lessons,<sup>1</sup> merely the greatest and most important things, and is already initiated and treasures them in his soul. And thenceforth nothing can rob him of any of these things, neither time nor any tricky sophist, nay, not even one who would fain burn them out by fire. But if the man were burned, as Heracles is said to have burned himself, yet his principles would abide in his soul just as, I believe, the teeth of bodies that have been cremated are said to remain undestroyed though the rest of the body has been consumed by the fire. For he does not have to learn but merely to recall ; after that he at once knows and recognizes, as having had these principles in his mind at the beginning. And furthermore, if he comes upon a man who knows the road, so to speak, this man easily directs him, and on getting the information he at once goes his way. If, however, he falls in with some ignorant and charlatan sophist, the fellow will wear him out by leading him hither and thither, dragging him now to the east and now to the west and now to the south, not knowing anything himself but merely guessing, after having been led far afield himself long before by impostors like himself. It is just the same as in hunting. When dogs that are untrained and unruly catch no scent and do not pick up the

<sup>1</sup> A compliment to Trajan, who had little interest in letters.

<sup>6</sup> κατακεκαυμένων Capps : κατακαιομένων.

- ξυνεῖσαι μηδὲ γνωρίσασαι τὸ ἔχνος, ἐξαπατῶσιν ἄλλας τῇ φωνῇ καὶ τῷ σχήματι, ὥς εἰδυῖαί τε καὶ ὁρῶσαι, καὶ πολλαὶ συνέπονται ταύταις—αἱ ἀφρονέσταται σχεδόν—ταῖς μάτην φθεγγομέναις·
- 35 τούτων δ' αἱ μὲν ἀφθογοὶ καὶ σιωπῶσαι μόναι αὐταὶ ἐξαπατῶνται, αἱ δὲ προπετέσταται καὶ ἀνοητόταται μιμούμεναι τὰς πρώτας θορυβοῦσι καὶ φιλοτιμοῦνται<sup>1</sup> ἄλλας ἐξαπατᾶν, τοιοῦτον εὖροις ἂν καὶ περὶ τοὺς καλουμένους σοφιστὰς πολλὴν ὄχλον ἐνίστε συνεπόμενον ἀνθρώπων ἡλιθίων· καὶ γνώσῃ ὅτι οὐδὲν διαφέρει σοφιστῆς ἀνθρωπος εὐνούχου ἀκολίστου.
- 36 Καὶ ὃς ἀκούσας ἐθαύμασε κατὰ τί τὸν σοφιστὴν εὐνούχῳ παρέβαλεν, καὶ ἤρετο αὐτόν. "Οτι, εἶπε, τῶν εὐνούχων φασὶν οἱ ἀσελγέστατοι ἄνδρες εἶναι καὶ ἐρᾶν τῶν γυναικῶν, καὶ συγκαθεύδουσιν αὐταῖς καὶ ἐνοχλοῦσι, γίγνεται δ' οὐδὲν πλεόν, οὐδ' ἂν τὰς τε νύκτας καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας συνῶσιν
- 37 αὐταῖς. καὶ παρὰ τοῖς σοφισταῖς οὖν πολλοὺς εὐρήσεις γηράσκοντας ἀμαθεῖς, πλανωμένους ἐν τοῖς λόγοις πολλὴν κάκιον ἢ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά φησὶν Ὅμηρος ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, καὶ πρότερον εἰς ἄδου ἂν τις<sup>2</sup> ἀφίκοιτο, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος, ἢ γένοιτο ἀνὴρ
- 38 ἀγαθὸς λέγων τε καὶ ἀκούων. καὶ σύ, ἐπεὶ περ οὕτω πέφυκας, εἰς τύχης ἐπισταμένου ἀνδρός, ἱκανή σοί ἐστι<sup>3</sup> μία ἡμέρα πρὸς τὸ συνιδεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τὴν τέχνην, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι δεήσῃ ποικίλων σοφισμάτων ἢ λόγων· εἰς δὲ μὴ τύχης διδασκάλου τοῦ Διὸς ὁμιλητοῦ<sup>4</sup> ἢ ἄλλου τοιούτου, ταχὺ καὶ σαφῶς φράζοντος ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν, οὐδὲν σοι πλεόν,

<sup>1</sup> φιλοτιμοῦνται Reiske: μιμοῦνται.

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

trail, they mislead others by barking and behaving as if they knew and saw, and many, chiefly the most foolish, follow those dogs that bark at random, and of this pack those which make no outcry and keep silent are merely deceived themselves, but the most impetuous and foolish dogs, imitating the first ones, raise a din and strive to deceive others. Around the so-called sophists, likewise, you will sometimes find just such a great accompanying throng of simpletons, and you will discover that your sophist does not differ one whit from a lecherous eunuch."

On hearing this, Alexander wondered what his reason was for likening the sophist to a eunuch and asked him. "Because," came the reply, "the most wanton eunuchs, protesting their virility and their passion for women, lie with them and annoy them, and yet nothing comes of it, not even if they stay with them night and day. So too in the schools of the sophists you will find many growing old in their ignorance, wandering about in their discussions far more helplessly than Homer says Odysseus ever did upon the deep, and any one of them might sooner find his way to Hades as that hero did than become a good man by talking and listening. And you, since you have been born with a *λογιστικὴ* nature, if you come upon a man of understanding, will find a single day sufficient to get a grasp of his subject and art, and you will no longer have any need of subtle claptrap and discussions. But if you are not so fortunate as to have a disciple of Zeus or one like Zeus for your teacher to tell you forthwith and

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<sup>2</sup> *τις* added by Capps.

<sup>3</sup> Wilamowitz suggests *ἔσται*.

<sup>4</sup> *δμῖλητον* added by Capps; cf. § 40 *infra*.

## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

οὐδὲ ἂν ὅλον κατατρίψῃς τὸν βίον ἀγρυπνῶν  
 τε καὶ ἀσιτῶν παρὰ τοῖς κακοδαίμοσι σοφισταῖς.  
 39 τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐγὼ λέγω νῦν, ἀλλ' Ὅμηρος ἐμοῦ  
 πρότερος. ἢ οὐκ ἔμπειρος εἶ τῶν Ὀμήρου ἐπῶν;  
 Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος μέγιστον ἐφρόνει, ὅτι ἡπίσ-  
 τατο τὸ μὲν<sup>1</sup> ἕτερον ποίημα ὅλον, τὴν Ἰλιάδα,  
 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς Ὀδυσσεύς. θαυμάσας οὖν  
 ἔφη, Καὶ ποῦ διείλεκται περὶ τούτων Ὅμηρος;  
 Ἐκεῖ, ἔφη, ὅπου τὸν Μίνω λέγει τοῦ Διὸς ὑαρισ-  
 40 τήν. ἢ οὐ τὸ ὑαρίζειν ὁμιλεῖν ἐστίν; οὐκοῦν  
 ὁμιλητὴν τοῦ Διὸς φησιν αὐτὸν εἶναι, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ  
 ἔφη μαθητὴν. ἄρ' οὖν ὑπὲρ ἄλλων αὐτὸν οἶει μαν-  
 θάνοντα<sup>2</sup> ὁμιλεῖν τῷ Διὶ πραγμάτων ἢ τῶν δικαίων  
 καὶ βασιλικῶν; ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ λέγεται δικαιοτάτος  
 41 ὁ Μίνως πάντων γενέσθαι. πάλιν δὲ ὅταν λέγῃ  
 “διοτρεφεῖς” τοὺς βασιλέας καὶ “διφίλους,” ἄλλο  
 τι οἶε λέγειν αὐτὸν ἢ τὴν τροφὴν ταύτην ἣν ἔφην<sup>3</sup>  
 θεῖαν<sup>4</sup> εἶναι διδασκαλίαν καὶ μαθητείαν; ἢ σὺ  
 οἶε λέγειν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοὺς βασιλέας  
 τρέφεσθαι ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τίτθης γάλακτι καὶ οἴνῳ  
 καὶ σιτίοις, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπιστήμη καὶ ἀληθείᾳ;  
 42 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ “φιλίαν” οὐκ ἄλλην ἢ τὸ ταῦτά  
 βούλεσθαι καὶ διανοεῖσθαι, ὁμόνοιάν τινα οὔσαν.  
 οὕτως γὰρ δῆπου καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δοκοῦσιν οἱ  
 φίλοι πάντων μάλιστα ὁμονοεῖν καὶ μὴ διαφέρεσ-  
 43 θαι περὶ μηδενός. ὃς ἂν οὖν τῷ Διὶ φίλος ἢ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> τὸ μὲν Arnim: μὲν τὸ.

<sup>2</sup> μανθάνοντα Capps: μανθάνειν τε καὶ.

<sup>3</sup> ἔφην Capps: ἔφη.

<sup>4</sup> θεῖαν added by Capps.

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<sup>1</sup> This information is found only here.

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

clearly what your duty is, then nothing comes of it for you, even if you waste your whole life in sleepless study and fasting in the schools of the miserable sophists. I am not the first man to say this, but Homer said it before me. Or are you not acquainted with the Homeric poems?"

Now Alexander prided himself very greatly on knowing by heart the whole of the one poem, the *Iliad*, and much of the *Odyssey* likewise.<sup>1</sup> And so he said in surprise, "Pray, where has Homer discoursed about these things?" "In the passage," came the reply, "where he calls Minos<sup>2</sup> the consort of Zeus. Or does not 'to consort' mean 'to associate'? Well then, he says that he was an associate of Zeus, which would virtually be calling him his disciple. Now do you imagine that he associated with Zeus as a pupil with any other object than to learn justice and the duties of a king? For mark you, Minos is said to have been the most righteous man in the world. Once more, when he says that kings are 'nurtured of Zeus' and 'dear unto Zeus,' do you think that he means any other nurture than the teaching and instruction which I called<sup>3</sup> divine? Or do you believe that he means that kings are nourished by Zeus as by a nurse, on milk and wine and various foods, and not on knowledge and truth? And in the same way he means<sup>4</sup> that friendship also is nothing else than identity of wish and of purpose, that is, a kind of likemindedness. For this, I presume, is the view of the world too: that friends are most truly likeminded and are at variance in nothing. Can anyone, therefore, who is a friend of Zeus and is

<sup>2</sup> *Odyssey* 19. 178-9.

<sup>3</sup> In § 29.

<sup>4</sup> That is, when he speaks of kings as "dear unto Zeus."

- ὁμοιοῇ πρὸς ἐκείνον, ἔσθ' ὅπως ἀδίκου τινὸς ἐπιθυμήσει πράγματος ἢ πονηρόν τι καὶ αἰσχρὸν διανοηθήσεται; αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο ἔοικε δηλοῦν καὶ ὅταν ἐγκωμιάζων τινὰ λέγῃ τῶν βασιλέων ποι-  
 44 μένα λαῶν. τοῦ γὰρ ποιμένος οὐκ ἄλλο τι ἔργον ἢ πρόνοια καὶ σωτηρία καὶ φυλακὴ προ-  
 βάτων, οὐχ<sup>1</sup> ὥστε κατακόπτειν, οὐ μὰ Δία, καὶ σφίττειν καὶ δέρειν. καίτοι ἐνίοτε πολλὰ πρό-  
 βατα ἐλαύνει μάγειρος ὡς<sup>2</sup> ὠνησάμενος· ἀλλὰ πλείστον διαφέρει μαγειρικὴ τε καὶ ποιμενικὴ,  
 45 σχεδὸν ὅσον βασιλεία τε καὶ τυραννίς. ὅτε γοῦν Ξέρξης καὶ Δαρείος ἄνωθεν ἐκ Σούσων ἤλαυνον πολὺν ὄχλον Περσῶν τε καὶ Μήδων καὶ Σακῶν καὶ Ἀράβων καὶ Αἰγυπτίων δεῦρο εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπολούμενον, πότερον βασιλικὸν ἢ μαγειρικὸν ἔπραττον ἔργον λείαν ἐλαύνοντες κατακοπτησομένην ;  
 46 Καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, Σοί, ἔφη, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ δοκεῖ βασιλεὺς εἶναι οὐδὲ ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς ; καὶ ὁ Διογένης μειδιάσας, Οὐ μᾶλλον, εἶπεν, ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε, ἢ ὁ σμικρὸς δάκτυλος. Οὐδ' ἄρα ἐγώ, ἔφη, καταλύσας ἐκείνον μέγας βασιλεὺς ἔσομαι ; Οὐ τούτου γε ἕνεκα, εἶπεν ὁ Διογένης.  
 47 οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν παίδων ὁ νικήσας, ὅταν παίζωσιν, ὡς αὐτοὶ φασι, βασιλέας, τῷ ὄντι βασιλεὺς ἐστίν. οἱ μέντοι παῖδες ἴσασιν<sup>3</sup> ὅτι ὁ νεικηκῶς καὶ

<sup>1</sup> οὐχ added by Emperius.<sup>2</sup> ὡς Capps: εἰς.<sup>3</sup> ἴσασιν Emperius: φασιν.

<sup>1</sup> A shepherd may drive a flock to be butchered, just as a king may drive an army to its ruin ; but the one is not a true shepherd but a butcher, and the other is not a true king but a tyrant.

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

likeminded with him by any possibility conceive any unrighteous desire or design what is wicked and disgraceful? Homer seems to answer this very question clearly also when in commending some king he calls him a 'shepherd of peoples.' For the shepherd's business is simply to oversee, guard, and protect flocks, not, by heavens, to slaughter, butcher, and skin them. It is true that at times a shepherd, like a butcher, buys and drives off many sheep;<sup>1</sup> but there is a world of difference between the functions of butcher and shepherd, practically the same as between monarchy and tyranny. For instance, when Xerxes<sup>2</sup> and Darius<sup>3</sup> marched down from Susa<sup>4</sup> driving a mighty host of Persians, Medes, Sacae,<sup>5</sup> Arabs, and Egyptians into our land of Greece to their destruction, were they functioning as kings or as butchers in driving this booty for future slaughter?"

And Alexander said: "Apparently you do not hold even the Great King to be a king, do you?" And Diogenes with a smile replied, "No more, Alexander, than I do my little finger." "But shall I not be a great king," Alexander asked, "when once I have overthrown him?" "Yes, but not for that reason," replied Diogenes; "for not even when boys play the game to which the boys themselves give the name 'kings' is the winner really a king. The boys, anyhow, know that the winner who has the

<sup>2</sup> King of Persia, son of Darius and Atossa, invaded Greece in 480 B.C. and was defeated in the battle of Salamis.

<sup>3</sup> King of Persia, invaded Greece in 490 B.C. and was defeated at Marathon.

<sup>4</sup> Winter residence of Persian kings.

<sup>5</sup> One of the most powerful and warlike of the nomadic Scythian tribes. They lived on the steppes of Central Asia.



- λεγόμενος βασιλεὺς σκυτοτόμου υἱὸς ἐστὶν ἢ τέκτονος—καὶ δεῖ μανθάνειν αὐτὸν τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τέχνην· ὁ δὲ ἀποδρὰς παίξει μεθ' ἐτέρων, καὶ τότε
- 48 μάλιστα οἴεται σπουδάζειν—ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ δούλος καταλιπὼν τὸν δεσπότην.<sup>1</sup> ἴσως οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς τοιοῦτόν τι ποιεῖτε, ἐκάτερος ὑμῶν παῖδας ἔχοντες τοὺς συμφιλονεικούντας, ὁ μὲν Πέρσας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν, σὺ δὲ Μακεδόνας τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας. καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι τῇ σφαίρᾳ στοχάζονται ἀλλήλων, ὁ δὲ πληγεὶς ἡττηται, καὶ σὺ νῦν Δαρείου στοχάζῃ καὶ σοῦ ἐκεῖνος, καὶ τυχὸν ἂν πλῆξαις τε καὶ ἐκβάλῃς αὐτόν· ἐπισκοπώτερος γὰρ εἶναί μοι δοκεῖς.
- 49 ἔπειτα οἱ μετ' ἐκείνου πρότερον ὄντες μετὰ σοῦ ἔσονται καὶ ὑποκύψουσι, καὶ σὺ ὀνομασθήσῃ βασιλεὺς ἀπάντων.

- Ὁ οὖν Ἀλέξανδρος πάλιν ἐλυπεῖτο καὶ ἤχθετο. οὐδὲ γὰρ ζῆν ἐβούλετο, εἰ μὴ βασιλεὺς εἶη τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Λιβύης καὶ εἴ ποῦ τίς ἐστὶ νῆσος ἐν τῷ Ὠκεανῷ κειμένη.
- 50 ἐπεπόνθει γὰρ τοῦναντίον ἢ φησιν Ὅμηρος τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα νεκρὸν πεπονθέναι. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ἔλεγεν ὅτι ζῶν βούλοιτο θητεύειν

ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ ᾧ μὴ βίωτος πολὺς εἶη,  
ἢ πᾶσιν νεκέεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν.

ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος δοκεῖ μοι ἐλέσθαι ἂν καὶ τοῦ τρίτου μέρους τῶν νεκρῶν ἄρχειν ἀποθανῶν ἢ ζῆν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον θεὸς γενόμενος μόνον, εἰ

<sup>1</sup> Wilamowitz proposed to delete ἐνίοτε . . . δεσπότην, wrongly.

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

title of 'king' is only the son of a shoemaker or a carpenter—and he ought to be learning his father's trade, but he has played truant and is now playing with the other boys, and he fancies that now of all times he is engaged in a serious business—and sometimes the 'king' is even a slave who has deserted his master. Now perhaps you kings are also doing something like that: each of you has playmates—the eager followers on his side—he his Persians and the other peoples of Asia, and you your Macedonians and the other Greeks. And just as those boys try to hit one another with the ball, and the one who is hit loses, so you now are aiming at Darius and he at you, and perhaps you may hit him and put him out; for I think you are the better shot. Then, those who were on his side at first will be on yours and will do you obeisance, and you will be styled king over all."

Now Alexander was again hurt and vexed, for he did not care to live at all unless he might be king of Europe, Asia, Libya, and of any islands which might lie in the ocean. His state of mind, you see, was the opposite of what Homer says was that of Achilles' ghost. For that hero said that he preferred to live in bondage to

"Some man of mean estate, who makes scant cheer,  
Rather than reign o'er all who have gone down  
To death."<sup>1</sup>

But Alexander, I doubt not, would have chosen to die and govern even a third part of the dead rather than become merely a god and live for ever—unless,

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey* 11. 490 f.

51 μὴ βασιλεὺς γένοιτο τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. μόνου δ' ἴσως οὐκ ἂν ὑπερεῖδε τοῦ Διὸς, ὅτι βασιλέα καλοῦσιν αὐτὸν οἱ ἄνθρωποι. ὅθεν καὶ ἐκόλαζεν αὐτὸν ὁ Διογένης πάντα τρόπον.

Ἔφη οὖν, ὦ Διόγενες, σὺ μὲν μοι παίζειν δοκεῖς· ἐγὼ δὲ ἂν Δαρεῖον ἔλω καὶ ἔτι τὸν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα, οὐδέν με κωλύει τῶν πώποτε βασιλέων μέγιστον εἶναι. τί γὰρ ἐμοὶ λοιπὸν ἐστι κρατήσαντι Βαβυλῶνος καὶ Σούσων καὶ Ἑκβατάνων  
52 καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς πραγμάτων; καὶ ὅς ὁρῶν αὐτὸν φλεγόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς φιλοτιμίας καέκει τῇ ψυχῇ ὅλον τεταμένον καὶ φερόμενον, ὥσπερ αἱ γέρανοι, ὅποι ἂν ὀρμήσωσιν, ἀποτείνασαι ἑαυτὰς  
53 πέτονται, Ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἔξεις, ἔφη, πλέον οὐδενὸς οὐδὲ τῷ ὄντι βασιλεύσεις ἀφ' ἧς ἔχεις ταύτης διανοίας, οὐδὲ ἂν ὑπεραλλόμενος τὸ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τεῖχος οὕτως ἔλῃς τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ διορύττων ἔξωθεν καὶ ὑπορύττων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν Σούσοις καὶ τὸ ἐν Βάκτροις, οὐδ' ἂν Κῦρον μιμησάμενος κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν εἰσρυῆς ὥσπερ ὕδρος,<sup>1</sup> οὐδ' ἂν ἐτέραν προσλάβῃς μείζω τῆς Ἀσίας ἡπειρον, τὸν Ὠκεανὸν διανηξάμενος.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> οὐδ' ἂν . . . ὕδρος occurs in MSS. after διανηξάμενος; transferred to this position by Capps.

<sup>2</sup> After διανηξάμενος the MSS. have § 54: ἢ σὺ τοὺς ἀλεκτρούνας οὐ καλεῖς νόθους, οἳ ἂν ᾧσιν ἐξ ἀνομοίων; ἢ οὐ μείζων σοι δοκεῖ διαφορὰ θεοῦ πρὸς γυναῖκα θνητὴν ἢ γενναίου ἀλεκτρούνος; εἰ οὖν γέγονας οὕτως καθάπερ φασί, καὶ σὺ νόθος ἂν εἴης ὥσπερ ἀλεκτρονῶν. τυχὸν δὲ καὶ μαχιμώτατος ἔσῃ τῶν ἄλλων διὰ ταύτην τὴν νοθείαν.—“Or do you not call a cock a mongrel when it is from two different breeds? And do you not consider the inequality between a god and a mortal woman greater than it is in the case of a thoroughbred cock? Therefore, if your origin is as it is said to be, you too would be as much

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

of course, he became king over the other gods. Perhaps, too, Zeus is the only one for whom he would have shown no contempt, and that because men call him king. This is the reason why Diogenes was bent on reproving him thoroughly.

The king replied, "Diogenes, you seem to be joking. If I capture Darius and the king of the Indians to boot, there will be nothing to prevent my being the greatest king that ever lived. For what is left for me when I have once become master of Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana, and the Empire of the Indies?" And the other, observing that he was aflame with ambition and that with all his heart he was being borne at full stretch in that direction, just as the cranes when flying stretch themselves out in whatever direction they are speeding, exclaimed, "Nay, in the state of mind in which you are, you will have not one whit more than anyone else, nor will you really be a king, no, not even if you leap over the walls of Babylon and capture the city in that way, instead of breaking through the walls from without or sapping them from beneath, nor even if you imitate Cyrus and glide in like a water-snake by the river-route,<sup>1</sup> and in the same way get inside the walls of Susa and Bactra, no, not even though you swim across the ocean and annex another continent greater than Asia."

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<sup>1</sup> Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire, who took Babylon in 539 B.C., was said to have used this ruse, but the story is now discredited. See Herodotus I. 191.

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a mongrel as a cock in the same case. Perhaps, too, you will turn out to be the greatest fighter in the world, thanks to this mixture." These words Geel puts after § 19.

- 55 Καὶ τίς, εἶπεν, ἔτι μοι καταλείπεται πολέμιος,<sup>1</sup>  
 εἰάν ἔλω τούτους οὓς εἶπον; Ὁ πάντων, ἔφη,  
 δυσμαχώτατος, οὐ περσίζων, οὐ μηδίζων<sup>2</sup> τῇ  
 φωνῇ, καθάπερ οἶμαι Δαρείος, ἀλλὰ μακεδονίζων  
 τε καὶ ἐλληνίζων. καὶ ὃς ἐταράχθη τε καὶ  
 ἡγωνίασε μή τινα ἐπίσταιτο ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ἢ ἐν  
 56 τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρασκευαζόμενον ὡς πολεμήσοντα  
 καὶ ἤρετο, Τίς οὗτός ἐστιν ἐμὸς πολέμιος ἐν τῇ  
 Ἑλλάδι ἢ Μακεδονίᾳ; Σύ, ἔφη, ἀγνοεῖς, πάντων  
 μάλιστα γινώσκειν οἶόμενος; Ἐπειτα, ἔφη, οὐκ  
 ἐρεῖς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ κρύψεις; Πάλαι γάρ, εἶπεν,  
 λέγω, σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἀκούεις ὅτι σὺ αὐτῷ μάλιστα  
 ἔχθιστος εἶ καὶ πολεμιώτατος μέχρι ἂν ᾗς κακὸς  
 καὶ ἀνόητος. καὶ οὗτος, ἔφη, ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ ὃν σὺ  
 57 ἀγνοεῖς ὡς οὐδένα ἄλλον. οὐδεὶς γὰρ τῶν  
 ἀφρόνων καὶ πονηρῶν ἐπίσταται ἑαυτόν. οὐ γὰρ  
 ἂν τοῦτο πρῶτον προσέταπτεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων ὡς  
 58 χαλεπώτατον ἐκάστω, γινῶναι ἑαυτόν. ἢ οὐ τὴν  
 ἀφροσύνην ἡγῇ μεγίστην καὶ τελεωτάτην πασῶν  
 νόσον καὶ βλάβην τοῖς ἔχουσι καὶ τὸν ἄφρονα  
 ἄνδρα αὐτὸν αὐτῷ βλαβερώτατον; ἢ οὐ τὸν  
 βλαβερώτατον ἐκάστω καὶ πλείστων κακῶν  
 αἴτιον, τοῦτον ἔχθιστον καὶ πολεμιώτατον ἐκείνῳ  
 59 πῆδα, ἔφη, καὶ μιαρώτατον ἀνθρώπων ἐμὲ νόμιζε  
 καὶ λοιδορεῖ πρὸς ἅπαντας, εἰάν δέ σοι δόξη, τῷ  
 δορατίῳ διαπερόνησον· ὡς ἀκούσῃ παρὰ μόνου

<sup>1</sup> πολέμιος Reiske: πόλεμος.

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

“ And what enemy have I still left,” said he, “ if I capture those peoples I have mentioned? ” “ The most difficult of all to conquer,” he answered, “ one who does not speak Persian or Median as Darius does, I presume, but Macedonian and Greek.” At this Alexander was troubled and sore distressed for fear the other knew of someone in Macedonia or Greece who was preparing to make war on him, and asked, “ Who is this enemy of mine in Greece or Macedonia? ” “ Why, do you not know,” said he, “ you who think that you know more than anyone else? ” “ In that case will you please tell me? ” he asked; “ do not conceal it.” “ I have been trying to tell you for a long time, but you do not hear that you are yourself your own bitterest foe and adversary as long as you are bad and foolish. And this is the man of whom you are more ignorant than of any other person. For no foolish and evil man knows himself; else Apollo would not have given as the first commandment, ‘ Know thyself! ’<sup>1</sup> regarding it as the most difficult thing for every man. Or do you not think that folly is the greatest and most serious of all ailments and a blight to those that have it, and that a foolish man is his own greatest bane? Or do you not admit that he who is most harmful to a man and causes him the most ills is that man’s greatest foe and adversary? In view of what I say rage and prance about,” said he, “ and think me the greatest blackguard and slander me to the world and, if it be your pleasure, run me through with your spear; for

<sup>1</sup> The first of three inscriptions known to have been upon the temple of Apollo at Delphi.

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<sup>2</sup> μηδίζων Herwerden : λυδίζων.

ἀνθρώπων ἐμοῦ τὰληθῆ καὶ παρ' οὐδενὸς ἄλλου ἀνθρώπων ἂν μάθοις. πάντες γάρ εἰσι χείρους ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀνελευθερώτεροι.

- 60 Ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγεν ὁ Διογένης, παρ' οὐδὲν μὲν ἡγούμενος εἰ καί τι πείσεται, πλὴν σαφῶς γε εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔσοιτο. ἡπίστατο γὰρ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον δοῦλον ὄντα τῆς δόξης καὶ οὐδέποτ'
- 61 ἂν ἀμαρτύντα περὶ ἐκείνην.<sup>1</sup> ἔφη οὖν αὐτὸν μηδὲ τὸ σημεῖον τὸ βασιλικὸν ἔχειν. καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος θαυμάσας, Οὐκ ἄρτι ἔλεγες, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐδὲν δεῖ σημείων τῷ βασιλεῖ; Ναὶ μὰ Δί', εἶπε, τῶν γε ἔξωθεν οἷον τιάρας καὶ πορφύρας· τούτων γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ὄφελος· τὸ δὲ ἐκ
- 62 τῆς φύσεως αὐτῷ δεῖ προσεῖναι πάντων μάλιστα. Καὶ τί τοῦτό ἐστιν, ἔφη ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος; Ὁ καὶ τῶν μελιττῶν, ἧ δ' ὅς, τῷ βασιλεῖ πρόσεστιν. ἧ οὐκ ἀκήκοας ὅτι ἐστὶ βασιλεὺς ἐν ταῖς μελιτταῖς φύσει γιγνόμενος, οὐκ ἐκ γένους τοῦτο ἔχων ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς φατε, ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους ὄντες; Τί οὖν τοῦτό ἐστιν, εἶπεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, τὸ ση-
- 63 μεῖον; Οὐκ ἀκήκοας, εἶπε, τῶν γεωργῶν ὅτι μόνῃ ἐκείνῃ ἢ μέλιττα ἀνευ κέντρου ἐστίν, ὥς οὐδὲν αὐτῇ δέον ὄπλου πρὸς οὐδένα; οὐδεμία γὰρ αὐτῇ τῶν ἄλλων μελιττῶν ἀμφισβητήσῃ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας οὐδὲ μαχήσεται τοῦτο ἐχούσῃ. σὺ δέ μοι δοκεῖς οὐ μόνον περιπατεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
- 64 καθεύδειν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. οὐκ οἶσθα, ἔφη, ὅτι φοβούμενος ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπου ὄπλα ἔχειν; φοβούμενος δὲ οὐδέποτ' ἂν οὐδεὶς γένοιτο βασιλεὺς, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ δοῦλος. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὀλίγου ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς ἀφῆκε τὸ δοράτιον.

<sup>1</sup> ἐκείνην Geel: ἐκείνον.

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

I am the only man from whom you will get the truth, and you will learn it from no one else. For all are less honest than I and more servile."

Thus spoke Diogenes, counting it as nothing that he might be chastised, yet quite convinced that nothing would happen. For he knew that Alexander was a slave of glory and would never make a bad move where it was at stake. So he went on to tell the king that he did not even possess the badge of royalty. And Alexander said in amazement, "Did you not just declare that the king needs no badges?" "No indeed," he replied; "I grant that he has no need of outward badges such as tiaras and purple raiment—such things are of no use—but the badge which nature gives is absolutely indispensable." "And what badge is that?" said Alexander. "It is the badge of the bees," he replied, "that the king wears. Have you not heard that there is a king among the bees, made so by nature, who does not hold office by virtue of what you people who trace your descent from Heracles call inheritance?" "What is this badge?" inquired Alexander. "Have you not heard farmers say," asked the other, "that this is the only bee that has no sting, since he requires no weapon against anyone? For no other bee will challenge his right to be king or fight him when he has this badge. I have an idea, however, that you not only go about fully armed but even sleep that way. Do you not know," he continued, "that it is a sign of fear in a man for him to carry arms? And no man who is afraid would ever have a chance to become king any more than a slave would." At these words Alexander came near hurling his spear.



65 Ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγεν ὁ Διογένης, προτρέπων αὐτὸν εὐεργεσίᾳ πιστεύειν καὶ τῷ δίκαιον παρέχειν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῖς ὅπλοις.

Σὺ δέ, ἔφη, καὶ τὸν θυμὸν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ φορεῖς ἡκουημένον, χαλεπὸν οὕτως καὶ βίβιον κέντρον.  
 66 οὐκ ἀπορρίψας ταῦτα ἃ νῦν ἔχεις, ἐξωμίδα λαβὼν λατρεύσεις τοῖς αὐτοῦ κρείττοσιν, ἀλλὰ περιελεύσῃ διάδημα ἔχων καταγέλαστον ; μικρῷ δὲ ὕστερον ἴσως λόφον φύσεις καὶ τιάραν, ὥσπερ οἱ ἀλεκτρυόνες ; οὐκ ἐννενόηκας τὴν τῶν Σακῶν ἑορτήν, ἣν Πέρσαι ἄγουσιν, οὐ νῦν ὥρμηκας  
 67 στρατεῦεσθαι ; καὶ ὅς εὐθύς ἡρώτα, Ποῖαν τινά ; ἐβούλετο γὰρ πάντα εἰδέναι τὰ τῶν Περσῶν πράγματα. Λαβόντες, ἔφη, τῶν δεσμωτῶν ἓνα τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καθίζουσιν εἰς τὸν θρόνον τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα διδύουσιν αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλικὴν καὶ προστάττειν ἐῷσι καὶ πίνειν καὶ τρυφᾶν καὶ ταῖς παλλακαῖς χρῆσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας ταῖς βασιλέως, καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν αὐτὸν κωλύει ποιεῖν ὃν βούλεται. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀποδύσαντες καὶ μαστιγώσαντες ἐκρέμα-  
 68 σαν. τίνας οὖν ἡγῇ τοῦτο εἶναι σύμβολον καὶ διὰ τί γίνεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις ; οὐχ ὅτι πολλάκις ἀνόητοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ πονηροὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας ταύτης καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τυγχάνουσιν, ἔπειτα χρόνον τινὰ ὑβρίσαντες αἰσχιστα καὶ  
 69 κάκιστα<sup>1</sup> ἀπόλλυνται ; οὐκοῦν τότε, ἐπειδὰν ἄρῳσι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν, εἰκὸς ἐστι

<sup>1</sup> κάκιστα Herwerden : τάχιστα.

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

With these words Diogenes strove to encourage him to put his trust in well-doing and devotion to righteousness and not in arms.

"But you," he continued, "also carry in your soul a keen-whetted temper, a goad difficult to restrain, as we see, and compelling. Will you not throw off this armour which you now wear, don a worker's tunic,<sup>1</sup> and serve your betters, instead of going about wearing a ridiculous diadem? And perhaps before long you will grow a comb or tiara as cocks do? Have you never heard about the Sacian feast<sup>2</sup> held by the Persians, against whom you are now preparing to take the field?" And Alexander at once asked him what it was like, for he wished to know all about the Persians. "Well, they take one of their prisoners," he explained, "who has been condemned to death, set him upon the king's throne, give him the royal apparel, and permit him to give orders, to drink and carouse, and to dally with the royal concubines during those days, and no one prevents his doing anything he pleases. But after that they strip and scourge him and then hang him. Now what do you suppose this is meant to signify and what is the purpose of this Persian custom? Is it not intended to show that foolish and wicked men frequently acquire this royal power and title and then after a season of wanton insolence come to a most shameful and wretched end? And so, when the fellow is freed from his chains, the chances

<sup>1</sup> Short tunic open on right side; worn by slaves and artizans.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo (C. 512. 5) gives a different account of this feast. He says it was celebrated by the Persians with carousing in memory of a victory by Cyrus over the Sacae (called Σακαῖοι in Strabo 512 ff.). On the custom see Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II<sup>2</sup>, p. 24).

τὸν μὲν ἀνόητον καὶ ἄπειρον τοῦ πράγματος  
χαίρειν καὶ μακαρίζειν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς γιγνο-  
μένοις, τὸν δὲ εἰδότα ὀδύρεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐθέλειν  
ἐκόντα συνακολουθεῖν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ὥσπερ  
70 εἶχε, μένειν ἐν ταῖς πέδαις. μὴ οὖν πρότερον,  
ὧ μάταιε, βασιλεύειν ἐπιχείρει πρὶν ἢ φρονῆσαι·  
τέως δέ, ἔφη, κρεῖττον μὴδὲν προστάττειν, ἀλλὰ  
μόνον αὐτὸν ζῆν διφθέραν ἔχοντα.

Σύ, ἔφη, κελεύεις ἐμὲ διφθέραν λαβεῖν τὸν  
ἀφ' Ἑρακλέους γεγενηνὸν καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
71 ἡγεμόνα καὶ Μακεδόνων βασιλέα; Πάνυ γε,  
εἶπεν, ὥσπερ ὁ πρόγονός σου. Ποῖος, ἔφη, πρό-  
γονιος; Ἀρχέλαος. ἢ οὐκ αἰπόλος ἦν ὁ Ἀρ-  
χέλαος οὐδὲ ἦλθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν αἰγας ἐλαύ-  
νων; πότερον οὖν αὐτὸν ἐν πορφύρα μᾶλλον ἢ  
ἐν διφθέρα ὀΐει τοῦτο ποιεῖν; καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος  
ἀνείθη τε καὶ ἐγέλασε καὶ ἔφη, Ἦὰ περὶ τὸν  
72 χρυσμόν, ὧ Διόγετες, λέγεις; ὁ δὲ στρυφνῶ  
τῷ προσώπῳ, Ποῖον, εἶπε, χρυσμόν; οὐκ οἶδα  
ἔγωγε πλὴν ὅτι αἰπόλος ἦν ὁ Ἀρχέλαος.  
ἀλλ' ἂν ἀπαλλαγῇς τοῦ τύφου καὶ τῶν νῦν  
πραγμάτων, ἔση βασιλεύς, οὐ λόγῳ τυχόν,  
ἀλλ' ἔργῳ· καὶ κρατήσεις οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀνδρῶν  
ἰπάντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, ὥσπερ ὁ  
73 Ἑρακλῆς, ὃν σου<sup>1</sup> φῆς πρόγονον εἶναι. καὶ ὅς,  
Ποῖον, ἔφη, γυναικῶν; ἢ δῆλον, ἔφη, ὅτι τῶν  
Ἀμαζόνων λέγεις; Ἀλλ' ἐκείνων, ἢ δ' ὅς, οὐδὲν  
ἦν κρατῆσαι χαλεπόν· ἐτέρου δέ τις γένους,

<sup>1</sup> σου Reiske: σὺ.

<sup>1</sup> According to Hyginus (*Fabula* 219), Archelaus, a reputed ancestor of Alexander, after casting the treacherous Cisseus,

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

are, if he is a fool and ignorant of the significance of the procedure, that he feels glad and congratulates himself on what is taking place; but if he understands, he probably breaks out into wailing and refuses to go along without protesting, but would rather remain in fetters just as he was. Therefore, O perverse man, do not attempt to be king before you have attained to wisdom. And in the meantime," he added, "it is better not to give orders to others but to live in solitude, clothed in a sheepskin."

"You," he objected, "do you bid me, Alexander, of the stock of Heracles, to don a sheepskin—me, the leader of the Greeks and king of the Macedonians?" "Surely," he replied, "just as your ancestor did." "What ancestor?" he asked. "Archelaus.<sup>1</sup> Was not Archelaus a goatherd and did he not come into Macedonia driving goats? Now do you think he did this clad in purple rather than in a sheepskin?" And Alexander calmed down, laughed, and said, "Do you refer to the story about the oracle,<sup>2</sup> Diogenes?" The other puckered his face and said, "Oracle indeed! All I know is that Archelaus was a goatherd. But if you will drop your conceit and your present occupations, you will be a king, not in word maybe, but in reality; and you will prevail over all women as well as all men, as did Heracles, whom you claim as an ancestor of yours." Alexander said, "Women indeed! Or am I to understand that you refer to the Amazons?" "Nay, it was no hard matter to overcome them," he replied. "I refer to women of another kind, who are extremely

Macedonian king, into the pit prepared for himself, followed a goat by Apollo's direction and founded the city of Aegae in Macedonia.

<sup>2</sup> The story of the oracle bidding Archelaus follow the goat.

- δεινοῦ καὶ ἀγρίου παντελῶς. ἢ οὐκ ἀκήκοας  
τὸν Λιβυκὸν μῦθον; καὶ ὃς οὐκ ἔφη ἀκηκοέναι.  
74 διηγείτο δὴ μετὰ ταῦτα προθύμως καὶ ἠδέως,  
βουλόμενος αὐτὸν παραμυθίσασθαι, καθάπερ αἱ  
τίτθαι τὰ παιδία, ἐπειδὴν αὐτοῖς πληγὰς ἐμ-  
βάλωσι, παραμυθούμεναι καὶ χαριζόμεναι μῦθον  
αὐτοῖς ὕστερον διηγήσαντο.
- 75 Εὖ δὲ ἴσθι, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐ πρότερον ἔση βασιλεὺς  
πρὶν ἂν ἰλάσῃ τὸν αὐτοῦ δαίμονα καὶ θεραπεύσας  
ὥς δεῖ ἀποδείξῃς ἀρχικόν τε καὶ ἐλευθέριον καὶ  
βασιλικόν, ἀλλὰ μὴ, ὥς νῦν ἔχεις, δοῦλον καὶ  
76 ἀνελεύθερον καὶ πονηρόν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὁ Ἀλέ-  
ξανδρος ἐκπεπληγμένος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἀν-  
δρείον καὶ τὸ ἀδεές, νομίσας πλεον τι τῶν ἄλλων  
ἐπίστασθαι αὐτόν, παντοδαπὸς ἦν ἰκετεύων μὴ  
φθονῆσαι μηδένα τρόπον, ἀλλὰ φράσαι τίς ἔστιν  
ὁ δαίμων αὐτοῦ καὶ πῶς χρὴ ἰλάσασθαι αὐτόν.  
ἤλπιζε γὰρ ὄνομά τι ἀκούσεσθαι δαίμονος καὶ  
θυσίας τινὰς ἢ καθαρμούς οὓς δεῖ ἐπιτελέσαι.
- 77 κατιδὼν οὖν αὐτόν ὁ Διογένης τεθορυβημένον  
καὶ σφόδρα τῇ ψυχῇ μετέωρον, προσέπαιζε καὶ  
περιεῖλκεν, εἰ πῶς δύναίτο κινηθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ  
78 τύφου καὶ τῆς δόξης μικρόν τι ἀνανῆψαι. καὶ  
γὰρ δὴ ἠσθάνετο αὐτὸν νῦν μὲν ἠδύμενον, νῦν  
δὲ λυπούμενον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν  
αὐτοῦ ἄκριτον οὖσαν, ὥσπερ τὸν ἀέρα ἐν ταῖς  
τροπαῖς, ὅταν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ νέφους ὕψι τε καὶ  
λάμπῃ ὁ ἥλιος. συνίει δὲ ὅτι καὶ τοῦ τρόπου  
κατεφρόνει ἐν ᾧ διελέγετο πρὸς αὐτόν, ἅτε

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<sup>1</sup> Told by Dio in the "Fifth Discourse."

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

dangerous and savage. Have you not heard the Libyan myth?"<sup>1</sup> And the king replied that he had not. Then Diogenes told it to him with zest and charm, because he wanted to put him in a good humour, just as nurses, after giving the children a whipping, tell them a story to comfort and please them.

"Be assured," he continued, "that you will never be king until you have propitiated your attendant spirit<sup>2</sup> and, by treating it as you should, have made it commanding, free-spirited and kingly, instead of, as in your present state, slavish, illiberal, and vicious." Then was Alexander amazed at the courage and fearlessness of the man; yet deeming him to have greater knowledge than other men, he urgently besought him not to say him nay but to explain what his attendant spirit was and how he must propitiate it. For he assumed that he would hear some deity's name and of certain sacrifices or purifications that he would have to perform. So when Diogenes perceived that he was greatly excited and quite keyed up in mind with expectancy, he toyed with him and pulled him about in the hope that somehow he might be moved from his pride and thirst for glory and be able to sober up a little. For he noticed that at one moment he was delighted, and at another grieved, at the same thing, and that his soul was as unsettled as the weather at the solstices when both rain and sunshine come from the very same cloud. He realized, too, that Alexander despised the way in which he argued with him, due to the

<sup>2</sup> The popular idea was of an indwelling spirit or genius by which a man was possessed or controlled. Heraclitus, fr. 119 (Diels), claims that character is each man's genius.

- οὐδέποτε ἀκηκοὺς δεινοῦ λέγειν ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ  
 τοὺς τῶν σοφιστῶν θαυμάζων λόγους ὡς ὑψη-  
 79 λούς τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς. βουλόμενος οὖν  
 χαρίσασθαι αὐτῷ, ἅμα τε ἐπιδείξαι ὅτι οὐκ  
 ἀδύνατός ἐστιν ὥσπερ ἵππον εὐμαθῇ καὶ πει-  
 θόμενον, ὅταν αὐτῷ δοκῇ, τὸν λόγον ἐπᾶραι,  
 λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν οὕτως περὶ δαιμόνων, ὅτι οὐκ  
 εἰσὶν ἔξωθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ πονηροὶ καὶ  
 ἀγαθοὶ δαίμονες, οἱ τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ τὰς  
 80 εὐτυχίας φέροντες αὐτοῖς, ὁ δὲ ἴδιος ἐκάστου  
 νοῦς, οὗτός ἐστι δαίμων τοῦ ἔχοντος ἀνδρός,  
 ἀγαθὸς μὲν ὁ τοῦ φρονίμου καὶ ἀγαθοῦ δαίμων,  
 πονηρὸς δὲ ὁ τοῦ πονηροῦ, ὡσαύτως δὲ ἐλεύθερος  
 μὲν ὁ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου, δούλος δὲ ὁ τοῦ δούλου,  
 καὶ βασιλικὸς μὲν ὁ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ καὶ μεγα-  
 λόφρονος, ταπεινὸς δὲ ὁ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ καὶ ἀγεν-  
 81 νοῦς. ἵνα δέ, ἔφη, μὴ καθ' ἐν ἑκάστον ἐπιῶν<sup>1</sup>  
 πολὺ τι πλήθος ἐπάγωμαι λόγων, ἐρῶ τοὺς  
 κοινοτάτους καὶ φανερωτάτους δαίμονας ὑφ' ὧν  
 ἅπαντες, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἐλαύνονται τύραννοι καὶ  
 ἰδιῶται καὶ πλοῦσιοι καὶ πένητες καὶ ὅλα ἔθνη  
 καὶ πόλεις. ἐνταῦθα δὴ πάντα ἀνεῖς κάλων μάλα  
 ὑψηλῶς καὶ ἀδεῶς τὸν ἐξῆς διεπέραινε λόγον.
- 82 Πολλὰ μὲν, ὦ παῖ Φιλίππου, περὶ πάντα  
 κακίαι τε καὶ διαφθοραὶ τῶν ἀθλίων ἀνθρώπων  
 καὶ τοσαῦται σχεδὸν ὅσας οὐ δυνατὸν διελθεῖν.  
 τῷ ὄντι γὰρ κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν

οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν δεινὸν ὧδ' εἰπεῖν ἔπος  
 οὐδὲ πάθος οὐδὲ συμφορὰν δαιμόνιον,<sup>2</sup>  
 ἧς οὐκ ἂν ἄραιτ' ἄχθος ἀνθρώπου φύσις.

<sup>1</sup> For ἐπιῶν Arnim would read ἐπεξιῶν.

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

fact that the prince had never heard a real master of discourse but admired the style of the sophists, as being lofty and distinguished. So wishing to win his favour and at the same time to show that he was quite able, whenever he chose, to make his discourse step out like a well-trained and tractable horse, he spoke to him as follows about attendant spirits, showing that the good and the bad spirits that bring happiness and misery are not outside the man, and that each one's intelligence—this and nothing more—is the guiding spirit of its owner, that the wise and good man's spirit is good, the evil man's evil, and likewise the free man's is free, the slave's slavish, the kingly and high-minded man's kingly, the abject and base man's abject. "However, not to provoke a tedious discussion," he continued, "by taking up each separate point, I shall mention the commonest and most noticeable spirits by which everybody, generally speaking, is actuated—tyrants and private citizens, rich and poor, whole nations and cities." Thereupon he let out all his sails and delivered the following discourse with great loftiness and courage.

"Many, thou son of Philip, are the vices and corrupting influences that in all circumstances beset wretched man, and they are well-nigh more numerous than tongue can tell. For in truth, as the poet says,

"No word is there so fraught with fear to speak,  
Nor sorrow, nor calamity god-sent,  
But mortal man might bear the weight thereof."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Euripides, *Orestes* 1 f.

<sup>2</sup> συμφορὰ θεήλατος in the MSS. of Euripides, *Orestes* 1 f.



- 83 Τριῶν δὲ ἐπικρατούντων, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, βίων,  
εἰς οὓς μάλιστα ἐμπίπτουσιν οἱ πολλοί, μὰ Δί'  
οὐ μετὰ λογισμοῦ σκεψάμενοι καὶ δοκιμάσαντες,  
ἀλόγῳ δὲ ὀρμῇ καὶ τύχῃ προσενεχθέντες, το-  
σούτους φατέον εἶναι καὶ δαίμονας, οἷς συνέπονται  
καὶ λατρεύουσιν ὁ πολὺς καὶ ἀμαθὴς ὄμιλος,  
ἄλλοι ἄλλῳ, καθάπερ ἡγεμόνι πονηρῷ καὶ μαι-  
84 νομένῳ πονηρὸς καὶ ἀσελγὴς θίασος. ἔστι δὲ τού-  
των ὧν ἔφην βίων ὁ μὲν ἡδυπαθὴς καὶ τρυφερὸς  
περὶ τὰς τοῦ σώματος ἡδονάς, ὁ δ' αὖ φιλο-  
χρήματος καὶ φιλόπλουτος, ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἀμφοτέ-  
ρων ἐπιφανέστερός τε καὶ μᾶλλον τεταραγμένος,  
ὁ φιλότιμος καὶ φιλόδοξος, ἐκδηλοτέραν καὶ σφο-  
δροτέραν ἐπιδεικνύμενος τὴν ταραχὴν καὶ τὴν  
μανίαν, ἐξαπατῶν αὐτόν, ὡς καλοῦ δὴ τινος  
ἐραστήν.
- 85 Φέρε οὖν καθάπερ οἱ κομψοὶ τῶν δημιουργῶν  
ἐπὶ πάντα ἔμβραχυ<sup>1</sup> φέρουσι τὴν αὐτῶν ἐπίνοιαν  
καὶ τέχνην, οὐ μόνον τὰς τῶν θεῶν ἀπομιμού-  
μενοι φύσεις ἀνθρωπίνοις εἵδεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν  
ἄλλων ἕκαστον, ποταμούς τε ἐνίοτε γράφοντες  
ἀνδράσιν ὁμοίους καὶ κρήνας ἐν τισὶ γυναικείois  
εἵδεσι, νήσους τε καὶ πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μικροῦ  
δεῖν ξύμπαντα, ὅποιον καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐτόλμησεν  
ἐπιδείξαι Σκάμανδρον φθεγγόμενον ὑπὸ τῇ δίνῃ,  
86 κακείνοι φωνὰς μὲν οὐκ ἔχουσι προσθεῖναι τοῖς  
εἰδώλοις, εἶδη δὲ οἰκεῖα καὶ σημεῖα ἀπὸ τῆς  
φύσεως, οἷον τοὺς ποταμούς κατακειμένους γυ-  
μνοὺς τὸ πλεόν, γένειον πολὺ καθεικότας, μυρίκην

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

"Now as there are, roughly speaking, three prevailing types of lives which the majority usually adopt, not after thoughtful consideration and testing, I assure you, but because they are carried away by chance and thoughtless impulse, we must affirm that there is just the same number of spirits whom the great mass of foolish humanity follows and serves—some men one spirit and some another—just as a wicked and wanton troop follows a wicked and frenzied leader. Of these types of lives which I have mentioned, the first is luxurious and self-indulgent as regards bodily pleasures, the second, in its turn, is acquisitive and avaricious, while the third is more conspicuous and more disordered than the other two—I mean the one that loves honour and glory—and it manifests a more evident and violent disorder or frenzy, deluding itself into believing that it is enamoured of some noble ideal.

"Therefore, come, let us imitate clever artists. They put the impress of their thought and art upon practically everything, representing not only the various gods in human forms but everything else as well. Sometimes they paint rivers in the likeness of men and springs in certain feminine shapes, yes, and islands and cities and well-nigh everything else, like Homer, who boldly represented the Scamander<sup>1</sup> as speaking beneath his flood, and though they cannot give speech to their figures, nevertheless do give them forms and symbols appropriate to their nature, as, for example, their river gods recline, usually naked, and wear long flowing beards and on their

<sup>1</sup> In the *Iliad* (21. 233 f.) Homer depicts the battle between Achilles and the Scamander.

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<sup>1</sup> ἔμβραχυν Cobet: ἐν βραχεῖ.

87 ἡ κάλαμον ἐστεφανωμένους· οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡμεῖς  
 μὴ χείρους μηδὲ φαυλότεροι περὶ τοὺς λόγους  
 φανῶμεν ἢ ἐκεῖνοι περὶ τὰς αὐτῶν τέχνας τῷ<sup>1</sup>  
 πλάττειν καὶ ἀφομοιοῦν τοὺς τρόπους τοῦ  
 τριπλοῦ δαίμονος τῶν τριῶν βίων, τὴν ἐναντίαν  
 ἕξιν καὶ ἀντίστροφον ἐπιδεικνύμενοι τῆς τῶν  
 λεγόμενων φυσιογνωμόνων ἐμπειρίας καὶ μαν-  
 88 τικῆς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς μορφῆς καὶ τοῦ  
 εἶδους τὸ ἦθος γινώσκουσι καὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν,  
 ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἡθῶν καὶ τῶν ἔργων χαρα-  
 κτήρα καὶ μορφήν ἀξίαν ἐκείνων σπάσσωμεν, εἰ  
 ἄρα μᾶλλον ἄψασθαι δυνησόμεθα τῶν πολλῶν  
 89 καὶ φαυλοτέρων· πρὸς τὸ ἀποδείξαι τὴν τῶν  
 βίων ἀτοπίαν οὐδὲν ἄσχημον οὐδὲ νεμεσητὸν καὶ  
 ποιηταῖς παραβαλλομένους καὶ χειροτέχναις καὶ  
 καθαρταῖς<sup>2</sup> ὁρᾶσθαι, εἰ δέοι, σπεύδειν πανταχόθεν  
 εἰκόνας καὶ παραδείγματα πορίζοντας, ἄν πως  
 ἰσχύσωμεν ἀποτρέψαι<sup>3</sup> κακίας καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ  
 πονηρῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, εἰς ἀρετῆς δὲ φιλίαν προ-  
 90 αγαγεῖν καὶ ἔρωτα ζωῆς<sup>4</sup> ἀμείνονος· ἡ ὥς  
 εἰώθασιν ἔνιοι τῶν περὶ τὰς τελετὰς καὶ τὰ  
 καθάρσια, μῆνιν Ἑκάτης ἱλασκόμενοί τε καὶ  
 ἐξάντη φάσκοντες ποιήσιν, ἔπειτα οἶμαι φά-  
 σματα πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα πρὸ τῶν καθαρμῶν  
 ἐξηγούμενοι καὶ ἐπιδεικνύντες, ἃ φασιν ἐπι-  
 πέμπειν χολουμένην τὴν θεόν.

<sup>1</sup> τῷ Emperius: τοῦ.<sup>2</sup> Arnim would delete ὁρᾶσθαι.<sup>3</sup> ἀποτρέψαι Arnim: ἀποστρέψαι.<sup>4</sup> καὶ before ζωῆς deleted by Emperius.<sup>1</sup> Plants which grow in wet soil.<sup>2</sup> The *kathartai* were regarded as charlatans, as we see from Hippocrates and Plutarch. They professed to cure diseases.

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

heads crowns of tamarisk or rushes.<sup>1</sup> Let us then show ourselves to be no whit worse or less competent in the field of discourse than they in their several arts as we mould and depict the characters of the three spirits of the three lives, therein displaying an accomplishment the reverse of and complementary to the skill and prophetic power of the physiognomists, as they call them. These men can determine and announce a man's character from his shape and appearance; while we propose to draw from a man's habits and acts, a type and shape that will match the physiognomist's work—that is, if we shall succeed in getting hold rather of the average and lower types. Since our purpose is to show the absurdity existing in human lives, there is no impropriety or objection to our being seen imitating poets or artists or, if need be, priests of purification<sup>2</sup> and to our striving to furnish illustrations and examples from every source, in the hope of being able to win souls from evil, delusion, and wicked desires and to lead them to love virtue and to long for a better life; or else we might follow the practice of some of those who deal with initiations and rites of purification,<sup>3</sup> who appease the wrath of Hecate<sup>4</sup> and undertake to make a person sound, and then before the cleansing process, as I understand, set forth and point to the many and various visions that, as they claim, the goddess sends when angry.

<sup>1</sup> Plato (*Phaedrus* 244 e) refers to this same method of appeasing the wrath of a deity and has evidently influenced Dio here.

<sup>2</sup> Goddess of the lower world, who sends phantoms from it to vex and terrify those needing *κάθαρσις*.

## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

- ὅτι δὴ τάχιστα κάδαπανώτατα<sup>1</sup> πρόεισι, σὺν  
 ἡμέρα καὶ νυκτὶ προβαῖνον καὶ φθάνον οἶμαι  
 94 τὰς τῆς σελήνης περιόδους, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀπεχθείας  
 καὶ τὸ τοῦ μίσους καὶ τῶν<sup>2</sup> βλασφημιῶν οὐ-  
 δαμῇ λογιζόμενος, ἔτι δὲ τῇ μὲν ἄλλῃ κτήσει  
 καλλωπισμὸν τινα προσεῖναι καὶ διατριβὴν  
 ἡγούμενος, τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον, ὥς ἐν βραχυτάτῳ  
 95 συνειληφέναι, τὴν τοῦ πλούτου δύναμιν. τοῦτο  
 οὖν διώκει καὶ ζητεῖ πανταχόθεν, οὐδέν τι  
 μεταστρεφόμενος οὐτ' εἰ μετ' αἰσχύνης οὐτ' εἰ  
 μετ' ἀδικίας γίγνοιτο, πλὴν ὅσον τὰς κολάσεις  
 ὑφορώμενος ὁδοιδύκων<sup>3</sup> εὐλαβέστερός ἐστι<sup>4</sup> δειλία  
 κρατηθείς· κυνὸς ἀχρήστου ψυχὴν ἔχων, τὰ μὲν  
 ἀρπάζοντος ἐὰν ἐλπίσῃ λήσεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἐπι-  
 βλέποντος καὶ ἄκουτος ἀπεχομένου διὰ τοὺς  
 96 ἐφεστηκότας φύλακας. ἔστω δὴ βραχὺς ἰδεῖν,  
 δουλοπρεπής, ἄγρυπνος, οὐδέποτε μειδιῶν, αἰεί  
 τῳ λοιδορούμενος καὶ μαχόμενος, πορνοβοσκῷ  
 μάλιστα προσεοικῶς τό τε σχῆμα καὶ τὸν τρόπον  
 ἀναιδεῖ καὶ γλίσχρῳ, βαπτὸν ἀμπεχομένῳ τρι-  
 βώνιον μιᾶς τινος τῶν ἐταιρῶν ὠραῖσμόν.<sup>5</sup> ὅδε ὁ  
 97 δαίμων αἰσχυρὸς καὶ ἀπρεπής, τοὺς αὐτοῦ φίλους  
 τε καὶ ἐταίρους, μᾶλλον δὲ δούλους καὶ ὑπηρέτας  
 λωβώμενος καὶ καταισχύνων πάντα τρόπον, ἐάν  
 τε ἐν ιδιώτῳ σχήματι λάβῃ τινὰς ἐάν τε ἐν  
 98 βασιλέως. ἢ οὐ πολλοὺς τῶν καλουμένων βα-  
 σιλέων ἰδεῖν ἔστι καπήλους καὶ τελώνας καὶ  
 πορνοβοσκούς; ἀλλὰ Δρόμωνα μὲν καὶ Σάραμ-

<sup>1</sup> κάδαπανώτατα Arnim: καὶ δαπανώτατα.

<sup>2</sup> τῶν added by Arnim.

<sup>3</sup> ὁδοιδύκων Emperius: ὁ δὲ δὴ δοκῶν.

<sup>4</sup> εὐλαβέστερός ἐστι Carrs: ἀσφαλέστερος. If ἀσφαλέστερος is right, Carrs suggests that εἶναι ζητεῖ has dropped out.

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

and cheapest, since money goes on piling up day and night and outstrips, I ween, the circuits of the moon.<sup>1</sup> He reckes naught of dislike, hate, and curses and, besides, holds that while other kinds of possessions may be pretty baubles wherewith to amuse oneself, money, to put it succinctly, is the very essence of wealth. This, therefore, is what he seeks and pursues from any and every source, never concerning himself at all to ask whether it is acquired by shameful or by unjust means, except insofar as, observing the punishments meted out to footpads, he lets cowardice get the better of him and becomes cautious. For he has the soul of a worthless cur, that snatches up things when it expects not to be noticed, and looks on other morsels with longing eyes but keeps away from them, though reluctantly, because the guards are by. So let him be a man insignificant in appearance, servile, unsleeping, never smiling, ever quarrelling and fighting with someone, very much like a pander, who in garb as well as in character is shameless and niggardly, dressed in a coloured mantle, the finery of one of his harlots. A foul and loathsome spirit is this, for he brings every possible insult and shame upon his own friends and comrades, or, rather, his slaves and underlings, whether he find them in the garb of private citizens or in that of royalty. Or is it not plain to see that many who are called kings are only traders, tax-gatherers, and keepers of brothels? Shall we assert that Dromon and

<sup>1</sup> Interest was payable monthly; cf. Aristoph. *Clouds*, 17.

Wilamowitz brackets ἀσφαλέστερος, but leaves the clause without a predicate.

<sup>5</sup> ὠραϊσμόν Bakhuizen: ὧν ἴσμεν.

- βον, ὅτι ἐν Ἀθήναις καπηλεύουσι καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων τοῦτο ἀκούουσι τὸ ὄνομα, δικαίως φάμεν ἀκούειν, Δαρεῖον δὲ τὸν πρότερον, ὅτι ἐν Βαβυλῶνι καὶ Σούσοις ἐκαπήλευε, καὶ Πέρσαι αὐτὸν ἔτι καὶ νῦν καλοῦσι κάπηλον, οὐ δικαίως  
 99 κεκληῖσθαι; ἰδίον γε μὴν τούτῳ συμβέβηκε παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους δαίμονας· ἐνίστε μὲν γὰρ ἄρχει<sup>1</sup> καὶ κρατεῖ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἐνίστε δὲ δοκεῖ συνέπεσθαι,<sup>2</sup> διὰ τὸ πάσης ἐπιθυμίας καὶ σπουδῆς ὑπηρέτην τε καὶ διάκονον ἀπροφάσιστον εἶναι  
 100 τὸν πλοῦτον. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ λέγω νῦν τὸν αὐτὸν ἡγούμενον καὶ προεστηκότα τῆς τοῦ δυστυχοῦς ἀνθρώπου διανοίας, οὔτε ἐφ' ἡδονὴν τινα οὔτε εἰς δόξαν ἀναφέροντα τὴν τῶν χρημάτων κτήσιν, οὐδὲ ὡς ἀναλώσοντα καὶ χρησόμενον ξυνάγοντα, ἀνέξοδον δὲ καὶ ἄχρεῖον φυλάττοντα τὸν πλοῦτον, τῷ ὄντι κατάκλειστον ἐν τισι κρυπτοῖς καὶ ἀφεγγέσι θαλάμοις.
- 101 Εἶεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ δεύτερος ἀνὴρ τε καὶ daίμων ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὁ τὰ τῆς Ἡδονῆς ἀναφαίνων ὄργια καὶ τὴν θεὸν ταύτην θαυμάζων καὶ προτιμῶν, ἀτεχνῶς γυναικείαν θεόν, ποικίλος καὶ πολυειδὴς καὶ περὶ τε ὁσμάς καὶ γεύσεις ἀπλήρωτος, ἔτι δὲ οἶμαι περὶ πάντα μὲν<sup>3</sup> ὀράματα, πάντα δὲ ἀκούσματα τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν τινα φέροντα, πάσας δὲ ἀφ' αὐτῶν προσηνεῖς τε καὶ μαλακὰς λουτρῶν τε ὁσημέραι θερμῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ δις τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ χρίσεων οὐ κάματον

<sup>1</sup> ἄρχει Emperius: ἔχει.

<sup>2</sup> δοκεῖ συνέπεσθαι Carps: ἐκείνοις συνέπεται.

<sup>3</sup> μὲν added by Reiske.

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

Sarambus,<sup>1</sup> because they keep shops in Athens and are called shopkeepers by the Athenians, come fairly by the name, but that the elder Darius,<sup>2</sup> who kept a shop in Babylon and in Susa, and whom the Persians still to this day call a shopkeeper, has not deserved this name? Moreover, there is one peculiarity about this spirit, not shared by the others: although he sometimes rules and masters the soul, yet sometimes he seems to be compliant, the reason being that wealth is the handmaid and the willing ministrant to every appetite and interest. I, however, am now speaking of the spirit that takes the lead himself and dominates the faculties of his unhappy possessor; he has neither pleasure nor glory as the motive for the acquisition of wealth, and does not intend to spend or to use what he has gotten together, but keeps his wealth out of circulation and useless, actually locked up in secret and sunless vaults.

"So far so good. The second man and the attendant spirit of that man is the one which proclaims the orgies of Pleasure and admires and honours this goddess, a truly feminine being. He is of many hues and shapes, insatiable as to things that tickle nostril and palate, and further, methinks, as to all that pleases the eye, and all that affords any pleasure to the ear, as to all things that are soothing and agreeable to the touch, such as warm baths taken daily, or rather, twice a day, anointings that are

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned as a shopkeeper in Plato, *Gorgias* 518 b.

<sup>2</sup> The first Persian king of that name. The Persians called him a "shopkeeper" as a compliment, doubtless because he organized the Empire and imposed a regular tribute. According to one etymology "Darius" means "possessing goods." See Herodotus 3. 89 f.



## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

- 102 ἰωμένων, πρὸς δὲ αὖ τούτοις ἐσθήτων τε μαλακῶν ἔλξεις καὶ κατακλίσεις ἡσκημένας καὶ διακονίας ἀκριβεῖς καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπιθυμίαν τε καὶ χρείαν, περὶ ταῦτα πάντα δεινῶς ἐπτοημένος, μάλιστα μέντοι<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἀκρατέστατα περὶ τὴν τῶν ἀφροδισίων ὀξείαν καὶ διάπυρον μαίαν θηλυκῶν τε καὶ ἀρρενικῶν μίξεων καὶ ἔτι πλειόνων ἀρρήτων καὶ ἀνωγύμων αἰσχροουργιῶν, ἐπὶ πάντα ὁμοίως τὰ τοιαῦτα φερόμενος καὶ ἄγων, οὐδὲν ἀπώμοτον οὐδὲ ἄπρακτον ποιούμενος.
- 103 Νῦν γὰρ δὴ ἓνα τοῦτον τίθεμεν τὸν ἀπάσας τὰς τοιαύτας παρειληφότα νόσους καὶ ἀκрасίας τῆς ψυχῆς, ἵνα μὴ πολὺν τινα ἀθροίσωμεν ἐσμὸν μοιχικῶν τινων δαιμονίων καὶ<sup>2</sup> φιλόφρων καὶ φιλοίνων καὶ ἄλλων δὴ μυρίων, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς ἓνα δαίμονα τιθῶμεν τὸν ἀκόλαστον καὶ δεδουλωμένον
- 104 ὑφ' ἡδονῆς, ἐὰν μὲν ἐπιρρέῃ ποθεὶν ἀνελλιπὲς τὸ τῆς χορηγίας, χρημάτων βασιλικῶν ἢ τινος μεγάλης ἰδιωτικῆς ὑπόουσης οὐσίας, ἐν πολλῇ καὶ ἀφθόνῳ κυλινδούμενον ἀσελγείᾳ μέχρι γήρως· εἰ δὲ μή, ταχὺ μάλα ἐξαναλώσαντα τὰ παρόντα, πένητα ἀκρατῇ καὶ ἀκόλαστον ἐν σπάνει καὶ ἰμέρῳ δεινῶς τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν λειπό-
- 105 μενον. ἔτι<sup>3</sup> δέ τινας οὗτος τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κρατουμένων εἰς γυναικεῖον μετέβαλε βίον τε καὶ σχῆμα, ὥσπερ οἱ μῦθοί φασι τοὺς μετα-

<sup>1</sup> μέντοι Jacobs: μὲν.      <sup>2</sup> καὶ added by Emperius.

<sup>3</sup> ἔτι Arnim: εἰ.

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

not for the relief of weariness and, besides, the wearing of soft sweeping robes,<sup>1</sup> bolstered repose, and attentive service for every appetite and desire. He is passionately devoted to all these things, but especially and most unrestrainedly to the poignant and burning madness of sexual indulgence, through intercourse both with females and with males, and through still other unspeakable and nameless obscenities; after all such indiscriminately he rushes and also leads others, abjuring no form of lust and leaving none untried.<sup>2</sup>

"At present, it should be explained, we are treating as one this spirit which is afflicted with all these maladies and excesses of the soul; for we do not want to assemble a huge gallery of lecherous, gluttonous, and bibulous spirits and others unnumbered, but to treat as simply one that spirit which is incontinent and enslaved to pleasure, which—if only there is from some source an inflow of inexhaustible means, whether from royal coffers or from some great private estate—wallows in a deep and boundless slough of debauchery until old age comes; failing such resources, the man speedily squanders the fortune he began with, or is reduced to impotent and licentious penury, and in deprivation combined with craving falls terribly short of his desires. And, further, this spirit has sometimes changed those possessed by it to the life and the garb of women, just as the myths relate of those who transformed human beings into birds or

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Plato, *Alcibiades* 122 c., *ἡμαρτων ἐλξῆς*.

<sup>2</sup> The last part of this description bears a resemblance to the description which Diodorus Siculus (II. 23) gives of Sardanapallus.

βαλόντας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων εἰς ὄρνιθας ἢ θηρία,  
ἐὰν τύχῃσι τοιαύτης ἡττηθέντες ἡδονῆς.

- Πάλιν δὲ κἀνταῦθα ἀντιχορηγία<sup>1</sup> πέφηνεν·  
 106 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀσθενής τε καὶ ἄτολμος ἐκ τούτου τοῦ  
 γένους δαίμων ἐπὶ τε τὰς γυναικείας νόσους καὶ  
 ἄλλας αἰσχύνας, ὁπόσαις πρόσσεστι ζημία καὶ  
 ὀνειδίη, προσάγει ῥαδίως· ὅπου δὲ ἡδονῶν τινων  
 τιμωρίαι πρόσσεισι, θανάτοις ἢ δεσμοῖς κολάζου-  
 σαι τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας ἢ χρημάτων πολλῶν  
 107 ἐκτίσσειν, οὐ πάνυ τι πρὸς ταῦτα ἐφίησιν. ὁ δὲ  
 ἀτενέστερός<sup>2</sup> τε καὶ θρασύτερος πάντα ἀπλῶς  
 ὑπερβαίνειν ἀναγκάζει τά τε ἀνθρώπινα καὶ τὰ  
 θεῖα. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀσθενής τε καὶ ἄτολμος εὐθύς<sup>3</sup>  
 προσθέμενος τὴν τοιαύτην αἰσχύνην ὁμολογεῖ  
 οὐδενὸς ἀνδρείου πράγματος ἀπτόμενος, ἀλλὰ  
 παραχωρῶν τῶν κοινῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν πράξεων  
 108 τοῖς ἁμεινον βεβιωκόσιν· ὁ δὲ ἱταμὸς καὶ ἄτρεσ-  
 τος, πολλὰς ὕβρεις τε καὶ αἰσχύνας ὑπομείνας,  
 ὀστράκου, φασί, μεταπεσόντος, στρατηγὸς ἢ  
 δημαγωγὸς πέφηνεν ὁξὺ καὶ διάτορον βοῶν,  
 ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν δραμάτων ὑποκριταί, ἀπορρίψας  
 μεταξὺ τὴν γυναικείαν στολὴν, ἔπειτα στρατιώ-  
 του τινὸς ἢ ῥήτορος στολὴν ἀρπάσας περιέρχεται  
 συκοφάντης καὶ φοβερός, ἀντίον πᾶσι βλέπων.  
 109 Ἄρ' οὖν ἀρρενωπὸν τι καὶ σεμνὸν εἶδος τῷ  
 τοιούτῳ δαίμονι πρέπει ἢ μᾶλλον ὑγρὸν τε καὶ  
 μαλθακόν; οὐκοῦν τὸ οἰκεῖον αὐτῷ σχῆμα προσ-  
 θήσομεν, οὐχ ὃ πλαττόμενος ἐνδύεται πολλάκις  
 ἀνδρείον καὶ φοβερόν· προῖτω γε μὴν νῆ Δία

<sup>1</sup> ἀντιχορηγία Capps, δίττη χορηγία Alnim : ἐν τῇ χορηγίᾳ.

<sup>2</sup> ἀτενέστερός Jacobs : ἀγενέστερος.

<sup>3</sup> εὐθύς or εὐθὺ Capps : ἐνθα.

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

beasts, if they were unfortunate enough to have become enslaved to an appetite of such a nature.

"But here again we find a contrast in our examples. There is, first in this class, the weak and unventuresome spirit, which easily leads men into effeminate vices and other kinds of misconduct which involve loss and disgrace; but, where certain indulgences are followed by punishments that inflict upon the culprit death or imprisonment or heavy fines, altogether avoids inciting the victim to those extremes. There is, however, the more aggressive and audacious spirit, which compels its victim to overleap absolutely all bounds, both human and divine. Now while the weak and unventuresome spirit no sooner gets involved than he acknowledges his shameful weakness by taking up no manly occupation, but leaving social and civic activities to those who have lived a better life, the bold and impetuous spirit, after enduring many a rebuff and humiliation, by a sudden turn of fortune's wheel,<sup>1</sup> as they say, emerged as a general or as a popular leader with shrill and piercing voice, and, like actors on the stage, discards his feminine attire for the time being and then, having seized that of a general or orator, stalks about as a blackmailer and an object of terror, looking all the world in the eye.

"Now does a manly and grave appearance befit such a spirit, or rather a weak and effeminate one? Therefore we shall dress him up in his proper attire, not in the brave and awe-inspiring clothes which he often assumes when playing a part. So, by heavens,

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "the shell having fallen underside uppermost." This expression is borrowed from a game played with shards or shells in which the players ran away or pursued according as the shell fell with one or the other side uppermost. See Plato, *Phaedrus*, 241b.

## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

- 110 τρυφῶν τε καὶ μύρου καὶ οἴνου ἀποπνέων ἐν  
 κροκωτῷ μετὰ πολλοῦ καὶ ἀτάκτου γέλωτος,  
 μεθύοντι προσεικῶς κωμάζοντι μεθ' ἡμέραν  
 ἀσελγῇ κῶμον, στεφάνους τινὰς ἐστεφανωμένος  
 ἑώλους τὴν τε κεφαλὴν καὶ περὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ,  
 καὶ πλάγιος φερόμενος, ὀρχούμενός τε καὶ ᾄδων  
 θῆλυ καὶ ἄμουσον μέλος. ἀγέσθω δὲ ὑπὸ γυναικῶν
- 111 ἀναισχύντων καὶ ἀκολάστων, ἐπιθυμιῶν τινῶν  
 λεγομένων, ἄλλων ἐπ' ἄλλα ἐλκουσῶν, μηδεμίαν  
 αὐτῶν ἀπωθούμενος μηδὲ ἀντιλέγων, ἀλλὰ
- 112 ἐτοίμως δὴ καὶ προθύμως συνεπόμενος. αἱ δὲ  
 μετὰ πολλοῦ πατάγου κυμβάλων τε καὶ αὐλῶν  
 φέρουσαι μαινόμενον αὐτὸν σπουδῇ προΐτωσαν.  
 ὁ δ' ἐκ μέσων ἀναβοῶτω τῶν γυναικῶν ὀξύτερον  
 καὶ ἀκρατέστερον, λευκὸς ἰδεῖν καὶ τρυφερός,  
 αἰθρίας καὶ πόνων ἄπειρος, ἀποκλένων τὸν  
 τράχηλον, ὑγροῖς τοῖς ὄμμασι μάχλον ὑποβλέ-  
 πων, αἰεὶ ποτε τὸ σῶμα καταθεώμενος, τῇ ψυχῇ  
 δὲ οὐδὲν προσέχων οὐδὲ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῆς προστατ-
- 113 τομένοις. τοῦτον ἀγαλματοποιὸς ἢ γραφεὺς  
 ἀναγκαζόμενος εἰκάζειν οὐκ ἂν ὁμοιότερον ἄλλῳ  
 ἐργάσαιτο ἢ τῷ Σύρων βασιλεῖ μετ' εὐνούχων  
 καὶ παλλακῶν ἔνδον διαβιοῦντι, στρατοπέδου  
 δὲ<sup>1</sup> καὶ πολέμου καὶ ἀγορᾶς ἀθεάτῳ τὸ παράπαν.
- 114 προηγείσθω δὲ καὶ τοῦτου Ἀπάτῃ, πάνυ ὠραία  
 καὶ πιθανή, κεκοσμημένη κόσμοις πορνικοῖς,  
 μειδιῶσα καὶ ὑπισχνουμένη πλήθος ἀγαθῶν, ὥς  
 ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἄγουσα τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, ἕως ἂν εἰς τὸ  
 βάραθρον καταβάλλῃ λαθοῦσα, εἰς πολὺν τε καὶ  
 ῥυπαρὸν βόρβορον, ἔπειτα ἐάσῃ κυλινδεῖσθαι
- 115 μετὰ τῶν στεφάνων καὶ τοῦ κροκωτοῦ. τοιούτῳ  
 δεσπότη λατρεύουσαι καὶ τοιαῦτα πάσχουσαι

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

let him step forth luxurious, breathing of myrrh and wine, in a saffron robe, with much inordinate laughter, resembling a drunken reveller in a wanton midday riot and wearing faded garlands on his head and about his neck, reeling in his gait, dancing and singing an effeminate and tuneless song. Let him be led by brazen, dissolute women, known as certain of the sensual lusts, each pulling him her own way, and he rebuffs none of them nor says her nay, but follows readily and eagerly enough. And let them, with a great din of cymbals and flutes, come eagerly forth, escorting the frenzied fellow. And from the midst of the women let him utter shriller and more passionate cries than they; he is pale and effeminate in appearance, unacquainted with heaven's air or honest toil, lets his head droop, and leers lasciviously, with his watery eyes ever studying his fleshy self, but heedless of the soul and her mandates. Were a statuary or a painter compelled to represent this man, he could create no better likeness of him than that of the Syrian king,<sup>1</sup> who spent his life in his harem with eunuchs and concubines without ever a sight of army or war or assembly at all. Let his steps also be guided by Delusion, a very beautiful and enticing maid, decked out in harlot's finery, smiling and promising a wealth of good things and making him believe that she is leading him to the very embrace of happiness, till unexpectedly she drops him into the pit, into a morass of foul mud, and then leaves him to flounder about in his garlands and saffron robe. In servitude to such a tyrant and suffering such tribulation

<sup>1</sup> The Assyrian king Sardanapallus seems to be meant. Syria and Assyria were sometimes confused.

## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

πλανῶνται κατὰ τὸν βίον ὅσαι ψυχαὶ πρὸς μὲν πόνους δειλαὶ καὶ ἀδύνατοι, δεδουλωμένοι δὲ ἡδοναῖς, φιλήδονοι καὶ φιλοσώματοι, βίον αἰσχροὺν καὶ ἐπονείδιστον οὐχ ἐλόμεναι ζῶσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐνεχθεῖσαι πρὸς αὐτόν.

- 116 Οὐκοῦν μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ λόγος ὥσπερ ἐν ἀγῶνι σφύττει τρίτον εἰσάγειν, ὡς ὁ κῆρυξ<sup>1</sup> χορόν, τὸν φιλότιμον, οὐ πάνυ προθύμως τὰ νῦν ἀγωνιούμενον, καίτοι φιλόνεικον ὄντα τῇ φύσει περὶ πάντα καὶ πρωτεύειν ἀξιούντα· πλὴν οὐ περὶ δόξης ἢ τιμῆς ἢ κρίσις αὐτῷ τὰ νῦν ἐνέστηκεν,<sup>2</sup>
- 117 ὑπὲρ δὲ πολλῆς καὶ δικαίας ἀδοξίας. φέρε δὴ ποῖόν τι πλάττωμεν τό τε σχῆμα καὶ εἶδος τοῦ φιλοτίμου δαίμονος; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι πτερωτόν τε καὶ ὑπηνέμιον κατὰ τὸ ἦθος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, ἅμα τοῖς πνεύμασι φερόμενον, ὁποίους τοὺς Βορεάδας ἐνεθυμήθησάν τε καὶ ἔγραψαν οἱ γραφεῖς, ἐλαφρούς τε καὶ μεταρσίους, ταῖς τοῦ
- 118 πατρὸς αὔραις συνθέοντας; ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν, ὁπότε βουλευθεῖεν, ἐπεδείκνυντο τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν, τέως δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἡρώων ἐν τῇ Ἀργοῖ συνέπλεον ναυτιλλόμενοι καὶ τᾶλλα πράττοντες οὐδενὸς ἥττον. ὁ δὲ τῶν φιλοδόξων ἀνδρῶν προστάτης ἀεὶ μετέωρος, οὐδέποτε γῆς ἐφαπτόμενος οὐδὲ ταπεινοῦ τινος, ἀλλὰ ὑψηλὸς καὶ
- 119 μετάρσιος, ὅταν μὲν αἰθρίας τύχῃ καὶ γαλήνης ἢ ξεφύρου τινὸς ἐπιεικῶς πνέοντος, ἀεὶ μᾶλλον ἀγαλλόμενός τε καὶ ἀνιῶν<sup>3</sup> εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν αἰθέρα, πολλάκις δ' ἐν σκοτεινῷ νέφει κρυπτόμενος,

<sup>1</sup> ὁ κῆρυξ Capps: ἐκεῖ.

<sup>2</sup> ἐνέστηκεν Emperius: ἔστηκεν.

<sup>3</sup> ἀνιῶν Wilamowitz: ἰῶν.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Aristoph. *Ach.* 11.

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

those souls wander through life which, craven and impotent in the face of hardships, enslaved to pleasure, pleasure-loving, and carnally-minded, go on living a disgraceful and reprehensible life, not from choice, but because they have drifted into it.

"And now, leaving this spirit, my discourse is eager, as in a contest, to bring in the third spirit, as the herald to bring in a chorus<sup>1</sup>—I mean the ambitious one. He is not so very eager at present to contest, although he is naturally emulous about everything and demands to be first. However, the present trial is not concerned with the question of any fame or honour that may come to him, but with his abundant and merited dishonour. So come, what garb and appearance shall we give to the ambitious spirit? Or is it manifest that he shall be winged and buoyant in keeping with his character and ambition, floating along with the breezes like those sons of Boreas<sup>2</sup> whom artists have conceived and painted, lightly poised on high and running in company with their father's breezes? But while they used to display a power of their own whenever they pleased, yet for a time they went voyaging with the other heroes on the Argo, serving as their shipmates and performing the regular tasks as much as anyone. But the spirit who presides over men who love glory is always aspiring and never touches the earth or anything lowly; no, he is high and lifted up as long as he enjoys a calm and clear sky or a gently blowing zephyr, feeling ever happier and happier and mounting to the very heavens, but often he is enwrapped in a dark cloud when accom-

<sup>1</sup> God of the north wind. His sons sailed on the Argo with Jason to get the Golden Fleece.



ἀδοξίας τινὸς συντρεχούσης καὶ ψόγου<sup>1</sup> παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὓς ἐκεῖνος θεραπεύει καὶ τιμᾷ καὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας τῆς αὐτοῦ κυρίου ἀπέδειξεν.

- 120 Οὐδέν γε μὴν προσέοικεν ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκεν οὔτε ἀετοῖς οὔτε γεράνοις οὔτε ἄλλῳ τινὶ πτηνῷ γένει τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἂν τις αὐτὸν προσεικάζειε τῇ Ἰκαρίου βιαίῳ καὶ παρὰ φύσιν φορᾷ, οὐ δυνατὸν τέχνημα ἐπιχειρήσαντος Δαι-  
 121 δάλου τεχνήσασθαι. τοιγαροῦν ὑπὸ νεότητος καὶ ἀλαζονείας ἐπιθυμῶν ὑψηλότερος τῶν ἄστρων φέρεσθαι, χρόνον μὲν τινα ἐσφάζετο βραχύν, χαλωμένων δὲ τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ τοῦ κηροῦ ῥέοντος, ἐπωνυμίαν ἀπὸ τοῦδε τῷ πελάγει  
 122 παρέσχεν, οὐπὲρ ἠφανίσθη πεσών. καὶ κεῖνος ἀσθενέσι καὶ κούφοις τῷ ὄντι πιστεύσας πτεροῖς, λέγω δὲ τιμαῖς τε καὶ ἐπαίνοις ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν πολλῶν ὡς ἔτυχε γιγνομένοις, ἐπι-  
 123 σφαλῶς καὶ ἀσταθμῆτως φέρεται καὶ φέρει τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν αὐτοῦ ζηλωτὴν τε καὶ ὑπηρέτην, νῦν μὲν ὑψηλὸν καὶ μακάριον πολλοῖς φαινόμενον, πάλιν δὲ αὖ ταπεινὸν τε καὶ ἄθλιον τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ πρώτῳ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῷ δοκοῦντα.  
 εἰ δέ τῳ οὐ φίλον πτηνὸν αὐτὸν διανοεῖσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν, ὁ δὲ ἀφομοιούτω αὐτὸν τῇ τοῦ Ἰξίονος χαλεπῇ καὶ βιαίῳ φορᾷ τε καὶ ἀνάγκῃ, τροχοῦ τινος ῥύμῃ κύκλῳ κινουμένου τε καὶ φερομένου. οὐ γὰρ ἀπεικὸς οὐδὲ μακρὰν δὴ τῶν σοφῶν τε καὶ κομψῶν εἰκασμάτων εἶη ἂν οὐδὲ<sup>2</sup> ὁ τροχὸς δόξῃ παραβαλλόμενος, τῇ τε κινήσει καὶ μεταβολῇ πάνυ ῥαδίως περιθέων, ἐν δὲ τῇ περιφορᾷ

<sup>1</sup> ψόγου Emperius: φόβου.

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

panied by some unpopularity or censure from the many people whom he courts and honours and has appointed to the mastery over his own happiness.

"As to his safety, this spirit is not at all to be classed with either eagles or cranes or any other feathered species; nay, one might rather liken his flight to the violent and unnatural soaring of Icarus,<sup>1</sup> whose father undertook to contrive a device that proved disastrous. So then the lad, moved by the conceit of youth and desiring to soar above the stars, was safe enough for a short time, but when the fastenings became loose and the wax ran, he gave his name from this circumstance to the sea where he fell to be seen no more. Just so with this spirit of ambition: When he also puts his faith in weak and truly airy wings—I mean the honours and plaudits bestowed at haphazard by the general crowd—he floats away on his perilous and unsteady voyage, taking with him the man, his admirer and henchman, who now appears to many to be high and blessed, but now again seems low and wretched, not only to others, but first and foremost to himself. But if there be anyone who does not care to conceive of and portray him as winged, let him liken him to Ixion, constrained to cruel and violent gyrations as he is rapidly whirled round and round on a wheel. Indeed, the comparison of the wheel with reputation would not be unfitting nor far inferior in truth to the clever and brilliant metaphors of the rhetoricians: by its shifting movement it very readily turns round,

<sup>1</sup> Son of Daedalus, who attempted to fly with his father's wings. The portion of the island of Crete which he fell into was named after him, and the mainland of Asia Minor was named after his son, Icarus.

<sup>2</sup> οὐδὲ Emperius: οὐδ'.

- παντοῖα σχήματα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναγκάζων<sup>1</sup> λαμβάνειν μᾶλλον ἢ ὁ τῶν κεραμέων τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῷ  
 124 πλαττόμενα. ἄνδρα δὲ τοιοῦτον εἰλούμενον  
 αἰεὶ καὶ περιφερόμενον, κόλακα δῆμων τε καὶ  
 ὄχλων ἐν ἐκκλησίαις ἢ ἐπιδείξεσιν ἢ βασιλέων  
 ἢ τυράννων λεγομέναις δὴ φιλίαις καὶ θεραπείαις,  
 τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐλείψειε τῆς φύσεως καὶ τοῦ βίου;  
 λέγω δὲ οὐχ ὅς ἂν ἑαυτοῦ βέλτιστα<sup>2</sup> προεσ-  
 τηκῶς πολὺ τι πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων πειθοῖ καὶ  
 λόγῳ μετ' εὐνοίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης πειρᾶται  
 ῥυθμίζειν τε καὶ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίω.  
 125 Ἐχέτω δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἡμῖν ὁ δαίμων τέλος, ἵνα  
 μὴ νῦν στολὰς τε καὶ μορφὰς προστιθέντες αὐτῷ  
 καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ προσήκοντα πολλὴν καὶ ἄπειρον  
 126 εἰσφερώμεθα λόγων ὄχλον. εἴη δ' ἂν αὐτοῦ τὸ  
 ἦθος, ὥς ἐν βραχεὶ περιλαβεῖν, φιλόνηκον,  
 ἀνόητον, χαῦνον, ἀλαζονεῖα καὶ ζηλοτυπίᾳ καὶ  
 πᾶσι τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔνοχον<sup>3</sup> χαλεποῖς καὶ  
 ἀγρίοις πάθεσιν. ἅπαντα γὰρ ταῦτα φιλο-  
 τίμῳ τρόπῳ ψυχῆς ἀκοινῶνητα καὶ ἄγρια  
 127 καὶ χαλεπὰ ἀνάγκη πᾶσα συνέπεσθαι, ἔτι δὲ  
 αὐτὸν πολὺ μεταλλάττειν εἰκὸς<sup>4</sup> καὶ ἀνώμαλον  
 ἔχειν τὴν διάνοιαν, ἅτε ἀνωμάλῳ δουλεύοντα καὶ  
 προσέχοντα πράγματι, πυκνότερον καὶ συνεχέσ-  
 τερον ἢ τοὺς κυνηγέτας φασὶ χαίροντα καὶ  
 λυπούμενον· ἐκείνοις γὰρ δὴ μάλιστα τοῦτο  
 πλείστον καὶ συνεχέστατον συμβαίνειν λέγουσι,  
 φαινομένης τε καὶ ἀπολλυμένης τῆς ἄγρας· ὅταν  
 128 μὲν γὰρ εὐδοκιμήσεις τε καὶ ἔπαινοι συμβαίνωσιν

<sup>1</sup> ἀναγκάζων Reiske: ἀναγκάζει.

<sup>2</sup> ἑαυτοῦ βέλτιστα Capps, cf. Or. lxix. 2 and Xen. Mem. 3. 2. 2: ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου.

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

and in its revolutions forces the soul to assume all kinds of shapes, more truly than the potter's wheel affects the things that are being shaped upon it. Such a man, ever turning and revolving, a flatterer of peoples and crowds, whether in public assemblies or lecture halls, or in his so-called friendship with tyrants or kings and his courting of them—who would not feel pity for his character and manner of living? I am not speaking of the man, however, who, having managed his own life admirably, endeavours by the persuasion of speech combined with goodwill and a sense of justice to train and direct a great multitude of men and to lead them to better things.

“Let us, then, come to an end with this spirit, too, for I should prefer at the present time not to provide him with clothing and shape, and his other appurtenances, and thus add a great and endless throng of words. Put briefly, then, he could be characterized as contentious, foolish, and conceited, and a prey to vainglory, jealousy, and all such difficult and savage emotions. For it is quite inevitable that all these unsociable and savage and difficult feelings should accompany the honour-seeking type of soul, and it is natural that he should change his mind often and be inconsistent—inasmuch as he serves and courts so fickle a thing—alternating between joy and sorrow more often and continuously than hunters are said to do. For they say this is their especial and most continuous experience, when they sight the game and then lose it again. So it is with the ambitious: When good repute and praise come their way, their

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<sup>3</sup> ἐνοχον Capps, cf. Plut. *Mor.* 965 f. and *Lives* 727 d: ἔγγιστα.

<sup>4</sup> εἰκός, found in P only, restored by Capps.

αὐτοῖς, ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ τοιούτου ἀνδρὸς αὔξει καὶ  
 βλαστάνει καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἴσχει μέγεθος, καθάπερ  
 Ἀθήνησί φασι τὸν ἱερὸν τῆς ἐλαίας θαλλὸν ἐν  
 ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ βλαστῆσαι καὶ τέλειον<sup>1</sup> γενέσθαι ταχὺ  
 δὲ αὐτὸ πάλιν συστέλλεται καὶ ταπεινοῦται καὶ  
 129 φθίνει, ψόγου τινὸς προσπεσόντος ἢ δυσφημίας.<sup>2</sup>  
 Ἀπάτη δὲ καὶ τούτῳ παρέπεται τῷ δαίμονι ἀπασῶν  
 πιθανωτάτῃ. οὐ γὰρ ὥς ἡ τοῦ φιλαργύρου καὶ  
 ἡ<sup>3</sup> φιληδόνου λαμπρὸν μὲν οὐδὲν λόγῳ ἐδύναντο  
 ὑποσχέσθαι, οὐδ' ὥς ἐπὶ σεμνὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ προή-  
 γαγον τοὺς ἀπατωμένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ μόνον  
 τὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς ὄνομα ἐπεφήμιζον καὶ  
 προσετίθεσαν, οὕτως ἡ τοῦδε Ἀπάτη, ἀλλ' ἐπάδου-  
 σα<sup>4</sup> καὶ γοητεύουσά φησι φιλόκαλον αὐτὸν εἶναι  
 καὶ ὥς ἐπ' ἀρετὴν τινα ἢ εὐκλειαν ἄγει ἐπὶ<sup>5</sup> τὴν  
 130 δόξαν. πάλιν οὖν ἐνθάδε κινδυνεύσω<sup>6</sup> τὸ δεύτερον  
 εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν πεσεῖν μῦθον τὸν<sup>7</sup> Ἰξίονος. καὶ  
 γὰρ ἐκεῖνόν φασιν ἐπιθυμήσαντα τῶν Ἥρας  
 μακαρίων γάμων νεφέλῃ τινὶ συγγενόμενον  
 σκοτεινῇ καὶ ἀχλυῶδει ἄχρηστα καὶ ἀλλόκοτα  
 γεννῆσαι τέκνα, τὸ τῶν Κενταύρων γένος ποικίλον  
 131 καὶ συμπεφορημένον. ὁ γὰρ εὐκλείας ἔρωτος  
 διαμαρτῶν, ἔπειτα δόξης ἐπιθυμία συνών, τῷ  
 ὄντι νεφέλῃ λέληθεν ἀντὶ τῆς θείας καὶ σεμνῆς  
 ὁμιλίας συνών. ἐκ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων συνουσιῶν ἢ  
 γάμων ὠφέλιμον μὲν ἢ χρήσιμον οὐδὲν ἂν γένοιτο,  
 θαυμαστὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλογα, προσεικότα τοῖς Κεν-  
 ταύροις, δημαγωγῶν τινων πολιτεύματα καὶ

<sup>1</sup> τέλειον Arnim: πλείονα. <sup>2</sup> δυσφημίας Reiske: δυσθυμίας.

<sup>3</sup> ἡ added by Capps. <sup>4</sup> ἐπάδουσα Morel: ἐπαίρουσα.

<sup>5</sup> ἄγει Emperius: ἄγειν. ἐπὶ added by Capps.

<sup>6</sup> κινδυνεύσω Emperius: κινδυνεύσει. <sup>7</sup> τὸν Wilamowitz: του.

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

souls are magnified and swell and show a wondrous burgeoning, just like the shoot of the sacred olive<sup>1</sup> that they tell of at Athens, which swelled and grew to full size in a single day. But, alas! they soon wither again and droop and die when censure and obloquy overtake them. And Delusion, the most convincing thing imaginable, besets this spirit also. For while the miser's delusion and the hedonist's were not able to promise them definitely a brilliant fruition, and did not open the door for their dupes to exalted and splendid destinies, but merely whispered and suggested to them the names of the blessings in prospect, it is otherwise with the Delusion of ambition. Fascinating her victim with her charms and spells, she tells him he is a lover of all that is good and leads him towards notoriety as to some virtue or fair renown. So I shall be tempted here again to make a second allusion to the same story of Ixion. 'Tis said that in his eagerness for the blissful union with Hera he embraced a dark and dismal cloud and became the parent of a useless and monstrous brood, the curious hybrid race of the centaurs. And in the same way he who has been disappointed in his love for true fame and has then dallied with a lust for notoriety has in reality been consorting with a cloud without knowing it instead of enjoying intercourse with the divine and august. And from such associations and unions nothing useful or serviceable can come, but only strange irrational creations that resemble the centaurs—I mean the political acts of certain demagogues and the treatises

<sup>1</sup> Sacred to Athena, who according to one version is said to have planted the first one on the Acropolis of Athens. See Herodotus 8. 55.

132 ξυγγράμματα σοφιστῶν. ξεναγοὶ γὰρ καὶ σοφισταὶ καὶ δημαγωγοί. λέγω δὲ διακρίνων στρατηγούς τε καὶ παιδευτὰς καὶ πολιτικούς ἀνδρας ἀπὸ τῶν νῦν εἰρημένων· οὗτοι πάντες ἐκείνῳ τῷ δαίμονι προσνέμεσθαι ἄξιοι καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου μερίδος τε καὶ ἐταιρείας ἀριθμείσθαι.

133 Καὶ δὴ νῦν μὲν ἐπεξήλθον τοὺς ὑφ' ἐνός ἐκάστου τῶν εἰρημένων δαιμόνων ἐλαυνομένους· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ δύο τὸν αὐτὸν ἢ πάντες εἰλήχασιν, τὰναντία ἀλλήλοις προστάττοντες καὶ ἀπειλοῦντες, εἰ μὴ πείθοιτο, μεγάλας τισὶ περι-

134 βαλεῖν ζημίαις, ὁ μὲν φιληῶνος ἀναλίσκειν εἰς τὰς ἡδονὰς κελεύων, καὶ μήτε χρυσοῦ μήτε ἀργύρου μήτε ἄλλου κτήματος φείδεσθαι μηδεὶνός, ὁ δ' αὖ φιλοχρήματος καὶ μικρολόγος οὐκ ἔω, ἀλλὰ κατέχων τε καὶ ἀπειλῶν, εἰ πείσεται ἐκείνῳ, λιμῶ τε καὶ δίψῃ καὶ ἀπάσῃ πενία τε καὶ ἀπορία

135 διολλύειν αὐτόν. πάλιν δὲ ὁ μὲν φιλόδοξος συμβουλεύει καὶ παρακαλεῖ προίεσθαι τὰ ὄντα τιμῆς ἕνεκεν· ὁ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀπομάχεται καὶ ἀντιβαίνει. καὶ μὴν ὅ γε τῆς ἡδονῆς φίλος καὶ ὁ τῆς δόξης οὔποτε δύνανται συνᾶσαι οὐδὲ τὸ αὐτὸ εἰπεῖν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ καταφρονεῖ τῆς δόξης καὶ λῆρον ἡγεῖται καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλλου προφέρεται πολλάκις ἐλεγείων,

τόσσ' ἔχω ὅσσ' ἔφαγον καὶ ἐφύβρισα καὶ μετ'  
ἔρωτος

τέρπν' ἔπαθον· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ καὶ ὄλβια πάντα  
λέλειπται,

136 καὶ μάλιστα τὸν θάνατον αἰὲς πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν δείκνυσιν, ὥς οὐδενὸς ἔτι τῶν ἡδέων δυνησομένῳ<sup>1</sup>

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

of the sophists; for both sophists and demagogues are purely mercenary leaders. But in saying this I distinguish the generals and educators and statesmen from those whom I have just mentioned, all of whom may well be assigned to that spirit of ambition and be counted in its faction and following.

“And now I have described those who are under the sway of each of the spirits named; but very often two or all of them get hold of the same individual, make conflicting demands upon him, and threaten that, if he does not obey, they will inflict severe penalties upon him. The pleasure-loving spirit bids him to spend money on pleasures and to spare neither gold nor silver nor anything else he has, while the avaricious and parsimonious spirit objects, and checks him and threatens that it will destroy him with hunger, thirst, and utter beggary and want, so surely as he heeds the other. Again, the spirit that loves distinction counsels and encourages him to sacrifice all that he has for the sake of honour, but the other spirit opposes and blocks this one. And indeed, the lover of pleasure and the lover of fame can never be in accord or say the same thing; for the one despises fame, thinks it nonsense, and often cites the lines of Sardanapallus:

‘What I have eaten and wantoned, the joys I  
have had of my amours,  
These alone have I now. The rest of my blessings  
have vanished.’<sup>1</sup>

And especially does this spirit ever keep death before his eyes, warning him that when dead he will

<sup>1</sup> See Preger, *Inscriptiones Graecae Metricae* 232.

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<sup>1</sup> δυνησομένην Reiske: δυνησόμενος.



- μετασχεῖν· ὁ δὲ φιλόδοξος ἀπάγει<sup>1</sup> τε καὶ ἀφέλκει τῶν ἡδονῶν, τὰ τε ὀνειδή καὶ τὰς λοι-  
 137 δορίας ἐπανατεινόμενος. οὐκ ἔχων οὖν ὁ ποιήσῃ καὶ ὅποι τράπηται καὶ καταδύσῃται,<sup>2</sup> ἀποδιδράσκει πολλάκις εἰς τὸ σκότος καὶ πειράται λανθάνων τῷ ἑτέρῳ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν· ὁ δὲ ἀποκαλύπτει καὶ εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτὸν ἔλκει.  
 138 οὕτω δὴ ψυχὴν διαφορουμένην τε καὶ διασπώμενην, αἰεὶ ποτε ἐν μάχῃ καὶ στάσει διηνεκεῖ πρὸς αὐτὴν οὖσαν, ἀνάγκη πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀφικνεῖσθαι δυστυχίαν. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰ νοσήματα ἀλλήλοις ἐπιπλεκόμενα, τὰναντία δοκοῦντα πολλάκις, χαλεπὴν καὶ ἄπορον ποιεῖ τὴν ἴασιν, τὸν αὐτὸν οἶμαι τρόπον ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι καὶ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς συμμιγνυμένων τε καὶ συμπλεκομένων εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ παθῶν.
- 139 Ἀλλὰ δὴ μεταλαβόντες καθαρὰν τε καὶ κρείττω τῆς πρότερον ἀρμονίας τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ σώφρονα ὑμνῶμεν δαίμονα καὶ θεόν, οἷς ποτε ἐκείνου τυχεῖν ἐπέκλωσαν ἀγαθαὶ Μοῖραι παιδείας ὑγιоῦς καὶ λόγου μεταλαβοῦσι.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ἀπάγει Reiske: ἄγει. <sup>2</sup> καταδύσῃται Morel: καταδύσεται.

<sup>3</sup> After μεταλαβοῦσι the MSS. have καὶ δὴ πεπρωμένον αὐτοῖς ἐκ θεῶν ἐγένετο. Deleted by Emperius as interpolated from the *Dio* of Synesius.

## THE FOURTH DISCOURSE ON KINGSHIP

be able to enjoy no pleasures any longer. But the spirit that courts fame leads, yea, drags him away from pleasure by keeping him in mind of the censure and reproach that will be his. Not knowing, therefore, what to do or whither to turn and hide himself, he often runs away into the darkness and under its cover tries to please and serve the second spirit, but the other finds him out and drags him into the open, and his soul, thus torn and distracted and ever in battle and ceaseless strife with itself, cannot but end its course in utter misery. For just as a complication of maladies, that often seem to conflict with one another, makes the cure difficult and well-nigh hopeless, so, in my opinion, must the situation be when different affections of the soul are mingled and entwined into one.

“But come, let us attain a pure harmony, better than that which we enjoyed before, and extol the good and wise guardian spirit or god—us who the kindly Fates decreed should receive Him when we should have gained a sound education and reason.”



## THE FIFTH DISCOURSE: A LIBYAN MYTH

It has been suggested by some that the Libyan myth told in the fifth Discourse was one of a collection of myths ascribed to a certain Cybissus, a Libyan. Others discredit this view and hold that we have here one of the many stories told about Lamia, a fabulous she-monster, the daughter of Scylla, who devoured the flesh of children and young men. Hirzel, in his book *Der Dialog*, suggests that this myth was invented by Dio himself. The same myth seems to be referred to in the seventy-third section of the fourth Discourse, and von Arnim believes it formed an alternative ending for it and that Arethas (archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia in the first part of the tenth century A.D.) inserted it with an introduction of his own and made it

A similar story is told by Lucian in *Vera Historia*, II, 76.

## 5. ΛΙΒΥΚΟΣ ΜΥΘΟΣ

- 1 Μῦθον Λιβυκὸν ἐκπονεῖν καὶ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα  
κατατρίβειν τὴν περὶ λόγους φιλοπονίαν οὐκ  
εὐτυχὲς μὲν, οὐ γάρ, οὐ τούτων<sup>1</sup> πρὸς ζῆλον τοῖς  
ἐπιεικεστάτοις ἀνθρώπων ἀπονευόντων, ἀλλ'  
ὅμως οὐκ ἀφεκτέον ὑλιγωρία τῆς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα  
ἀδολεσχίας. τάχα γὰρ ἂν ποτε καὶ ἡμῖν χρεῖαν  
οὐ φαύλην παρίσχοι ἐλκόμενά πη πρὸς τὸ δέον
- 2 καὶ παραβαλλόμενα τοῖς οὖσι καὶ ἀληθέσιν. ἡ  
δὲ τοιαύτη δύναμις καὶ ἐπιχείρησις ὁμοία μοι  
δοκεῖ τῇ τῶν γεωργῶν ἐμπειρία περὶ τὰ φυτά,  
ἐάνπερ ἱκανῶς γίγνηται· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ἐνίοτε τοῖς  
ἀκάρποις καὶ ἀγρίοις ἐνθέντες καὶ ἐμφυτεύσαντες  
τὰ ἡμέρα καὶ καρποφόρα χρήσιμον ἀντ' ἀχρήσ-  
του καὶ ὠφέλιμον ἀντ' ἀνωφελούς ἀπέδειξαν τὸ
- 3 φυτόν. οὕτω δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἀνωφελέσι μυθεύμασι  
λόγος ἐμβληθεὶς χρήσιμος καὶ συμφέρων οὐδὲ  
ἐκεῖνα εἶασεν εἶναι μάτην λεγόμενα. τυχὸν δὲ  
καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι συντιθέντες αὐτὰ πρὸς τι τοιοῦτον  
συνέθεσαν, αἰνιττόμενοι καὶ μεταφέρουντες τοῖς
- 4 δυναμένοις ὀρθῶς ὑπολαμβάνειν. τότε μὲν δὴ  
προοίμιον, ὥς ἔφη τις, τοῦ νόμου. τὸ λοιπὸν δ'

<sup>1</sup> οὐ γάρ, οὐ τούτων Capps: οὐ γάρ οὐ τῶν. Wytttenbach proposed οὖν for the second οὐ.

<sup>1</sup> See Fourth Discourse, § 73 f.

<sup>2</sup> The wording and thought recall Plato, *Phaedrus*, 229 d.

## THE FIFTH DISCOURSE: A LIBYAN MYTH

To develop a Libyan myth<sup>1</sup> and to fritter away one's industry upon such a subject is not a promising undertaking,<sup>2</sup>—indeed not, since these themes do not incline the most able men to imitation. Nevertheless, we must not refrain because of their contempt from dallying with such themes. For perhaps we ourselves should derive no small benefit if the myth in some way were given the right turn and became a parable of the real and the true. Now when one employs his powers to such an end, he suggests to me the farmer's treatment of plant-life, when it is successful. Sometimes by grafting cultivated and fruit-bearing scions on wild and barren stocks and making them grow there, he changes a useless and unprofitable plant into a useful and profitable one. And in just the same way, when some useful and edifying moral is engrafted on an unprofitable legend, the latter is saved from being a mere idle tale. Perhaps, too, those who composed these tales in the first place composed them for some such purpose, using allegory and metaphor for such as had the power to interpret them aright. So much by way of prelude to my ode, as someone has said.<sup>3</sup> It still remains to recite

<sup>1</sup> A reference to Plato's expression in his *Laws* 722 d, τὰ δ' ἐμπροσθεν ἦν πάντα ἡμῶν προοίμια νόμων, "All that precedes were preludes to our odes, or laws." Cicero (*de Legibus* 2. 7. 16) also refers to this expression.

# DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἂν ἔτ' αὐτὸν εἴῃ τὸν νόμον ἢ τὸν μῦθον λέγειν τε καὶ ἄδειν, ὁποῖω μάλιστα ἀφομοιοῦμεν εἰκάσματι τὰς ἐπιθυμίας.

- 5 Λέγεται γὰρ πάσαι ποτὲ θηρίων εἶναί τι γένος χαλεπὸν καὶ ἄγριον, πλεῖστον καὶ μάλιστα γιγνόμενον ἐν τοῖς οἰκήτοις τῆς Λιβύης. ἦδε γὰρ ἡ χώρα καὶ νῦν ἔτι δοκεῖ παντοδαπὰς φέρειν ζώων φύσεις, ἐρπετῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων
- 6 θηρίων. ἐν οἷς εἶναι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ γένος ὑπὲρ οὗ νῦν ὁ λόγος, σύνθετον τὴν τοῦ σώματος ιδέαν σχεδὸν ἐκ τῶν πλεῖστον διαφερόντων, παντελῶς ἀτοπον, πλανᾶσθαι δὲ αὐτὸ μέχρι τῆσδε τῆς
- 7 θαλάττης ἐπὶ τὴν Σύρτιν τροφῆς ἔνεκα. θηρῶν μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἄγρια <sup>1</sup> θηρία, τοὺς τε λέοντας καὶ παρδαλεις, ὡς ἐκεῖνα τὰς τε ἐλάφους καὶ τοὺς ἀγρίους ὄνους καὶ τὰ πρόβατα, μάλιστα δὲ ἡδεσθαι τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄγρᾳ. ὧν δὲ καὶ ἕνεκεν ἐγγὺς ἀφικνεῖσθαι τῶν οἰκουμένων μέχρι τῆς Σύρτεως.
- 8 ἔστι δὲ ἡ Σύρτις κόλπος θαλάττης εἰσέχων ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς χώρας καὶ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, φασί, πλοῦς ἀκωλύτως πλέουσι. τοῖς δὲ κατενεχθεῖσιν οὐκ
- 9 εἶναι τὸν ἑκπλουν δυνατόν· βραχέα γὰρ καὶ διθάλαττα καὶ ταινίαι μακρὰι μέχρι πολλοῦ διήκουσαι παντάπασιν ἀπορον καὶ δύσκολον παρέχουσι τὸ πέλαγος. οὐ γάρ ἐστι κατ' ἐκεῖνα τὸ τῆς θαλάττης ἀγγεῖον καθαρὸν, χαῖνος <sup>2</sup> δὲ καὶ ψαμμώδης ὁ τόπος ὧν ἐκδέχεται τὸ πέλαγος,
- 10 οὐδὲν ἔχων στερεόν. ὅθεν οἶμαι θινές τε μεγάλαι καὶ χῶματα ἐν αὐτῷ γίγνονται τῆς ψάμμου, καθάπερ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ συμβαίνει τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀπὸ πνευμάτων, ἐκεῖ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὰ κύκλω τοιαῦτα σχεδόν, ἐρημία καὶ

## THE FIFTH DISCOURSE: A LIBYAN MYTH

and sing the ode itself, that is, the myth which tells to what we may best liken the human passions.

Once upon a time, so runs the story, there was a dangerous and savage species of animal whose main haunt was in the uninhabited regions of Libya. For that country even to this day seems to produce all sorts of living creatures, reptiles as well as other kinds. Now among them was the species with which this story has to deal. It had a body that, in general, was a composite thing of the most incongruous parts, an utter monstrosity, and it used to roam as far as the Mediterranean and the Syrtis in search of food. For it hunted both the beasts of prey such as the lion and the panther, even as those hunt the deer and the wild asses and the sheep, but took the most delight in catching men; and this is why it used to come near the settlements even as far as the Syrtis. The Syrtis is an arm of the Mediterranean extending far inland, a three days' voyage, they say, for a boat unhindered in its course. But those who have once sailed into it find egress impossible; for shoals, cross-currents, and long sand-bars extending a great distance out make the sea utterly impassable or troublesome. For the bed of the sea in these parts is not clean, but as the bottom is porous and sandy it lets the sea seep in, there being no solidity to it. This, I presume, explains the existence there of the great sand-bars and dunes, which remind one of the similar condition created inland by the winds, though here, of course, it is due to the surf. The surrounding country is very much the same—a lonely stretch

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<sup>1</sup> τὰ ἄγρια Capps: τᾶλλα.

<sup>2</sup> χάβρος Capps: κοῖλος.



- 11 θῖνες. ἀλλὰ γὰρ δὴ τοὺς τε ναυαγοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ἐπανιόντας καὶ εἴ τινας τῶν Λιβύων κατ' ἀνάγκην διεξιόντας ἢ πλανωμένους ἐπιφαινόμενα ἤρπαζε τὰ θηρία.
- 12 Ἡ δὲ φύσις αὐτῶν τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἡ ἰδέα τοιαύδε· τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον γυναικεῖον εὐειδοὺς γυναικός, μαστοὶ δὲ καὶ στήθη πολὺ τι κάλλιστα καὶ τράχηλος, ὅποια οὔτε παρθένου θνητῆς γένοιτ' ἂν οὔτε νύμφης ἀκμαζούσης οὔτε πλάττων ἢ γράφων οὐδεὶς δυνήσεται ἀπεικάσαι· τὸ δὲ<sup>1</sup> χρῶμα λαμπρότατον, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων φιλοφροσύνη καὶ ἥμερος ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐνέπιπτεν,
- 13 ὅποτε προσίδοι τις· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμα σκληρόν τε καὶ ἄρρηκτον φολίσσι, καὶ τὸ κάτω πᾶν ὄφιος· ὑστάτη δὲ κεφαλὴ τοῦ ὄφεως μάλα ἀναιδής. τὰ δὲ θηρία ταῦτα<sup>2</sup> πτερωτὰ μὲν οὐ λέγεται γενέσθαι, καθάπερ αἱ σφίγγες—οὐδὲ διαλέγεσθαι, ὥς ἐκεῖναι, οὐδὲ ἄλλην ἰέναι φωνήν, ἀλλὰ συρίττειν
- 14 μόνον, ὥσπερ οἱ δράκοντες, ὀξύτατα—τῶν δὲ πεζῶν ἀπάντων τάχιστα, ὥς μηδένα ἂν ποτε ἐκφυγεῖν αὐτά· καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀλκῇ κρατεῖν, ἀνθρώπων δὲ ἀπάτῃ, παραφαίνοντα τὰ στήθη καὶ τοὺς μαστούς, καὶ ἅμα προσβλέποντα καταγοητεύειν τε καὶ ἔρωτα ἐμβύλλειν δεινὸν τῆς ὁμιλίας· καὶ τοὺς μὲν<sup>3</sup> προσίεναι καθάπερ γυναιξί, τὰ δὲ μένειν ἀτρεμοῦντα καὶ κάτω πολλάκις βλέποντα, μιμούμενα γυναῖκα κοσμίαν, γενόμενον δ' ἐγγὺς συναρπάζειν· ἔχειν γὰρ δὴ καὶ χεῖρας θηριώδεις, ἃς ὑποκρύπτειν τέως. ὁ μὲν οὖν ὄφιος εὐθύς δακῶν

<sup>1</sup> δὲ Arnim: τε.<sup>2</sup> ταῦτα Reiske: αὐτὰ.<sup>3</sup> μὲν added by Reiske.

## THE FIFTH DISCOURSE: A LIBYAN MYTH

of sandy dunes. However that may be, if shipwrecked mariners came inland or any Libyans were compelled to pass through or lost their way, the beasts would make their appearance and seize them.

The general character and appearance of their body were as follow : The face was that of a woman, a beautiful woman. The breasts and bosom, and the neck, too, were extremely beautiful, the like of which no mortal maid or bride in the bloom of youth could claim, nor sculptor or painter will ever be able to reproduce. The complexion was of dazzling brightness, the glance of the eyes aroused affection and yearning in the souls of all that beheld. The rest of the body was hard and protected by scales, and all the lower part was snake, ending in the snake's baleful head. Now the story does not say that these animals were winged like the sphinxes—nor that they, like them, spoke or made any sound whatever except a hissing noise such as dragons make, very shrill—but that they were the swiftest of all land creatures, so that no one could ever escape them. And while they overcame other creatures by force, they used guile with man, giving them a glimpse of their bosom and breasts and at the same time they infatuated their victims by fixing their eyes upon them, and filled them with a passionate desire for intercourse. Then the men would approach them as they might women, while they on their part stood quite motionless, often dropping their eyes in the manner of a decorous woman. But as soon as a man came within reach they seized him in their grasp; for they had clawlike hands too, which they had kept concealed at first. Then the serpent would promptly sting and kill

ἀπέκτεινεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰοῦ· τὸν δὲ νεκρὸν κατεσθίου-  
σιν ἅμα τε ὁ ὄφις καὶ τὸ ἄλλο θηρίον.

- 16 "Οδε μὲν δὴ ὁ μῦθος, οὐ παιδίῳ πλασθεὶς, ὡς  
ἂν ἦττον ἢ θρασὺ καὶ ἀκόλαστον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς  
μείζω καὶ τελειότεραν ἀφροσύνην ἔχουσιν, ὑφ'  
ἡμῶν δεῦρο μετενεχθεὶς τάχ' ἂν ἱκανῶς ἐπιδείξαι  
δύναιτο ὁποῖόν ἐστι τὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν γένος, ὅτι  
ἄλογοι οὔσαι καὶ θηριώδεις, ἔπειτα ἡδονὴν τινα  
παραδεικνύουσai, προσαγόμεναι τοὺς ἀνοήτους  
ἀπάτῃ καὶ γοητείᾳ, διαφθείρουσιν οἰκτιστα καὶ  
17 ἐλεεινότατα. ἂ<sup>1</sup> χρή δεδιέναι πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν  
ἔχοντας, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνα τὰ μορμολυκεῖα<sup>2</sup> τοὺς παῖδας  
ὁπότεν παρὰ καιρὸν τροφῆς ἢ παιδιᾶς ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς  
ὀρέγωνται, καὶ ἡμᾶς, ὁπότεν ἢ τρυφῆς<sup>3</sup> ἢ χρημάτων  
ἢ ἀφροδισίων ἢ δόξης ἢ ἄλλης τινὸς ἡδονῆς ἐρῶμεν,  
μήποτε προσιόντες ταῖς πανούργοις ταύταις συν-  
αρπασθῶμεν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ καὶ διαφθορᾷ  
18 πασῶν αἰσχίστῃ. καὶ γάρ τοι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν  
τοῦ μύθου ταύτῃ τρέπειν οὐ χαλεπὸν ἀνδρὶ  
ἀδολέσχῃ καὶ πλείῳ σχεδὸν ἢ ἔδει σχολὴν ἄγοντι.

- Προστιθέασι γὰρ ὡς δὴ βασιλεὺς τις τῶν  
Λιβύων ἐπεχείρησεν ἀνελεῖν τόδε τὸ φύλον τῶν  
θηρίων, ἀγανακτῶν τῇ διαφθορᾷ τοῦ λαοῦ.  
τυγχάνειν δὲ αὐτῶν πολλὰς αὐτοῦ κατὰ κρισμένας,  
ὑπὲρ τὴν Σύρτιν δρυμὸν καταλαβούσας πυκνόν  
19 τε καὶ ἄγριον. συναγαγόντα δὴ πλῆθος στρα-  
τοῦ πολὺ, τοὺς φωλεοὺς εὗρεῖν.<sup>4</sup> εἶναι γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> & Emperius: καί.

<sup>2</sup> τὰ μορμολυκεῖα added by von der Muehl.

<sup>3</sup> τρυφῆς Reiske: τροφῆς.

<sup>4</sup> τοὺς φωλεοὺς εὗρεῖν added by Capps after Arnim, who noted the lacuna after πολὺ and suggested the supplement καὶ ἐξιχνεύσαντα τοὺς φωλεοὺς.

## THE FIFTH DISCOURSE: A LIBYAN MYTH

him with its poison ; and the dead body was devoured by the serpent and the rest of the beast together.

Now this myth, which has not been invented for a child's benefit to make it less rash and ungovernable, but for those whose folly is greater and more complete, may perhaps, now that we have brought it into this context,<sup>1</sup> be able to show adequately the character of the passions, that they are irrational and brutish and that, by holding out the enticement of some pleasure, they win over the foolish by guile and witchery and bring them to a most sad and pitiable end. These things we should always keep before our eyes to deter us—even as those terrifying images deter children when they want food or play or anything else unseasonably—whenever we are in love with luxury, or money, or sensual indulgence, or fame, or any other pleasure, lest, coming too near to these unscrupulous passions, we be seized by them for the most shameful destruction and ruin conceivable. And, indeed, to interpret the rest of the myth in this way would not be a difficult task for a clever man who perhaps has more time at his disposal than he should have.

For this is what they add to the myth. A certain king of Libya attempted to destroy this breed of animals, angered as he was at the destruction of his people. And he found that many of them had established themselves there, having taken possession of a dense wild wood beyond the Syrtis. So he mustered a mighty host and found their dens. For they were not difficult to detect owing to the

<sup>1</sup> That is, brought into this Discourse from some other source to point a moral. See Introduction and the Fourth Discourse, § 73.

- οὐκ ἀφανεῖς τοῖς τε σύρμασι τῶν ὄφρων καὶ ὀσμῆς αὐτόθεν δεινῆς φερομένης. οὕτω περισχόντα πανταχόθεν πῦρ ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀποληφθείσας<sup>1</sup> ἀπολέσθαι μετὰ τῶν σκύμνων, τοὺς δὲ Λίβυας φεύγειν κατὰ τάχος ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίου, μήτε νύκτα μήτε ἡμέραν ἀναπαυομένους, μέχρι, νομίζοντες πολὺ προειληφέναι,
- 20 κατέξευξαν παρὰ ποταμόν τινα. τῶν δὲ θηρίων ὅποσα ἀπῆν κατὰ θήραν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἦσθοντο ἀπολωλότας τοὺς φωλεούς, καταδιώξαντα τὴν στρατιὰν πρὸς τὸν ποταμόν, τοὺς μὲν ἐν<sup>2</sup> ὕπνῳ καταλαμβάνοντα, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπειρηκότας ὑπὸ
- 21 τοῦ κόπου, διαφθεῖραι<sup>3</sup> πανσυδί. τότε μὲν οὖν ἀτελὲς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὸ ἔργον τῆς διαφθορᾶς τοῦ γένους. ὕστερον δὲ Ἡρακλέα τὴν σύμπασαν γῆν καθαίροντα ἀπὸ τε τῶν θηρίων καὶ τῶν τυράννων κἀκέισε ἀφικέσθαι, καὶ τὸν τε τόπον ἐμπρῆσαι καὶ τὰ φεύγοντα ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς τὰ μὲν τῷ ῥοπάλῳ παίοντα κατακαίνειν, ὅποσα ὁμόσε ἦει, τὰ δὲ ἀποδιδράσκοντα τοῖς βέλεσι.
- 22 Τυχὸν οὖν<sup>4</sup> ὁ μῦθος αἰνίττεται λέγων τοὺς πολλοὺς μὲν εἶ πού τις ἐπεχείρησε καθῆραι τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν ὥσπερ ἄβατον καὶ μεστόν τινα θηρίων χαλεπῶν τόπον, ἐξελὼν δὴ καὶ ἀπολέσας τὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν εἶδος, ἐλπίσας<sup>5</sup> ἀπηλλάχθαι καὶ διαπεφευγέναι, οὐκ ἰσχυρῶς αὐτὸ δράσας, ὀλίγον ὕστερον ὑπὸ τῶν λειπομένων ἐπιθυμιῶν
- 23 ἀπολέσθαι καὶ διαφθαρῆναι. Ἡρακλέα δὲ τὸν Διὸς καὶ Ἀλκμήνης ἐπεξελεῖν καὶ ἀποφῆναι

## THE FIFTH DISCOURSE: A LIBYAN MYTH

trails left by their serpents' tails and to the terrible stench that emanated from the dens. He thus surrounded them on all sides and hurled fire in upon them, so that, being cut off, they perished with their young. As for the Libyans, they fled with all haste from the region, resting neither night nor day, until, thinking they had gained a great start, they halted for rest beside a certain river. But those of the creatures who had been away hunting, as soon as they learned of the destruction of their dens, pursued the army to the river, and finding some asleep and others exhausted by the toil, destroyed them one and all. At that time, then, the task of destroying this brood was not completed by the king. Later, however—so the story continues—Heracles, while clearing the whole earth of wild beasts and tyrants, came to this place too, set it on fire, and when the creatures were escaping from the flames, slew with his club all that attacked him, and with his arrows those that tried to run away.

Now perhaps the myth is an allegory to show that, when the majority of men try to clear the trackless region of their souls, teeming with savage beasts, by rooting out and destroying the brood of lusts in the hope of then having got rid of them and escaped, and yet have not done this thoroughly, they are soon afterwards overwhelmed and destroyed by the remaining lusts; but that Heracles, the son of Zeus and Alcmene, carried the task through to

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<sup>1</sup> ἀποληφθείσας Selden; ἀπολειφθείσας. <sup>2</sup> ἐν added by Emperius.

<sup>3</sup> διαφθεῖραι Geel; διέφθειραν.

<sup>4</sup> ἂν before οὖν deleted by Emperius.

<sup>5</sup> Arnim reads ἐλπίσαντας and δράσαντας to agree with τοὺς πολλούς.

## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

καθαράν καὶ ἡμερον τὴν αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν· καὶ τοῦτο αὐτῷ βούλεσθαι δηλοῦν τῆς γῆς τὴν ἡμέρωσιν.

- 24 Βούλεσθε οὖν βραχύ τι καὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις<sup>1</sup> ἐπιχαρισώμεθα τοῦ μυθολογήματος; οὕτω γὰρ πάνυ πείθονται αὐτῷ καὶ νομίζουσιν ἀληθές, ὥστε ὕστερόν ποτέ φασιν ἐπιφανῆναι τοῦ γένους τούτου βαδίζουσιν εἰς "Αμμωνος" Ἑλλησι θεωροῖς μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως παραπεμπούσης ἱππέων
- 25 καὶ τοξοτῶν. δόξαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ θινός τινος κατακεῖσθαι γυναῖκα, διφθέραν ἐπιβεβλημένην ἄνωθεν, ὥσπερ αἱ Λίβυσσαι, ἐπιδεικνύειν δὲ τὰ στήθη καὶ τοὺς μαστούς, καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἀνακλῶσαν. καὶ τοὺς ὑπολαβεῖν ἔκ τινος κώμης τῶν ἐταιρουσῶν τινα γυναικῶν ἐνταῦθα ἵεναι
- 26 πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον. δύο δέ τινας νεανίσκους ἐκπλαγέντας τὸ εἶδος ἵεναι πρὸς αὐτήν, θάτερον τὸν ἕτερον<sup>2</sup> φθάνοντα. τὸ δὲ θηρίον, ὡς ἔλαβεν αὐτόν, κατασῦραν εἰς κοῖλόν τι τῆς ψάμμου κατεσθίειν.
- 27 καὶ τὸν ἕτερον νεανίσκον ὑπερβαλόντα θεάσασθαι καὶ ἀνακραγεῖν, καὶ οὕτως ἐπιβοηθῆσαι τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος. τὸ δὲ θηρίον ἐφορμῆσαι τῷ νεανίσκῳ, προῖσχύμενον τὸν ὄφιν, καὶ ἀποκτείνειν οἴχεσθαι μετὰ συριγμοῦ. τὸν δὲ νεκρὸν εὐρεθῆναι σαπρὸν τε καὶ μυδῶντα· καὶ τοὺς Λίβυας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς ὁδοῦ οὐκ ἔαν ἄπτεσθαι τοῦ σώματος, ὡς ἅπαντας ἀπολουμένους.

<sup>1</sup> Arnim deletes λόγων after νεωτέροις.

<sup>2</sup> So P, the other MSS. omitting θάτερον.

## THE FIFTH DISCOURSE: A LIBYAN MYTH

completion and made his own heart pure and gentle or tame; and that this is what is meant by his taming, that is, civilizing the earth.

Would you care, then, to have me gratify the younger people among you by giving a brief additional portion of the myth? For they believe so thoroughly in it and are so convinced of its truth as to assert that one of this brood appeared afterwards to a party of Greek envoys on their way to the oracle of Ammon under the escort of a strong force of cavalry and archers. They saw what seemed to be a woman, reclining on a pile of sand; she wore a sheepskin thrown over her head after the manner of the Libyan women, but displayed her bosom and breasts and lay with her head thrown back. They supposed that she was one of the professional harlots from some village who was on her way thither to join their company. Accordingly, a certain two young men, greatly taken with her appearance, approached her, one outstripping the other. When the creature seized this one, she dragged him into a hole in the sand and devoured him. The other young man, rushing past her, saw this and cried aloud so that the rest of the party came to his assistance. But the creature hurled itself at the young man with the snake part foremost, and after killing him disappeared with a hissing sound. They add that the body was found rotten and putrefying, and that the Libyans who were acting as guides permitted no one to touch the body lest all should perish.





## THE SIXTH DISCOURSE: DIOGENES, OR ON TYRANNY

Von Arnim has proved quite conclusively that the sixth, eighth, ninth, and tenth Discourses belong to the period when Dio was a wanderer in exile. For example, many things that Dio speaks of Diogenes doing, such as going through armies safely without a herald's staff, fit better the experience of Dio himself, and many of the references to the Persian king would apply just as well to Domitian, who banished Dio. No doubt the speaker's audiences would understand his veiled allusions quite easily.

In these Discourses Dio sets forth certain tenets of the Cynic philosophy, using Diogenes as his mouthpiece. His subject is Contentment.

## 6. ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ Η ΠΕΡΙ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΔΟΣ

- 1 Διογένης ὁ Σινωπεύς, ὅτε ἔφυγεν ἐκ Σινώπης ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διῆγε ποτὲ μὲν ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ποτὲ δὲ Ἀθήνησιν. ἔφη δὲ μιμεῖσθαι τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως τὴν δίαιταν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος ἐν Βαβυλῶνι καὶ Σούσοις, ἐνίοτε δὲ ἐν Βάκτροις διῆγεν, ἐν τοῖς εὐδαιμονοτάτοις τῆς Ἀσίας, τοῦ δὲ θέρους ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις τῆς Μηδικῆς, ὅπου ψυχρότατος ὁ ἀὴρ αἰεὶ ποτὲ ἐστὶ καὶ τῷ περὶ Βαβυλῶνα χει-  
 2 μῶνι τὸ θέρος ὅμοιον. οὕτως δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς μεταλλάττειν τὴν οἴκησιν κατὰ τὰς ὥρας τοῦ ἔτους. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἀττικὴν μήτε ὄρη μεγάλα ἔχειν μήτε ποταμοὺς διαρρέοντας, καθάπερ τὴν τε Πελοπόννησον καὶ Θετταλίαν· εἶναι γὰρ τὴν χώραν ἀραιὰν καὶ τὸν αἶρα κοῦφον, ὥς μήτε ὑεσθαι πολλάκις μήτε ὑπομένειν τὸ γιγνόμενον<sup>1</sup> ὕδωρ. περιέχεσθαί τε ὀλίγου πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάττης· ὅθεν δὴ καὶ τοὔνομα λαβεῖν, οἷον ἀκτὴν τινα οὖσαν. τὴν δὲ αὖ πόλιν<sup>2</sup> ἐν τῷ  
 3 χθαμαλῷ κεῖσθαι καὶ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν. σημεῖον δέ· τοὺς γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σουνίου καταίροντας εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ μὴ δύνασθαι ἄλλως ἢ νότῳ κατὰραι. εἰκότως οὖν τὸν χειμῶνα γίγνεσθαι πρᾶον. ἐν

<sup>1</sup> γιγνόμενον Emperius : πινόμενον.

<sup>2</sup> πόλιν Reiske : πάλιν

## THE SIXTH DISCOURSE: DIOGENES, OR ON TYRANNY

WHEN Diogenes of Sinope was exiled from that place, he came to Greece and used to divide his time between Corinth and Athens. And he said he was following the practice of the Persian king.<sup>1</sup> For that monarch spent the winters in Babylon and Susa, or occasionally in Bactra,<sup>2</sup> which are the warmest parts of Asia, and the summers in Median Ecbatana,<sup>3</sup> where the air is always very cool and the summer is like the winter in the region of Babylon. So he too, he said, changed his residence according to the seasons of the year. For Attica had no high mountains, nor rivers running through it as had the Peloponnese and Thessaly; its soil was thin and the air so dry that rain rarely fell, and what did fall was not retained. Besides, it was almost entirely surrounded by the sea; from which fact indeed it got its name, since Attica is a sort of beach-land.<sup>4</sup> The city, moreover, was low-lying and faced to the south, as shown by the fact that those sailing from Sunium could not enter the Peiræus<sup>5</sup> except with a south wind. Naturally, therefore, the winters were mild. In Corinth, on

<sup>1</sup> Typical oriental despot. Darius Codomannus 336-331 B.C., last king of ancient Persia, was reigning then.

<sup>2</sup> Capital of Bactria, the modern Turkestan.

<sup>3</sup> Capital of Media.

<sup>4</sup> This is still the accepted etymology: *Attiké* is for *Akti-ké* (*gê*), where *Aktiké* is the adjective from *akté*, "beach."

<sup>5</sup> The most important harbour of Athens, about five miles south-west of the city.

δὲ τῇ Κορίνθῳ τὸ θέρος εὕπνουν, διὰ τοὺς  
 εἰσέχοντας<sup>1</sup> κόλπους αἰεὶ ποτε τῶν πνευμάτων  
 ἐκεῖσε συρρεόντων· ὃ τε Ἀκροκόρινθος ἐπισκιάζει  
 καὶ αὐτὴ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τὸ Λέχαιον καὶ πρὸς τὴν  
 4 ἄρκτον ἀποκλίνει. πολὺ δὲ καλλίονας ὑπάρχειν  
 τὰς πόλεις ταύτας Ἐκβατάνων καὶ Βαβυλῶνος,  
 καὶ πολὺ ἄμεινον κατεσκευάσθαι τῶν ἐκεῖ βασι-  
 λείων τό τε Κράνειον καὶ τὴν Ἀθήνησιν ἀκρό-  
 πολιν καὶ τὰ προπύλαια, μεγέθει δὲ λείπεσθαι  
 μόνον· καίτοι διακοσίων σταδίων εἶναι τὴν περί-  
 μετρον τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, τοῦ Πειραιῶς συντεθειμένου<sup>2</sup>  
 καὶ τῶν διὰ μέσου τειχῶν πρὸς τὸν περίβολον  
 τοῦ ἄστεος—οἰκεῖσθαι γὰρ οὐ πάλα καὶ ταῦτα  
 σύμπαντα—ὥστε τὸ ἥμισυ ἔχειν Ἀθήνας Βαβυ-  
 λῶνος, εἰ τυγχάνει ἀληθῆ λεγόμενα περὶ τῶν  
 5 ἐκεῖ. καὶ μὴν τό γε τῶν λιμένων<sup>3</sup> κάλλος, ἔτι  
 δὲ ἀνδριάντας καὶ γραφὰς καὶ χρυσὸν τε καὶ  
 ἄργυρον καὶ χαλκόν, τό τε νόμισμα καὶ τὰ  
 ἐπιπλά, καὶ τὴν τῶν οἰκιῶν κατασκευὴν ὑπερ-  
 βάλλειν μὲν τὰ ἐνταῦθα· πλὴν αὐτῷ γε οὐ πολὺ  
 μέλειν τῶν τοιούτων.

6 Τὸ δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ μῆκος ἐκείνῳ μὲν ὥστε μετα-  
 βῆναι πάμπολυ γίνεσθαι· σχεδὸν γοῦν αὐτὸν  
 ἐν ὁδῷ διάγειν τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ τοῦ θέρους τὸ

<sup>1</sup> εἰσέχοντας Reiske: εἰσήκοντας.

<sup>2</sup> συντεθειμένου Capps: συντιθεμένου.

<sup>3</sup> λιμένων Casaubon: λιμνῶν.

## THE SIXTH DISCOURSE: DIOGENES

the other hand, the summer was breezy, since currents of air always met there on account of the bays that dented the shore. The Acrocorinthus,<sup>1</sup> too, overshadows it, and the city itself rather inclines toward the Lechaëum<sup>2</sup> and the north. Diogenes thought that these cities were far more beautiful than Ecbatana and Babylon, and that the Craneion,<sup>3</sup> and the Athenian acropolis with the Propylaea<sup>4</sup> were far more beautiful structures than those abodes of royalty, yielding to them only in size. And yet the circumference of Athens was two hundred stades,<sup>5</sup> now that the Peiræus and the connecting walls had been added to the compass of the city—for this whole area was not inhabited in ancient times—so that Athens was one-half as large as Babylon, if we could take as true what was said of things there. Moreover, in respect to the beauty of the harbours, and, further, to the statues, paintings, the works in gold, silver, and bronze, in respect to the coinage, the furnishings, the splendour of the houses, he thought that Athens was far superior; only he, for his part, did not care much about such things.

Besides, the king had a very long distance to travel in changing residences; he had to spend pretty much the larger part of the winter and summer on the

<sup>1</sup> Name applied to a high hill overhanging Corinth and to the citadel on its summit. This position was called by Philip one of the fetters of Greece.

<sup>2</sup> One of the two harbours of Corinth, that facing the Corinthian Gulf.

<sup>3</sup> The cypress grove and gymnasium in a suburb of Corinth.

<sup>4</sup> The gateway to the Athenian acropolis.

<sup>5</sup> As a stade was equal to 606½ feet, the circumference of Athens, including all the walls connecting it with its harbours, was a little under twenty-three miles.

## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

- πλέον· αὐτὸν δὲ πλησίον καταλύσαντα Μεγάρων Ἀθήνησι γενέσθαι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ πάνυ ῥαδίως ἤ,<sup>1</sup> εἰ μὲν βούλοιτο, ἐπ' Ἐλευσίνος· εἰ δὲ μή, βραχυτέραν διὰ Σαλαμῖνος—μῆ<sup>2</sup> δι' ἐρήμων σταθμῶν πορευόμενον· ὥστε πλεονεκτεῖν βασιλέως καὶ μᾶλλον τρυφᾶν· ἄμεινον γὰρ κατεσκευάσθαι τὴν
- 7 οἴκησιν. ταῦτα δὲ εἰώθει μὲν παίζων λέγειν· ὁμως δὲ ἐνεδεικνυτο τοῖς θαυμάζουσι τὸν πλοῦτον τοῦ Πέρσου καὶ τὴν λεγομένην εὐδαιμονίαν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων οἷον νομίζουσι. τῶν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ὄφελος εἶναι, τὰ δὲ καὶ σφύδρα πένησιν ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν.
- 8 Οὐδὲ γάρ, ὡς ἐνόμιζον ἔνιοι τῶν ἀφρόνων, ἀμελὲς ἦν αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὀρώντες ῥιγῶντα καὶ θυραυλοῦντα καὶ διψῶντα πολλάκις ἠγοῦντο ἀμελεῖν τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν καὶ τοῦ ζῆν· ὁ δὲ ταῦτα πάσχων μᾶλλον μὲν ὑγίαινε τῶν ἀεὶ ἐμπιμπλαμένων, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν ἔνδον μενόντων καὶ μηδέποτε μῆτε ψύχους μῆτε καύ-
- 9 ματος πειρωμένων, ἔτι δὲ ἥδιον μὲν ἀλعاίνόμενος ἡσθάνετο, ἥδιον δὲ σιτία<sup>3</sup> προσεφέρετο· πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα ταῖς ὥραις ἔχαιρεν, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εὐφραίνεται θέρους προσιόντος, ὅποτε ἤδη διαχέοι τὸν ἀέρα, τοῦτο δὲ<sup>4</sup> οὐκ ἤχθετο παυομένου, ἅτε ἀπαλλαττόμενος τοῦ σφοδροῦ καύματος, ταῖς δὲ

<sup>1</sup> ἤ added by Capps.

<sup>2</sup> μῆ added by Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> σιτία Reiske: σιτίοις.

<sup>4</sup> δὲ added by Morel.

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<sup>1</sup> From Corinth to Athens is 27 miles. From Megara one has a choice of routes: (1) the coast road to Eleusis and the Daphne pass, 21 miles; (2) the long by ferry from the port of Megara to Salamis, cutting across the island to the

## THE SIXTH DISCOURSE: DIOGENES

road. He himself, on the other hand, by spending the night near Megara, could very easily be in Athens on the following day—or else, if he preferred, at Eleusis; otherwise, he could take a shorter way through Salamis,<sup>1</sup> without passing through any deserts. So he had an advantage over the king and enjoyed greater luxury, since his housing arrangements were better. This is what he was wont to say jestingly, and yet he meant to bring to the attention of those who admired the wealth of the Persian and his reputed happiness that there was nothing in his actual life such as they imagined. For some things were of no use at all and other things were within the reach of even the very poor.

In fact, Diogenes was not neglectful of his body as certain foolish people thought; but when they saw him often shivering and living in the open and going thirsty, they imagined that he was careless of his health and life, whereas this rigorous regime gave him better health than fell to the lot of those who were ever gorging themselves, better than fell to the lot of those who stayed indoors and never experienced either cold or heat. And he got more pleasure, too, out of sunning himself and more pleasure in eating his food than they did. But the seasons were by far his greatest delight. On the one hand, he rejoiced as the summer approached and was already dissolving the cold air; and on the other, he felt no regret as it drew to its close, since this brought him relief from its excessive heat; and

ferry over the straits of Salamis, and then through Piraeus to Athens, 22 miles. One taking the first route could push on beyond Megara and spend the night at Eleusis, 11 miles from Megara, and proceed thence to Athens in the morning.



- ῥαις ξυνεπόμενος καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον αὐτῶν πειρώ-  
 10 μενος ἀλύπως ἀφικνεῖτο πρὸς ἑκατέραν τὴν ὑπερ-  
 βολήν. πυρὶ δὲ ἢ σκιᾷ ἢ σκέπῃ σπανίως ἐχρήτο,  
 προλαμβάνων τὸν καιρόν, οὐδὲ ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι  
 ἄνθρωποι, ὅτι μὲν ἕξεστιν αὐτοῖς αἰεὶ πῦρ καίειν,  
 εὐποροῦσι δὲ ἐσθῆτος, ἔχουσι δὲ οἰκίας, εἰ καὶ  
 μικρὸν αἰσθωνται ψυχούς, εὐθὺς ἀποδιδράσκουσι  
 11 τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τὰ σώματα ἀχρεῖα ποιοῦσι καὶ  
 ἀδύνατα ἀνέχεσθαι χειμῶνος, ὅτι δὲ ἕξεστιν  
 αὐτοῖς σκιᾷ<sup>1</sup> μὲν ἀφθόνῳ χρῆσθαι τοῦ θέρους,  
 πίνειν δὲ οἶνον ὅπόσον βούλονται, διὰ τοῦτο  
 ἄπειροι μὲν ἡλίου διατελοῦσιν, ἄπειροι δὲ τοῦ  
 διψῆν κατὰ φύσιν, οἰκότροφοι μὲν οὐχ ἥττον τῶν  
 γυναικῶν, ἄπονοι δὲ καὶ ἄργοι τὰ σώματα, κραι-  
 πάλης δὲ καὶ λήθης τὰς ψυχὰς γέμοντες. ὅθεν  
 δὴ καὶ ἐπιμηχανῶνται αὐτοῖς καὶ σιτία πονηρὰ  
 καὶ βαλανεῖα τούτων<sup>2</sup> χάριν, τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ἡμέρας  
 πολλάκις δέονται μὲν ἀνέμου, δέονται δὲ ἐσθῆτος,  
 δέονται δὲ ὁμοῦ χιόνος καὶ πυρός, τὸ δὲ πάντων  
 ἀτοπώτατον, ἐπιθυμοῦσι καὶ λιμοῦ καὶ δίψους.  
 12 ἀκόλαστοι δὲ ὄντες οὐχ ἡδονταὶ ἀφροδισίοις διὰ  
 τὸ μὴ περιμένειν ὀρέγεσθαι αὐτῶν· ὅθεν ζητοῦσιν  
 ἀχαρίστους καὶ ἀτερπεῖς ἡδονάς.

Ὁ δὲ λιμῶ μὲν ἐχρήτο καὶ δίψει πρὸ τῆς  
 τροφῆς ἐκάστοτε, καὶ ἐνόμιζε τοῦτο ἱκανώτατον  
 καὶ δριμύτατον τῶν ὄψων. τοιγαροῦν ἡδίου μὲν

<sup>1</sup> σκιᾷ Geel: οἰκίᾳ.

<sup>2</sup> τούτων Cohoon: τούτου.

## THE SIXTH DISCOURSE: DIOGENES

by keeping pace with the seasons and growing accustomed to them gradually, he met either extreme without discomfort. He rarely made use of heat, shade, or shelter in anticipation of the proper seasons for them, nor did he do as others do, who, because they may light a fire any time and are well supplied with clothes and own houses, run away at once from the open air at the least sensation of cold, thus enfeebling their bodies and making them incapable of enduring the winter's cold, or, on the other hand, because it is possible for them to enjoy abundant shade in the summer-time and drink all the wine they wish, on that account never expose themselves to the sun, never experience a natural thirst, keep to the house just as much as women do, are inactive and sluggish of body, and have their souls steeped in a drunken stupor. This is why they devise for themselves both unwholesome menus and baths to counteract the bad effects of these,<sup>1</sup> and within the same twenty-four hours they often want both a breeze and heavy clothing; they want ice and fire at one and the same time, and—what is most absurd of all—they long for both hunger and thirst. And though they are incontinent, they find no delight in love because they do not wait till they desire it naturally; consequently the pleasures they seek are devoid of satisfaction and are joyless.

Diogenes, however, always waited until he was hungry or thirsty before he partook of nourishment, and he thought that hunger was the most satisfactory and pungent of appetizers. And so he used to

<sup>1</sup> The bath was taken to help digestion but often proved a fatal remedy. Cf. Juvenal, I. 143: *Crudum pavonem in balnea portas*.—"You take an undigested peacock into the baths."

- προσεφέρετο μᾶζαν ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι τὰ πολυτελέστατα τῶν σιτίων, ἥδιον δὲ ἔπινε τοῦ ῥέοντος ὕδατος
- 13 ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι τὸν Θάσιον οἶνον. κατεγέλα δὲ τῶν, ὅποτε διψῶεν, τὰς μὲν κρήνας παρερχομένων, ζητούντων δὲ πάντως ὁπόθεν ὠνήσονται<sup>1</sup> Χίον ἢ Λέσβιον, καὶ πολὺ ἔφασκεν ἀφρονεστέρους εἶναι τῶν βοσκημάτων· ἐκεῖνα γὰρ οὐδέποτε διψῶντα κρήνην οὐδὲ ῥεῦμα καθαρὸν παρελθεῖν οὐδὲ πεινῶντα ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀπαλωτάτων φύλλων
- 14 καὶ πόας τῆς ἱκανῆς τρέφειν. οἰκίας δὲ τὰς καλλίστας καὶ ὑγιεινοτάτας ἐν ἰπείσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἔχειν ἀναπεπταμένας, τὰ τε ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια. ἱμάτιον δὲ ἐν ἐξήρκει τοῦ θέρους αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος· τοῦ γὰρ ἀέρος ἡνείχετο
- 15 ῥαδίως, ἅτε δὴ συνήθης αὐτῷ γενόμενος. τοὺς δὲ πόδας οὐδέποτε ἔσκεπεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔφη τρυφερότερους εἶναι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ τοῦ προσώπου. ταῦτα γάρ, ἀσθενέστατα πεφυκότα, μάλιστα ἀνέχεσθαι τὸ ψῦχος διὰ τὸ γυμνοῦσθαι αἰεὶ· μὴ γὰρ εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δυνατόν καταδησαμένους τὰ ὄμματα βαδίζειν, ὥσπερ τοὺς πόδας. ἔφη δὲ τοὺς πλουσίους ὁμοίους εἶναι τοῖς νεογνοῖς βρέ-
- 16 φεσι· δεῖσθαι γὰρ αἰεὶ ποτε σπαργάνων. ὑπὲρ οὗ δὲ πλεῖστα μὲν πράγματα ἔχουσιν ἄνθρωποι πλεῖστα δὲ χρήματα ἀναλίσκουσι, πολλὰ δὲ ἀνάστατοι πόλεις διὰ ταῦτα γεγύνασι, πολλὰ δὲ ἔθνη τούτων ἔνεκεν οἰκτρῶς ἀπόλωλεν, ἀπάντων ἐκείνῳ χρημάτων ἀπονώτατον<sup>2</sup> ἦν καὶ ἀδαπανώ-
- 17 τατον. οὐ γὰρ ἔδει αὐτὸν οὐδαμῶσε ἐλθεῖν ἀφροδισίων ἔνεκεν, ἀλλὰ παίζων ἔλεγεν ἀπανταχοῦ παρῆναι αὐτῷ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην προῖκα· τοὺς δὲ

<sup>1</sup> ὠνήσονται Arnim : ὠνήσαιντο.

## THE SIXTH DISCOURSE: DIOGENES

partake of a barley cake with greater pleasure than others did of the costliest of foods, and enjoyed a drink from a stream of running water more than others did their Thasian wine. He scorned those who would pass by a spring when thirsty and move heaven and earth to find where they could buy Chian or Lesbian wine; and he used to say that such persons were far sillier than cattle, since these creatures never pass by a spring or a clear brook when thirsty or, when hungry, disdain the tenderest leaves or grass enough to nourish them. He also said that the most beautiful and healthful houses were open to him in every city: to wit, the temples and the gymnasia. And one garment was all he needed for both summer and winter, for he endured the cold weather easily because he had become used to it. He never protected his feet, either, because they were no more sensitive, he claimed, than his eyes and face. For these parts, though by nature most delicate, endured the cold very well on account of their constant exposure; for men could not possibly walk after binding their eyes as they did their feet. He used to say, too, that rich men were like new-born babes; both were in constant need of swaddling-clothes. That for which men gave themselves the most trouble and spent the most money, which caused the razing of many cities and the pitiful destruction of many nations—this he found the least laborious and most inexpensive of all things to procure. For he did not have to go anywhere for his sexual gratification but, as he humorously put it, he found Aphrodite everywhere, without expense;

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<sup>2</sup> ἀπονώτατον Casaubon: ἀτοπώτατον.

## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

- ποιητὰς καταψεύδεσθαι τῆς θεοῦ διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀκρασίαν, πολύχρυσον καλοῦντας. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὶ τοῦτο ἠπίστανται, ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἐχρήτο καὶ πάντων ὁρώντων· καὶ ἔλεγεν ὡς εἴπερ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὕτως εἶχον, οὐκ ἂν ἐάλω ποτὲ ἡ Τροία, οὐδ' ἂν ὁ Πρίαμος ὁ Φρυγῶν βασιλεύς, ἀπὸ Διὸς γεγονώς,
- 18 ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τοῦ Διὸς ἐσφάγη. τοὺς δὲ Ἀχαιοὺς οὕτως εἶναι ἄφρονας ὥστε καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς νομίζειν προσδεῖσθαι γυναικῶν καὶ τὴν Πολυξένην σφάττειν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ Ἀχιλλεύς. ἔφη δὲ τοὺς ἰχθύας σχεδὸν τι φρουριμωτέρους φαίνεσθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ὅταν γὰρ δέωνται τὸ σπέρμα ἀποβαλεῖν, ἰόντας ἔξω προσκυνᾶσθαι
- 19 πρὸς τι<sup>1</sup> τραχύ. θαυμάζειν δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ τὸν μὲν πόδα μὴ θέλειν ἀργυρίου κνᾶσθαι μηδὲ τὴν χεῖρα μηδὲ ἄλλο μηδὲν τοῦ σώματος, μηδὲ τοὺς πάνυ πλουσίους ἀναλῶσαι ἂν μηδεμίαν ὑπὲρ τούτου δραχμὴν· ἐν δὲ ἐκείνῳ τὸ μέρος πολλάκις πολλῶν ταλάντων, τοὺς δὲ τινὰς ἤδη καὶ
- 20 τὴν ψυχὴν<sup>2</sup> παραβαλλομένους. ἔλεγε δὲ παίζων τὴν συνουσίαν ταύτην εὔρεμα εἶναι τοῦ Πανός, ὅτε τῆς Ἥχου ἐρασθεὶς οὐκ ἐδύνατο λαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπλανᾶτο ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, τότε οὖν τὸν Ἑρμῆν διδάξαι αὐτόν, οἰκτεῖραντα τῆς ἀπορίας, ἅτε υἱὸν αὐτοῦ. καὶ τόν, ἐπεὶ ἔμαθε, παύσασθαι τῆς πολλῆς ταλαιπωρίας· ἀπ' ἐκείνου δὲ τοὺς ποιμένας χρῆσθαι μαθόντας.

<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τι Geel : πρὸς τὸ.

<sup>2</sup> τὴν ψυχὴν Gasda : τῇ ψυχῇ.

## THE SIXTH DISCOURSE: DIOGENES

and the poets libelled the goddess, he maintained, on account of their own want of self-control, when they called her "the all-golden."<sup>1</sup> And since many doubted this boast, he gave a public demonstration before the eyes of all, saying that if men were like himself, Troy would never have been taken, nor Priam, king of the Phrygians and a descendant of Zeus, been slain at the altar of Zeus. But the Achaeans had been such fools as to believe that even dead men found women indispensable and so slew Polyxena at the tomb of Achilles. Fish showed themselves more sensible than men almost; for whenever they needed to eject their sperm, they went out of doors and rubbed themselves against something rough. He marvelled that while men were unwilling to pay out money to have a leg or an arm or any other part of their body rubbed, that while not even the very rich would spend a single drachma for this purpose, yet on that one member they spent many talents time and again and some had even risked their lives in the bargain. In a joking way he would say that this sort of intercourse was a discovery made by Pan when he was in love with Echo and could not get hold of her, but roamed over the mountains night and day till Hermes in pity at his distress, since he was his son, taught him the trick. So Pan, when he had learned his lesson, was relieved of his great misery; and the shepherds learned the habit from him.

<sup>1</sup> The epithet as applied to Aphrodite referred originally to the golden adornment of her statues (cf. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, v. 519), or the wealth of her beauty; just as in Homer she is χρυσή, which word twists the word πολύχρυσος to mean "costing much gold."

- 21 Τὰ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα ἐνίστε τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
καταγελῶν ἔλεγεν τῶν τετυφωμένων καὶ ἀνοήτων·  
μάλιστα δὲ ὕβριζε τοὺς σοφιστὰς τοὺς σεμνοὺς  
εἶναι θέλοντας καὶ πλεον τι τῶν ἄλλων εἰδέναι  
οἰομένους. ἔλεγε δὲ διὰ τὴν μαλακίαν τοὺς ἀνδρώ-  
22 πους ἀθλιώτερον ζῆν τῶν θηρίων. ἐκεῖνα γὰρ  
ὔδατι μὲν ποτῶ χρώμενα, τροφῇ δὲ βοτάνῃ, τὰ  
πολλὰ δὲ αὐτῶν γυμνὰ ὄντα δι' ἔτους, εἰς οἰκίαν  
δὲ οὐδέποτε εἰσίνοντα, πυρὶ δὲ οὐδὲν χρώμενα,  
ζῆν μὲν ὅποσον ἡ φύσις ἐκάστοις ἔταξε χρόνοι,  
ἐὰν μηδεὶς ἀναιρῇ· ἰσχυρὰ δὲ καὶ ὑγιαίνοντα  
διάγειν ὁμοίως ἅπαντα, δεῖσθαι δὲ μηδὲν ἰατρῶν  
23 μηδὲ φαρμάκων. τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους οὕτως μὲν  
πάνυ φιλοζῶους ὄντας, τοσαῦτα δὲ μηχανωμένους  
πρὸς ἀναβολὴν τοῦ θανάτου, τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς  
αὐτῶν μηδὲ εἰς γῆρας ἀφικνεῖσθαι, ζῆν δὲ νοση-  
μάτων γέμοντας ἢ μηδὲ ὀνομάσαι ῥᾶδιον, τὴν δὲ  
γῆν αὐτοῖς μὴ ἔξαρκεῖν παρέχουσιν φάρμακα,  
24 δεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ σιδήρου καὶ πυρός. καὶ μήτε  
Χείρωνος μήτε Ἀσκληπιαδῶν ἰωμένων μηδὲν  
αὐτοῖς ὄφελος εἶναι διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀκολασίαν  
καὶ πονηρίαν, μηδὲ μάντεων μαντευομένων μηδὲ  
25 ἱερέων καθαιρόντων. εἰς δὲ τὰς πόλεις συνελ-  
θόντας, ὅπως ὑπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν μὴ ἀδικῶνται,  
τοῦναντίον αὐτοὺς ἀδικεῖν καὶ τὰ δεινότατα πάντα  
ἐργάζεσθαι, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ξυνεληλυθότας. διὰ  
ταῦτα δὲ δοκεῖν αὐτῶ καὶ τὸν μῦθον λέγειν ὡς  
τὸν Προμηθεῖα κολάζοι ὁ Ζεὺς διὰ τὴν εὕρεσιν  
καὶ μετάδοσιν τοῦ πυρός, ὡς ἀρχὴν τοῦτο καὶ  
ἀφορμὴν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μαλακίας καὶ τρυφῆς·

<sup>1</sup> The Centaur who taught Achilles.

## THE SIXTH DISCOURSE: DIOGENES

In such language he at times used to ridicule the victims of conceit and folly, though it was against the sophists, who wanted to be looked up to and thought they knew more than other men, that he railed in particular. He used to say that men, owing to their softness, lived more wretched lives than the beasts. For these took water for their drink and grass for their food, were most of them naked from one end of the year to the other, never entered a house nor made any use of fire, and yet they lived as long as nature had ordained for each, if no one destroyed them, and all alike remained strong and healthy, and had no need of doctors or of drugs. Men, however, who are so very fond of life and devise so many ways to postpone death, generally did not even reach old age, but lived infested by a host of maladies which it were no easy task even to name, and the earth did not supply them with drugs enough, but they required the knife and cautery as well. Nor were Cheiron<sup>1</sup> and Asclepius' sons,<sup>2</sup> with all their healing power, nor prophetic seers nor priestly exorcists of any use to them at all because of their excesses and wickedness. Men crowded into the cities to escape wrong from those outside, only to wrong one another and commit all sorts of the most dreadful misdeeds as though that had been the object of their coming together. And the reason, in his opinion, why the myth says that Zeus punished Prometheus for his discovery and bestowal of fire was that therein lay the origin and beginning of man's softness and love

<sup>2</sup> Asclepius or Aesculapius, the god of medicine and healing; his descendants too were physicians.



οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὸν Δία μισεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐδὲ  
φθονεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθοῦ τινος.

- 26 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐλεγόν τινες οὐ δυνατόν εἶναι ζῆν τὸν  
ἄνθρωπον ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις διὰ τὴν  
ἀπαλότητα τῶν σαρκῶν καὶ διότι ψιλὸς ἐστίν,  
οὔτε θριξὶ σκεπόμενος, ὥσπερ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν  
θηρίων, οὔτε πτεροῖς, οὐδὲ<sup>1</sup> δέρμα ἰσχυρὸν ἐπ-  
27 ἀμπέχεται, πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντέλεγεν οὕτως μὲν  
σφόδρα ἀπαλοὺς εἶναι διὰ τὴν δίαιταν· φεύγειν  
μὲν γὰρ ὥς τὸ πολὺ τὸν ἥλιον, φεύγειν δὲ τὸ  
ψύχος· τὴν δὲ ψιλότητα τοῦ σώματος μηδὲν  
ἐνοχλεῖν. ἐπεδείκνυε δὲ τοὺς τε βατράχους  
καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ὀλίγα ζῶα πολὺ μὲν ἀπαλότερα  
ἄνθρωπον, πολὺ δὲ ψιλότερα, καὶ ἔνια τούτων  
ἀνεχόμενα οὐ τὸν αἴρα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ  
ψυχροτάτῳ ὕδατι ζῆν δυνάμενα τοῦ χειμῶνος.  
28 ἐπεδείκνυε δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων αὐτῶν τοὺς τε  
ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον οὐδὲν δεόμενα<sup>2</sup>  
σκέπης. καθόλου δὲ ἐν μηδενὶ τόπῳ γίνεσθαι  
ζῶον, ὃ μὴ δύναται ζῆν ἐν αὐτῷ· ἢ πῶς ἂν  
ἐσώθησαν οἱ πρῶτοι ἄνθρωποι γενόμενοι, μήτε  
πυρὸς ὄντος μήτε οἰκιῶν μήτε ἐσθῆτος μήτε  
ἄλλης τροφῆς ἢ τῆς αὐτομάτου; ἀλλὰ τὴν  
πανουργίαν τοῖς ὕστερον καὶ τὸ πολλὰ εὕρισκειν  
καὶ μηχανᾶσθαι πρὸς τὸν βίον οὐ πάνυ τι συν-  
29 ενεγκεῖν. οὐ γὰρ πρὸς ἀνδρείαν οὐδὲ δικαιοσύνην  
χρησθαι τῇ σοφίᾳ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ πρὸς  
ἡδονήν· διώκοντας οὖν τὸ ἡδὺ ἐξ ἅπαντος αἰεὶ  
ζῆν ἀηδέστερον καὶ ἐπιπυνώτερον, καὶ δοκούντας  
προμηθεῖσθαι σφῶν αὐτῶν κάκιστα ἀπόλλυσθαι  
διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειάν τε καὶ προμήθειαν.  
καὶ οὕτως δὴ τὸν Προμηθεά δικαίως λέγεσθαι

## THE SIXTH DISCOURSE: DIOGENES

of luxury; for Zeus surely did not hate men or grudge them any good thing.

When some people urged that it is impossible for man to live like the animals owing to the tenderness of his flesh and because he is naked and unprotected either by hair, as the majority of beasts are, or by feathers and has no covering of tough skin, he would say in reply that men are so very tender because of their mode of life, since, as a rule, they avoid the sun and also avoid the cold. It is not the nakedness of the body that causes the trouble. He would then call attention to the frogs and numerous other animals much more delicate than man and much less protected, and yet some of them not only withstand the cold air but are even able to live in the coldest water during the winter. He also pointed out that the eyes and the face of man himself have no need of protection. And, in general, no creature is born in any region that cannot live in it. Else how could the first human beings to be born have survived, there being no fire, or houses, or clothing, or any other food than that which grew wild? Nay, man's ingenuity and his discovering and contriving so many helps to life had not been altogether advantageous to later generations, since men do not employ their cleverness to promote courage or justice, but to procure pleasure. And so, as they pursue the agreeable at any cost, their life becomes constantly less agreeable and more burdensome; and while they appear to be attending to their own needs, they perish most miserably, just because of excessive care and attention. And for these reasons Prometheus was justly said to have

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<sup>1</sup> οὐδὲ Emperius: οὐτε.    <sup>2</sup> δεόμενα Wilamowitz: δεόμενον.

δεδεμένον ἐν πέτρᾳ κείρεσθαι τὸ ἦπαρ ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 αἵτου.

- 30 Ὅποσα μὲν οὖν πολυδάπανα καὶ δεόμενα πραγ-  
 ματείας καὶ τάλαιπωρίας, ταῦτα μὲν ἀφήρει καὶ  
 βλαβερὰ τοῖς χρωμένοις ἀπέφαιεν· ὅσα δὲ  
 ῥαδίως καὶ ἀπραγμόνως ἔστιν ἐπικουρεῖν τῷ  
 σώματι καὶ πρὸς χειμῶνα καὶ πρὸς λιμὸν καὶ  
 πρὸς τὸ παῦσαί τινα ὄρεξιν τοῦ σώματος, οὐ  
 παρέπεμπεν οὐδὲν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τόπους ἤρειτο  
 τοὺς ὑγιεινοὺς μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς νοσώδεις καὶ τοὺς  
 31 προσφόρους<sup>1</sup> ἐκάστη ὥρᾳ, καὶ τροφῆς ὅπως εὐπο-  
 ρήσει τῆς ἱκανῆς ἐπεμελείτο καὶ ἐσθίητος τῆς  
 μετρίας, πραγμάτων δὲ καὶ δικῶν καὶ φιλονεικιῶν  
 καὶ πολέμων καὶ στάσεων ἐκτὸς ἦν. καὶ μάλιστα  
 ἐμιμείτο τῶν θεῶν τὸν βίον· ἐκείνους γὰρ μόνους  
 φησὶν Ὅμηρος ῥαδίως ζῆν, ὥς τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 ἐπιπόνως καὶ χαλεπῶς βιούντων. τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα  
 32 ἔφη καὶ τὰ θηρία διορᾶν· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πελαργοὺς  
 τὰ θερμὰ τοῦ θέρους ἀπολείποντας εἰς τὸν εὐκρα-  
 τον αἶρα ἀφικνεῖσθαι, καὶ διαγαγόντας ἐνταῦθα  
 ὅποσον ἡδιστον τοῦ χρόνου, μετὰ ταῦτα ἀθρόους  
 ἀπιέναι, τὸν χειμῶνα ὑποχωροῦντας,<sup>2</sup> τὰς δὲ  
 γεράνους ἐπιφοιτᾶν τῷ σπόρῳ, χειμῶνα μετρίως  
 33 φερούσας, καὶ τῆς τροφῆς ἕνεκα· τὰς δὲ ἐλάφους  
 καὶ τοὺς λαγῶς τοῦ μὲν ψύχους εἰς τὰ πεδία  
 καὶ τὰ κοῖλα καταβαίνειν ἐκ τῶν ὄρων, κἀνταῦθα  
 ὑποστέλλειν τοῖς ἀπηνέμοις καὶ προσηνέσι,<sup>3</sup> τοῦ  
 δὲ καύματος εἰς τὴν ὕλην ἀποχωρεῖν καὶ τὰ  
 34 βορείότατα τῶν χωρίων. ὄρων δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους

<sup>1</sup> προσφόρους Emperius : εὐφόρους.

<sup>2</sup> ὑποχωροῦντας Lobeck : ἀποχωροῦντας.

## THE SIXTH DISCOURSE: DIOGENES

been bound to the rock and to have had his liver plucked by the eagle.

Things, therefore, that were costly or demanded constant attention and worry he rejected and showed to be injurious to those who used them; but whatever could readily and without effort help the body to withstand the winter's cold or hunger or to satisfy some other appetite of the body, he would never forgo; nay, he would choose localities that were healthful in preference to the unhealthy, and those that were adapted to the different seasons, and he took care to have a sufficient supply of food and moderate clothing, but from public affairs, lawsuits, rivalries, wars, and factions he kept himself clear. He tried especially to imitate the life of the gods, for they alone, as Homer asserts,<sup>1</sup> live at ease, implying that the life of man is full of labour and hardship. Even the lower animals, he claimed, understand this sort of thing clearly. The storks, for example, leave the heat of the summer and migrate to a temperate climate, and after spending as long a time there as is most congenial to them, depart in flocks, retreating before the winter; while cranes, which stand the winter fairly well, come at seeding time and for the food they pick up. Deer and hares come down from the mountains into the plains and valleys in the cold weather and find shelter there in comfortable nooks away from the wind, but in the hot season withdraw into the woods and the most northerly regions. When, therefore, he observed

<sup>1</sup> θεοὶ βέλαι ζῶντες, *Odyssey* 4. 805, for example.

<sup>3</sup> For προσηέσι: Herwerden conjectures προσείλοισ, "sunny."

ἀνθρώπους ἅπαντα μὲν τὸν βίον ταραττομένους, ἅπαντα δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐπιβουλεύοντας, αἰεὶ δὲ ἐν κακοῖς ὄντας μυρίοις, μηδέποτε δὲ ἡσυχίαν δυναμένους ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐν ταῖς ἱερομηνίαις μηδὲ ἂν ἐκεχειρίαν ἐπαγγέλλωσι, καὶ ταῦτα ξύμπαντα δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον τὰ μὲν δρῶντας, τὰ δὲ πάσχοντας, ἢ ὅπως ζῆν δυνήσονται,<sup>1</sup> καὶ μάλιστα δὴ δεδιότας μήποτε αὐτοὺς ἐπιλίπη τὰναγκαῖα δὴ λεγόμενα, ἔτι δὲ φροντίζοντας καὶ ζητοῦντας ὅπως παισὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν καταλίπωσι πολλὰ χρήματα, ἐθαύμαζεν ὅτι μηδὲν αὐτὸς πράττοι τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ μόνος δὴ τῶν ἀπάντων ἐλεύθερός ἐστι καὶ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος συνίησι τῆς αὐτοῦ μάλιστα εὐδαιμονίας.

- 35 "Ὡστε οὐκέθ' αὐτὸν ἡξίου τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ παραβάλλειν· πολὺ γὰρ εἶναι τὸ μεταξὺ. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀθλιώτατον ἀπάντων τυγχάνειν, φοβούμενον μὲν ἐν τοσούτῳ χρυσῷ πενίαν, φοβούμενον δὲ νόσους, τῶν δὲ νοσερῶν ἀπέχεσθαι μὴ δυνάμενον, ἐκπεπληγμένον δὲ τὸν θάνατον καὶ πάντας ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ νομίζοντα μέχρι τῶν παίδων  
36 τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν. διὰ δὲ ταῦτα μήτε<sup>2</sup> ἐσθίοντα ἤδεσθαι, τῶν ἡδίστων αὐτῷ παρόντων, μήτε πίνοντα ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι τῶν ὀχληρῶν. μηδεμίαν δὲ ἡμέραν διάγειν ῥαδίως, ἐν ᾗ βλέπειν αὐτὸν<sup>3</sup> μὴ τὰ δεινότατα πάσχοντα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν νήφοντα ἐπιθυμεῖν μέθης, ὡς τότε ἀπαλλαγισόμενον τῶν συμφορῶν, τοῦτο δ' αὖ μεθύοντα ἀπολωλέναι νομίζειν, ὡς ἀδύνατον αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν.  
37 ἔτι δὲ ἐγγρηγορότα μὲν εὐχεσθαι καθυπνῶσαι

<sup>1</sup> δυνήσονται Casaubon: δυνήσωνται. <sup>2</sup> μήτε Emperius: μηδὲ.

<sup>3</sup> The reading of the best MSS. is retained, though probably corrupt. Emperius added εἶναι after αὐτὸν (to govern βλέπειν), Von der Muehl, less probably, proposed βλέπει αὐτόν.

## THE SIXTH DISCOURSE : DIOGENES

how other men were harassed throughout their whole lives, ever plotting against one another, ever encompassed by a thousand ills and never able to enjoy a moment's rest, nay, not even during the great festivals nor when they proclaimed a truce; and when he beheld that they did or suffered all this simply in order to keep themselves alive, and that their greatest fear was lest their so-called necessities should fail them, and how, furthermore, they planned and strove to leave great riches to their children, he marvelled that he too did not do the like, but was the only independent man in the world, and that nobody else had any comprehension of his own highest happiness.

For these reasons he refused to compare himself any farther<sup>1</sup> with the king of the Persians, since there was a great difference between them. In fact, the king was, he said, the most miserable man alive, fearing poverty in spite of all his gold, fearing sickness and yet unable to keep away from the things that cause it, in great dread of death and imagining that everybody was plotting against him, even his own sons and his brothers. So the despot could neither eat with pleasure, though the most tempting dishes were placed before him, nor drown his troubles in wine. Not a day did he pass "at ease" in which he looked about without suffering torments. When sober, he longed for intoxication in the belief that he would then have relief from his misfortunes, and when drunk, he imagined himself to be ruined just because he was unable to help himself. And further, when awake,

<sup>1</sup> See § 1 above.

- ὅπως ἐπιλάβηται τῶν φόβων, κοιμώμενον δὲ ἀναστῆναι τὴν ταχίστην, ἅτε ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐνυπνίων ἀπολλύμενον, τῆς δὲ χρυσῆς αὐτῷ πλατάνου καὶ τῶν Σεμιράμιδος οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τειχῶν μηδὲν ὄφελος
- 38 γιγνόμενον. τὸ δὲ δὴ πάντων παραλογώτατον, φοβεῖσθαι μὲν τοὺς ἀνόπλους, πιστεύειν δὲ αὐτὸν τοῖς ὀπλισμένοις, καὶ διερευνᾶσθαι μὲν τοὺς προσιόντας μή τις ἔχοι σίδηρον, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ζῆν τῶν σιδηροφορούντων. φεύγειν δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἀνόπλων πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλισμένους, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ὀπλισμένων πρὸς τοὺς ἀνόπλους· ἀπὸ μὲν γε τοῦ πλήθους φυλάττεσθαι τοῖς δορυφόροις, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δορυφόρων εὐνούχοις. οὐκ ἔχειν δὲ οἷς ἂν πιστεύσας οὐδὲ ὅποι τραπύμενος δυνήσεται
- 39 ζῆσαι μίαν ἡμέραν ἀφόβως. ὑφορᾶσθαι δὲ καὶ τὰ σιτία καὶ τὸ ποτόν, καὶ τοὺς προπειράσοντας ταῦτα ἔχειν ὥσπερ ἐν ὁδῷ πολεμίων γεμούσῃ τοὺς προερευνῶντας. ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις θαρρεῖν, μήτε παισὶ μήτε γυναικί. οὕτως δὲ χαλεποῦ ὄντος τοῦ πράγματος καὶ δυστυχοῦς τῆς μοναρχίας, μηδὲ ἀπαλλαγῆναι ποτε αὐτοῦ μήτε βούλεσθαι μήτε δύνασθαι.
- 40 Καίτοι πάντα ὅσα δεινὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παραμυθίαν ἔχει, τὸ τυχὸν ἂν παύσασθαι αὐτῶν. καὶ γὰρ ὅστις ὑπὸ δεσμῶν ἔχεται, προσδοκᾷ ποτε λυθῆναι, καὶ τῷ τὴν πατρίδα φεύγοντι οὐκ ἀδύνατον κατελθεῖν, καὶ τῷ νοσοῦντι μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς ἔστιν ἐλπίζειν τὴν ὑγίειαν· τῷ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ πράγματος, ἀλλ' οὐδ' εὐξασθαι γοῦν, εἰ μὴ τι ἕτερον. ὅσοις δὲ

## THE SIXTH DISCOURSE: DIOGENES

he prayed for sleep that he might forget his fears, but when asleep he would immediately leap up, imagining that his very dreams were killing him; and neither the golden plane-tree,<sup>1</sup> nor the mansions of Semiramis, nor the walls of Babylon were of any help to him. The most absurd thing of all, however, was that, though he feared unarmed persons, yet he entrusted himself to his armed guards, that though he searched those who approached him to see if any had a weapon, yet he lived surrounded by men who carried weapons. He was forever fleeing from the unarmed to the armed and from the armed to the unarmed; from the people he protected himself by means of his bodyguard and from his bodyguard by means of his eunuchs. He had no one that he could trust, nor refuge to which he could turn so that he might live a single day without fear. He suspected everything he ate or drank, and had men to sample everything for him like so many scouts on a road beset by the enemy. Nay, he could not place confidence in his nearest and dearest, whether children or wife. Yet, difficult and grievous as the position of monarch was, he never wanted to get rid of it, nor could he.

"Still, all human ills admit of this one consolation," continued Diogenes—"they may possibly come to an end. The prisoner in chains expects some time to be set free; it is not impossible for the exile to return to his home; and he who is sick can hope until the end comes for recovery. But the tyrant may not escape his condition; no, he cannot even so much as pray except it be for something else.

<sup>1</sup> Xerxes found near the Maeander river a plane-tree so beautiful that he presented it with golden ornaments and put it under the care of one of his Immortals.



ἀνιᾶσθαι συμβέβηκε τῶν φίλων τινὸς ἀπο-  
 θανόντος, σαφῶς ἐπίστανται ὅτι παύσονται ποτε  
 λυπούμενοι τῷ χρόνῳ· τοῖς δὲ τούναντίον ἐπι-  
 41 τείνεται<sup>1</sup> μᾶλλον τὰ χαλεπά. οὐ ῥᾶδιον μὲν  
 γὰρ ἄνδρα γηράσαι τύραννον, χαλεπὸν δὲ τυ-  
 ράννου γῆρας, οὐχ οἷον ἵππου φασίν. οἳ τε γὰρ  
 πεπονθότες κακῶς πλείους οἳ τε καταφρονούντες·  
 αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ σώματι βοηθεῖν ἀδύνατος αὐτῷ.

Πάντα μὲν οὖν τὰ δεινὰ πέφυκε μᾶλλον  
 ἐκπλήττειν τοὺς προσδεχομένους ἢ λυπεῖν τοὺς  
 πειραθέντας, καὶ πενία καὶ φυγὴ καὶ δεσμοὶ  
 42 καὶ ἀτιμία. τοῦ θανάτου δὲ εἴ τις ἀφέλοι τὸ  
 δέος, οὐδὲν ὑπολείπεται δυσχερές· οὐ γὰρ μόνον  
 αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐνοχλεῖ τοὺς παθόντας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν  
 ἔτι λυποῦνται. ὁ δὲ φόβος οὕτω χαλεπὸς ἐστίν  
 ὥστε πολλοὶ ἤδη προέλαβον τὸ ἔργον· οἱ μὲν  
 γὰρ<sup>2</sup> ἐν νηὶ χειμαζόμενοι οὐ περιέμειναν κατα-  
 δύναι τὴν ναῦν, ἀλλὰ πρότερον αὐτοὺς ἀπέ-  
 σφαξαν, οἱ δὲ πολεμίων περιειληφότων, σαφῶς  
 43 εἰδότες ὅτι οὐδὲν πείσονται δεινότερον. τοῦτο  
 δὴ τὸ χαλεπὸν αἰεὶ πάρεστι τοῖς μονάρχοις, ὁμοίως  
 μὲν ἡμέρας, ὁμοίως δὲ νυκτός. καὶ τοῖς μὲν  
 καταδικασθεῖσιν ἡμέρα ῥητὴ πρόκειται, ἐν ᾗ δεῖ  
 ἀποθνήσκειν, τοῖς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἄδηλον, εἴτε μετ'  
 ὀλίγον εἴτε ἤδη, καὶ οὐδεὶς καιρὸς, οὐδὲ ὁ βρα-  
 χύτατος, ἀπήλλακται τούτου τοῦ δέους, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ ἐσθίοντα ἀνάγκη δεδιέναι καὶ θύοντα τοῖς  
 44 θεοῖς. εἰ δέ ποτε ἐπέλθοι παίζειν τοῖς τοιούτοις,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιτείνεται Geel: ἐπιγίγνεσθαι.

<sup>2</sup> γὰρ added by Wilamowitz.

<sup>3</sup> Arnim would emend to τῷ τοιούτῳ because the singular follows.

## THE SIXTH DISCOURSE: DIOGENES

Anyone who has suffered the loss of a friend by death believes in his heart that time will eventually heal his grief; but tyrants, on the contrary, find their troubles growing worse and worse; since it is not easy for a tyrant to reach old age, and a tyrant's old age is grievous, unlike that of the horse in the proverb.<sup>1</sup> For his victims as well as those who despise him have multiplied, and he, owing to his own infirmities, cannot defend himself.

"Now all calamities are naturally more alarming in anticipation than they are grievous in experience, as is true of hunger, exile, imprisonment, or loss of civil rights; but if the fear of death were removed, then no further distress remains. For death in itself is so far from troubling those who have experienced it, that they have no further grief at all. The fear of it, however, is so intense that many have anticipated the event. People on a storm-tossed ship have not waited for it to go down but have taken their own lives first; others have done the same when surrounded by the enemy, although they well knew that nothing worse than death awaited them. This is the evil plight that despots are ever in, both by day and by night. For condemned criminals a stated day is set on which they must die, but tyrants are uncertain whether death will come soon or the hour has already struck. No moment, not even the most fleeting, is free from this dread, but whether eating or sacrificing to the gods the tyrant must live in this fear. And if ever it occurs to such a ruler to seek diversion,

<sup>1</sup> Zenobius gives the proverb, ἵππῳ γηράσκοντι τὰ μείονα κύκλ' ἐπίβαλλε,—"To the ageing horse assign the lesser courses."

καὶ πρὸς ἀφροδισίοις γιγνόμενον, ἐὰν καὶ πάνν  
 τύχῃ ἐρῶν, μεμνήσθαι τοῦ θανάτου, ὥς τυχὸν  
 ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐρωμένων ἀπολούμενον, καὶ  
 45 συμπίνειν τούτῳ τῷ φόβῳ καὶ συγκαθεύδειν.  
 ὥστε μοι δοκεῖ τότε μόνον<sup>1</sup> χαίρειν, ἐπειδὰν  
 πληγῇ, ἀνὴρ τύραννος, ὥς τοῦ μεγίστου κακοῦ  
 ἀπηλλαγμένος.

Τὸ δὲ πάντων ἀτοπώτατον, οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι  
 ἴσασιν ἐν ταῖς ἀνιάτοις γιγνόμενοι συμφοραῖς,  
 ὥστε οὐ πολὺν χρόνον κακοπαθοῦσιν, οἷς ἂν  
 μὴ ἀδύνατον ἢ τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν· οἱ δὲ τύραννοι  
 τὰ μέγιστα κακὰ ἔχοντες ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις  
 νομίζουσιν ἀγαθοῖς εἶναι, οἶμαι τῇ δόξῃ τῶν  
 ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἐξηπατημένοι τῶν ἀπείρων  
 46 τοῦ πράγματος. καὶ ταύτην ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς τὴν  
 ἄγνοιαν συνέξευξεν, ἵνα παραμένωσι κολαζόμενοι.  
 δοκεῖ δὲ τοῖς μὲν εὖ πράττουσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 ὁ μὲν βίος ἀμείνων, ὁ δὲ θάνατος διὰ τοῦτο  
 47 λυπηρότερος· οἱ δὲ αὖ κακῶς ζῶντες τὸν βίον  
 δοκοῦσι δυσχερέστερον φέρειν, τὸν δὲ θάνατον  
 ἡδίων προσδέχεσθαι. τοῖς δὲ γε τυράννοις ἀμ-  
 φότερα ταῦτα χαλεπώτερα ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις· ζῶσι  
 μὲν γὰρ πολὺ ἀηδέστερον τῶν πάνν ἐπιθυμούντων  
 τεθνάναι, τὸν δὲ θάνατον οὕτω δεδοίκασιν ὥς  
 48 ἡδιστα διάγοντες ἐν τῷ βίῳ. πεφυκότος δὲ τοῦ  
 τὰ μὲν ἡδέα μᾶλλον εὐφραίνειν, ὅταν ἢ σπάνια,  
 τοῖς δὲ συνεχῶς χρωμένοις εἰς ἀηδίαν περίστα-  
 σθαι, τὰ δὲ κακὰ χαλεπώτερα εἶναι μηδέποτε  
 ἀπαλλαττόμενα, σχεδὸν ἀμφότερα τοῖς τυράν-  
 νοις καὶ τὰ ἡδέα καὶ τὰ λυπηρὰ ἀεὶ πάρεστιν,  
 ὥς λυπούμενον μὲν μηδέποτε παύεσθαι σχεδόν,

## THE SIXTH DISCOURSE: DIOGENES

even in the enjoyments of love, no matter how intense the passion, his mind dwells on death, imagining that perhaps he will be slain by the very object of his love, and with this fear he must quaff his wine and with it must lay himself down to sleep. And so, in my opinion, the tyrant is happy only at the moment when he is struck down, since it is then that he is freed from his greatest evil.

“But the most absurd thing of all is this: Other men realize that their condition is hopeless and so do not suffer long when death is possible for them; but tyrants, though suffering from the greatest evils, imagine that they are surrounded by the greatest blessings, presumably because they are deceived by the opinions of others who have not had experience of ruling. God has inflicted tyrants with this ignorance that they may hold out under their punishment. Again, to the prosperous life seems more worth living and death correspondingly more bitter, while those in adversity seem to find life harder to endure and to welcome death more gladly. But for tyrants both are harder than for others, since in life they have far less happiness than those who eagerly long to die, and yet they fear death as if they were getting the greatest enjoyment out of life. And if things pleasurable naturally afford greater delight when they are rare but become repulsive to those who have the continuous enjoyment of them, and if evils that never cease are naturally harder to bear; then we may almost say that both these—the pleasurable and the painful—are always with the tyrant in such a way that he rarely

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<sup>1</sup> *μόνον* Jacobs: *μὲν*.

- 49 ἡδόμενον δὲ μηδέποτε αἰσθάνεσθαι. δέδοικε δὲ αἰεὶ ποτε τῶν μὲν πλουσίων τὴν δύναμιν, τῶν δὲ ἀπόρων τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ πλούτου. μόνοις δὲ τοῖς μονάρχοις τῶν μὲν εὖ παθόντων οὐδεὶς οἶδε χάριν· οὐδέποτε γὰρ ἡγοῦνται τῶν ἱκανῶν τυγχάνειν, οἱ δὲ μὴ τυγχάνοντες ὧν βούλονται πάντων μάλιστα μισοῦσιν αὐτούς.
- 50 Καὶ μὴν ἐπιφθονώτατος ἀπάντων ὁ πλείστα μὴ δικαίως ἔχων. ὥστε οὐδεὶς τυράννου ἐπιφθονώτερός ἐστιν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀνάγκη μὲν αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν· εἰ δὲ μή, τάχιστα ἀπολείται. χαρίζεσθαι δὲ πολλάκις πολλοῖς οὐ ῥάδιον μὴ ἄλλων ἀφαιρούμενον. ἔχει δὴ<sup>1</sup> καὶ τοὺς ἀφαιρεθέντας ἐχθροὺς καὶ τοὺς εἰληφότας ὑπόπτους καὶ ζητοῦντας ὅτι τάχιστα ἀπηλλάχθαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν πόρρω διὰ τὸ πολὺ ἀφεστάναι φοβεῖται, τὰ δὲ ἐγγύς, ὅτι πλησίον ἐστὶν αὐτῷ· καὶ παρὰ μὲν τῶν μακρόθεν ὑφορᾶται πόλεμον, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἐγγύς δόλον.
- 51 καὶ τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην ἀσύμφορον νομίζει διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων σχολήν, τὸν δὲ πόλεμον, ὅτι ἀνάγκη τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐνοχλεῖν καὶ χρήματα πορίζοντα καὶ στρατεύεσθαι προσαναγκάζοντα. τοιγαροῦν πολέμου μὲν ὄντος εἰρήνης ἐρῶσιν, εἰρήνης δὲ γενομένης εὐθὺς μηχανῶνται πόλεμον.
- 52 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθόνων ὄντων δεδοίκασιν τοῦ πλήθους τὴν ὕβριν, τοῦτο δὲ εἴ τις ἔνδεια καταλαμβάνοι, τὴν ὀργήν. ἡγοῦνται δὲ μήτε ἀποδημεῖν ἀσφαλὲς μήτε μένειν μήτε προῖεναι μήτ' ἔνδον διαιτᾶσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐπιβαίνειν οὐδ' ἂν ἐπιβαίνωσιν ἀσφαλῶς,

## THE SIXTH DISCOURSE: DIOGENES

finds relief from pain and is never conscious of pleasure. Besides, he continually dreads the power of the rich and the craving of the poor for riches. Again, despots are the only persons who receive no thanks for the favours they bestow; since people never think they get enough, while those who fail to get what they want hate them above all others.

“The most disliked man, too, is he who has acquired great wealth unjustly; hence no man is more disliked than a tyrant. And furthermore, he is obliged to show favours to those about him, otherwise he will perish most speedily. But it is not easy to give to many repeatedly without taking from others. Accordingly, the men whom he despoils are his enemies, while his beneficiaries eye him with suspicion and seek to be rid of him as soon as possible. What is far removed from him he fears because of its remoteness; what is near, because it is close to him; from those at a distance he looks for war, from those near at hand, treachery. Peace he considers undesirable because it leaves men idle, and war, because he is obliged to disturb his subjects by raising money and compelling them to take the field as well. So when there is war, tyrants want peace; and when peace has been made, they at once scheme for war. When the people have all the comforts of life, they fear their insolence; when hard times come, they fear their wrath. They feel that it is safe neither to leave the country nor to stay at home, neither to appear in public nor to live in seclusion, nay, not even to set foot where they may

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<sup>1</sup> δῆ Emperius: δὲ.

- ἅπαντα δὲ εἶναι μεστὰ<sup>1</sup> ἐνέδρας καὶ δόλων.  
 53 ἀναλογίζεται δὲ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς θανά-  
 τους τῶν τυράννων καὶ τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς, ὅσαι  
 πώποτε γέγονασι, καὶ ξύμπαντα ταῦτα ἐφ'  
 αὐτὸν<sup>2</sup> ἰέναι<sup>3</sup> νομίζει, καὶ οὕτως ἔχει περιφόβως  
 ὥς ξύμπαντας ἐκείνους τοὺς θανάτους ἀποθανού-  
 μειος· καὶ περιβλέπειν μὲν αἰεὶ καὶ περιστρέ-  
 φεσθαι βούλεται, πληγήσεσθαι πανταχόθεν  
 οἰόμενος, αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔξεστι ποιεῖν ὑπὸ  
 54 αἰσχύνης ἅμα καὶ φόβου. ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν ἐνδη-  
 λότερος ἢ φοβούμενος ἀνὴρ τύραννος, τοσοῦτω  
 μᾶλλον ἐπιβουλεύουσι καταφρονοῦντες τῆς δει-  
 λίας. ἔστιν οὖν ὁ βίος ὁμοιος ὥσπερ εἴ τις  
 καθεῖρξαι εἴ τινα ἐν εἰρκτῇ μικρῇ, τῶν μὲν ἄνωθεν  
 ξιφῶν κρεμαμένων, τῶν δὲ κυκλόθεν περιπεπη-  
 55 γότων, καὶ τούτων ἀπτομένων τοῦ χρωτός· οὕτως  
 οὐ τῷ σώματι μόνον, ἀλλὰ τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ τυράν-  
 νου περιπέπηγε τὰ ξίφη, ὥστε τὸν ἐν Αἰδοῦ Τάντα-  
 λον, ὃν φασι

κεφαλῆς<sup>4</sup> ὑπερτέλλοντα δειμαίνειν πέτρον,  
 πολὺν ῥᾶον διάγειν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔτι φοβεῖται ὁ  
 Τάνταλος μὴ ἀποθάνῃ· τῷ δὲ τυράννῳ ζῶντι  
 τοῦτο ξυμβέβηκεν ὃ ἐκείνῳ νεκρῷ λέγουσιν.

- 56 "Ὅσοι μὲν οὖν μιᾶς γέγονασι τύραινοι πόλεως  
 ἢ χώρας ὀλίγης, τούτοις<sup>5</sup> οὐκ ἀδύνατον ἀπο-  
 δράντας ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀλλαχόσε ποι καταφυ-  
 γόντας ζῆν· καίτοι οὐδεὶς ἄνδρα ἀγαπᾷ τύραννον,  
 ἀλλὰ μισοῦσί τε καὶ ὑποπτεύουσι καὶ ῥαδίως  
 ἐκδιδόασιν τοῖς ἡδικοημένοις· ὅσοι δὲ πολλῶν  
 πόλεων ἄρχουσι καὶ ἐθνῶν καὶ ἀπείρου γῆς,

<sup>1</sup> μεστὰ Morel: μετὰ.

<sup>2</sup> ἐφ' αὐτὸν Dindorf: ἐπ' αὐτὸν.

## THE SIXTH DISCOURSE: DIOGENES

do so in safety, and that plotting and treachery menace them on every side. Every one of them calls to mind the deaths of tyrants and all the conspiracies that have ever been formed against them; he imagines that they are all coming his way, and is as terror-stricken as if he were doomed to all those deaths; and he is always wanting to look on every side and to turn around, as though he might be struck from any quarter; but this is the very thing he may not do from shame and fear at once. For the more apparent the tyrant's fear, the more do men conspire against him through scorn of his cowardice. He lives, therefore, like one shut up in a narrow cell with swords hanging over his head and others, just touching the skin, fixed all about him. So closely indeed about the tyrant's soul as well as his body are the swords set that Tantalus in Hades has a far easier time of it, Tantalus, who is said

‘to dread the rock that sways above his head.’<sup>1</sup>

Tantalus at least has no further dread of death, while the tyrant suffers in life that fate which men ascribe to Tantalus in the other world.

“Now for those who have made themselves tyrants of but a single city or a small country it is not impossible to flee from their realm and live in seclusion elsewhere—yet no one has any fondness for a tyrant, but only hatred and suspicion, and everyone is ready to surrender him to his victims—those, however, who rule over many cities and peoples and

<sup>1</sup> From Euripides' *Orestes*, 6.

<sup>3</sup> *ἔλαι* Cobet: *ελαι*.

<sup>4</sup> *κορυφῆς* in MSS. of Euripides, *Orestes* 6.

<sup>5</sup> *δὲ* after *τούτοις* deleted by Capps.



ὥσπερ ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεύς, τούτοις,<sup>1</sup> οὐδ' ἂν ποτε παραστῇ συνεῖναι τῶν κακῶν καὶ θεῶν τις ἀφέλῃ τὴν ἄγνοιαν αὐτῶν, οὐ δυνατὸν ἐκφυ-  
 57 γεῖν. δοκεῖ δὲ οὐδέποτε ἂν ἀσφαλῶς ζῆν, οὐδ' εἰ χαλκοὺς ἢ σιδηροὺς γένοιτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτως ἂν κατακοπεῖς ἢ καταχωνευθεῖς ἀπολέσθαι.

Ἐὰν μὲν οὖν τις αὐτῷ διαλέγεται θαρρῶν, ὁ δὲ ὀργίζεται καὶ δέδοικε τὴν παρρησίαν· ἐὰν δὲ  
 58 θεραπείων καὶ ὑποκατακλινόμενος, ὑποπτεύει τὴν θεραπείαν. καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἐλευθερίως προσερχομένων οἶται ὑβρίζεισθαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ταπεινοτέρων ἐξαπατᾶσθαι. καὶ λοιδορούμενος μὲν<sup>2</sup> πολλαπλασίως ἀνιάται ἢ ἄλλος, ὅτι δὴ τύραννος ὢν ἀκούει<sup>3</sup> κακῶς· ἐπαινούμενος δὲ οὐχ  
 59 ἡδεται· οὐ γὰρ φρονούντας οὕτως οἶται λέγειν. τοῦ δὲ καλλίστου καὶ λυσιτελεστάτου κτήματος ἀπάντων ἐστὶν ἀπορώτατος· εὐνοίας καὶ φιλίας ἐλπίζει οὐδὲν<sup>4</sup> δύναται παρ' οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ πρότερον τοὺς<sup>5</sup> ἀγρίους λέοντας οἱ τρέφοντες ἀγαπήσουσιν ἢ τοὺς τυράννους οἱ θεραπεύοντες καὶ προσιόντες.

60 Ἐγὼ δὲ βαδίζω μὲν ὅποι βούλομαι, φησί, νύκτωρ, βαδίζω δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν μόνος, θαρρῶ δὲ εἰ δέοι, καὶ διὰ στρατοπέδου πορευόμενος ἄνευ κηρυκείου καὶ διὰ ληστῶν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐμοὶ πολέμιος οὐδὲ ἐχθρὸς ἐστι βαδίζοντι. ἂν δὲ ἅπας μὲν ἐκλίπῃ ὁ χρυσός, ἅπας δὲ ὁ ἄργυρος, ἅπας δὲ ὁ χαλκός, οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ βλαβεῖην οὐδὲ  
 61 μικρόν. ἐὰν δὲ ἅπασαι μὲν αἱ οἰκίαι πέσωσιν

<sup>1</sup> δὲ after τούτοις deleted by Capps.

<sup>2</sup> μὲν added by Arnim.

<sup>3</sup> ἀκούει. Dindorf: ἀκούοι.

<sup>4</sup> δὲ before οὐδὲν deleted by Wilamowitz.

## THE SIXTH DISCOURSE: DIOGENES

over a boundless territory, as the Persian king does, cannot escape, even though they come to comprehend their evil plight and some god remove their ignorance from them. It seems, then, that the tyrant's life would never be safe, not even if he were to become bronze or iron, but that even then he would be destroyed by being broken to pieces or melted down.

"If you talk with him boldly, he is angered and fears your frankness; if you converse with him meekly and deferentially, he suspects your meekness. He feels that he is being insulted by those who treat him as an equal and deceived by those who are more obsequious. Censure, too, stings him far more than it does others because he, a sovereign, is spoken ill of; nor is he pleased with praise either, for he does not think that the speaker is sincere in his praise. Then, of the fairest and most useful of all treasures he has the greatest lack; for friendship and good-will he can expect from no one; nay, keepers of savage lions will love these brutes sooner than they who court and approach tyrants will love them.

"I, however," says Diogenes, "go by night whithersoever I will and travel by day unattended, and I am not afraid to go even through an army if need be, without the herald's staff, yea, and amid brigands; for I have no enemy, public or private, to block my way. If all the gold, all the silver, and all the copper should give out, that would not injure me in the least. And if an earthquake

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<sup>5</sup> of before τοῖς deleted by Reiske.

ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ, καθάπερ ἐν Σπάρτῃ ποτέ, καὶ πάντα διαφθαρῇ τὰ πρόβατα, ὥς μηδένα ἐσθῆτος εὐπορῆσαι, μὴ μόνον δὲ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Βοιωτίαν καὶ Πελοπόννησον καὶ Θετταλίαν ἀπορία καταλάβῃ, ὥσπερ ἤδη πρότερόν φασιν, οὐδὲν  
 62 ἐγὼ χεῖρον οὐδὲ ἀπορώτερον βιώσομαι. παρὰ πόσον μὲν γὰρ ἔσομαι γυμνότερος τοῦ νῦν, πόσῳ δὲ ἀοικότερος; ἱκανὰ δέ μοι τροφὴν παρασχεῖν καὶ μῆλα καὶ κέγχροι καὶ κριθαὶ καὶ ὄροβοι καὶ τὰ εὐτελέστατα τῶν ὀσπρίων καὶ φηγὸς ὑπὸ τῇ τέφρᾳ καὶ ὁ τῆς κραιεΐας καρπός, ἣ φησιν Ὅμηρος εὐωχεῖν τοὺς τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύος ἐταίρους τὴν Κίρκην, ὑφ' ᾧν ἀντέχει τρεφόμενα καὶ τὰ μέγιστα θηρία.

## THE SIXTH DISCOURSE: DIOGENES

lays all the houses low as happened once in Sparta,<sup>1</sup> and all the sheep are killed so that not a single man has wherewithal to clothe himself, and want overwhelms not only Attica but Boeotia as well and the Peloponnesus and Thessaly, as it is said to have done aforetime, I shall fare none the worse nor be the more destitute. For how much more naked shall I be than I am now, how much more homeless? I shall find all the food I need in apples, millet, barley, vetches, the cheapest of lentils, acorns roasted in the ashes, and cornel-berries, on which Homer<sup>2</sup> says Circe feasted Odysseus' comrades and on which even the largest animals can subsist."

<sup>1</sup> In 464 B.C. an earthquake is said to have killed 20,000 people and left only five houses standing in Sparta.

<sup>2</sup> Homer, *Odyssey* 10. 241-3.



## THE SEVENTH OR EUBOEAN DISCOURSE

The seventh Discourse belongs to the later period of Dio's life, as the reference to himself as an old man and the style show. It seems to have been delivered in Rome.

This Discourse falls naturally into two parts: first, the story of the simple hunters in the wilds of Euboea—a very popular one that at an early period is separated from the rest of the Discourse—second, a description of the life Dio would have the poor lead in the cities and the difficulties they have to contend with, and, finally, of the social evils that should be remedied.

The portrayal of the conditions in the country and in the cities of his time is very instructive for the historian who would become acquainted with that period of history and gain some insight into the causes that led to the downfall of the Roman Empire.

## 7. ΕΥΒΟΙΚΟΣ Η ΚΤΝΗΓΟΣ

- 1 Τόδε μὲν αὐτὸς ἰδὼν, οὐ παρ' ἐτέρων ἀκούσας, διηγῆσομαι. ἴσως γὰρ οὐ μόνον πρεσβυτικὸν πολυλογία καὶ τὸ μηδένα διωθεῖσθαι ῥαδίως τῶν ἐπιπτόντων λόγων, πρὸς δὲ τῷ πρεσβυτικῷ τυχὸν ἂν εἴη καὶ ἀλητικόν. αἴτιον δέ, ὅτι πολλὰ τυχὸν ἀμφοτέροι πεπόνθασιν ὧν οὐκ ἀηδῶς μέμνηται. ἐρῶ δ' οὖν οἷοις ἀνδράσι καὶ ὄντινα βίον ζῶσι συνέβαλον ἐν μέσῃ σχεδὸν τι τῇ Ἑλλάδι.
- 2 Ἐτύγχανον μὲν ἀπὸ Χίου περαιούμενος μετὰ τινων ἀλιέων ἔξω τῆς θερυνῆς ὥρας ἐν μικρῷ παντελῶς ἀκατίῳ. χειμῶνος δὲ γενομένου χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις διεσώθημεν πρὸς τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίας· τὸ μὲν δὴ ἀκάτιον εἰς τραχύν τινα αἰγιαλὸν ὑπὸ τοῖς κρημνοῖς ἐκβαλόντες διέφθειραν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀπεχώρησαν πρὸς τινας πορφυρεῖς ὑφορμοῦντας ἐπὶ τῇ πλησίον χηλῇ, κίκεινοις
- 3 συνεργάζεσθαι διανοοῦντο αὐτοῦ μένοντες. καταλειφθεὶς δὴ μόνος, οὐκ ἔχων εἰς τίνα πόλιν σωθήσομαι, παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν ἄλλως ἐπλανώ-

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<sup>1</sup> The description corresponds to that of the southern part of Euboea, so called ἡ ἐκτεταμένη, the inward bend made by the coastline. A part of the Persian fleet was destroyed there after the battle of Artemisium. See Herod. 8. 14, Strabo 10, p. 445.

## THE EUBOEAN DISCOURSE, OR THE HUNTER

I SHALL now relate a personal experience of mine; not merely something I have heard from others. Perhaps, indeed, it is quite natural for an old man to be garrulous and reluctant to drop any subject that occurs to him, and possibly this is just as true of the wanderer as of the old man. The reason, I dare say, is that both have had many experiences that they find considerable pleasure in recalling. Anyhow I shall describe the character and manner of life of some people that I met in practically the centre of Greece.

It chanced that at the close of the summer season I was crossing from Chios with some fishermen in a very small boat, when such a storm arose that we had great difficulty in reaching the Hollows of Euboea<sup>1</sup> in safety. The crew ran their boat up a rough beach under the cliffs, where it was wrecked, and then went off to a company of purple-fishers<sup>2</sup> whose vessel was anchored in the shelter of the spur of rocks near by, and they planned to stay there and work along with them. So I was left alone, and not knowing of any town in which to seek shelter, I wandered aimlessly along the shore

<sup>2</sup> Men who dredged up the shell-fish from which the purple dye was made.



- μην, εἴ ποὺ τινὰς ἢ παραπλέοντας ἢ ὀρμούντας ἴδοιμι. προεληλυθὼς δὲ συχρὸν ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδένα ἑώρων· ἐπιτυγχάνω δὲ ἐλάφῳ νεωστὶ κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ πεπτωκότι παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ῥαχίαν, ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων παιομένῳ, φυσῶντι ἔτι. καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἔδοξα ὑλακῆς ἀκούσαι κυνῶν ἀνωθεν μόλις πῶς διὰ τὸν ἦχον τὸν ἀπὸ 4 τῆς θαλάττης. προελθὼν δὲ καὶ προβὰς πάνυ χαλεπῶς πρὸς τι ὑψηλὸν τοὺς τε κύνας ὀρῶ ἠπορημένους καὶ διαθέοντας, ὑφ' ὧν εἵκαζον ἀποβιασθὲν τὸ ζῶον ἀλέσθαι κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ἄνδρα, κυνηγέτην ἀπὸ τῆς ὕψεως καὶ τῆς στολῆς, τὰ γένεια ὑγιῇ κομῶντα οὐ φαύλως οὐδὲ ἀγεννῶς ἐξόπισθεν, οἷους ἐπὶ Ἰλίου Ὅμηρός φησιν ἐλθεῖν Εὐβοέας, σκώπτων, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, καὶ καταγελῶν ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων Ἀχαιῶν καλῶς ἐχόντων οἷδε ἐξ ἡμίσεως ἐκόμων.
- 5 Καὶ ὃς ἀνηρώτα με, Ἄλλ' ἦ, ὦ ξεῖνε, τῇδέ που φεύγοντα ἔλαφον κατενόησας; καὶ γὰρ πρὸς αὐτόν, Ἐκεῖνος, ἔφην, ἐν τῷ κλύδωνι ἤδη· καὶ ἀγαγὼν ἔδειξα. ἐλκύσας οὖν αὐτόν ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης τό τε δέρμα ἐξέδειρε μαχαίρᾳ, κάμου ξυλλαμβάνοντος ὅσον οἶός τε ἦν, καὶ τῶν σκελῶν ἀποτεμὼν τὰ ὀπίσθια ἐκόμιζεν ἅμα τῷ δέρματι. παρεκάλει δὲ καμὲ συνακολουθεῖν καὶ συνεστιᾶ- 6 σθαι τῶν κρεῶν· εἶναι δὲ οὐ μακρὰν τὴν οἴκησιν. Ἐπειτα ἑώθεν παρ' ἡμῖν, ἔφη, κοιμηθεὶς ἦξαι ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν, ὥς τά γε νῦν οὐκ ἔστι πλοίμα. καὶ μὴ τοῦτο, εἶπε, φοβηθῆς. βουλοίμην δ' ἂν

<sup>1</sup> See *Iliad* 2. 536, 542. The Abantes mentioned by Homer were the ancient inhabitants of Euboea.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

on the chance that I might find some boat sailing by or riding at anchor. I had gone on a considerable distance without seeing anybody when I chanced upon a deer that had just fallen over the cliff and lay in the wash of the breakers, lapped by the waves and still breathing. And soon I thought I heard the barking of dogs above, but not clearly, owing to the roar of the sea. On going forward and gaining an elevated position with great difficulty, I saw the dogs baffled, running to and fro, and inferred that their quarry, being hard pressed by them, had jumped over the cliff. Then, soon after, I saw a man, a hunter, to judge by his appearance and dress; he wore a beard on his healthy face, and not simply hair at the back of his head in mean and base fashion, as Homer says the Euboeans did<sup>1</sup> when they went against Troy, mocking and ridiculing them, it seems to me, because, while the other Greeks there made a good appearance, they had hair on only half the head.

Now this man hailed me, saying, "Stranger, have you seen a deer running anywhere hereabouts?" And I replied, "Yonder it is this minute, in the surf," and I took him and showed it to him. So he dragged it out of the sea, ripped off the skin with his knife while I lent a helping hand as best I could. Then, after cutting off the hind quarters, he was about to carry them away along with the hide, when he invited me to come along and dine upon the venison with him, adding that his dwelling was not far away. "And then in the morning," he continued, "after you have rested with us, you shall come back to the sea, since the present is no weather for sailing. Yet do not worry about that,"

ἔγωγε καὶ μετὰ πέντε ἡμέρας λῆξαι τὸν ἄνεμον·  
 ἀλλ' οὐ ῥάδιον, εἶπεν, ὅταν οὕτως πιεσθῇ τὰ  
 ἄκρα τῆς Εὐβοίας ὑπὸ τῶν νεφῶν ὥς γε νῦν  
 κατειλημμένα ὄρᾳς. καὶ ἅμα ἠρώτα με ὀπόθεν  
 δὴ καὶ ὅπως ἐκεῖ κατηνέχθην, καὶ εἰ μὴ διεφθάρη  
 τὸ πλοῖον. Μικρὸν ἦν παντελῶς, ἔφη, ἰλιέων  
 τινῶν περαιουμένων, καὶ γὰρ μόνος ξυνέπλεον ὑπὸ  
 7 σπουδῆς τινος. διεφθάρη δ' ὅμως ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν  
 ἐκπεσόν. Οὐκ οὐν ῥάδιον, ἔφη, ἄλλως· ὅρα γὰρ  
 ὥς ἄγρια καὶ σκληρὰ τῆς νήσου τὰ πρὸς τὸ  
 πέλαγος. Ταῦτ', εἶπεν, ἐστὶ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς  
 Εὐβοίας λεγόμενα, ὅπου κατενεχθεῖσα ἡμεῖς οὐκ  
 ἂν ἔτι σωθείη· σπανίως δὲ σφύζονται καὶ τῶν  
 ἀνθρώπων τινές, εἰ μὴ ἄρα, ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς, ἐλαφροὶ  
 παντελῶς πλέοντες. ἀλλ' ἴθι καὶ μηδὲν δείσης.  
 νῦν μὲν ἐκ τῆς κακοπαθείας ἀνακτίσῃ σαυτὸν·  
 εἰς αὐριον δέ, ὃ τι ἂν ᾖ δυνατόν, ἐπιμελησόμεθα  
 8 ὅπως σωθῆς, ἐπειδὴ σε ἔγνωμεν ἄπαξ. δοκεῖς  
 δέ μοι τῶν ἀστικῶν εἶναί τις, οὐ ναύτης οὐδ'  
 ἐργάτης, ἀλλὰ πολλήν<sup>1</sup> τινα ἀσθένειαν τοῦ  
 σώματος ἀσθενεῖν ἔοικας ἀπὸ τῆς ἰσχνότητος.  
 Ἐγὼ δὲ ἄσμενος ἠκολούθουν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπι-  
 βουλευθῆναί ποτε ἔδεισα, οὐδὲν ἔχων ἢ φαῦλον  
 9 ἱμάτιον. καὶ πολλάκις μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοτε  
 ἐπειράθην ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καιροῖς, ἅτε ἐν ἄλλῃ  
 συνεχεῖ, ἀτὰρ οὖν δὴ καὶ τότε, ὥς ἐστι πενία  
 χρήμα τῷ ὄντι ἱερὸν καὶ ἄσυλον, καὶ οὐδεὶς  
 ἀδικεῖ, πολὺ γε ἡπτόν ἢ τοὺς τὰ κηρύκεια ἔχον-  
 10 τας· ὥς δὴ καὶ τότε θαρρῶν εἰπύμην. ἦν<sup>2</sup> δὲ  
 290

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

he continued, "I should be content to have the wind die down after full five days, but that is not likely when the peaks of the Euboean mountains are so capped with clouds as you see them now." And at the same time he asked me whence I came, how I had landed there, and whether the boat had not been wrecked. "It was a very small one," I replied, "belonging to some fishermen who were crossing over, and I, their only passenger, sailed with them on urgent business, but all the same it ran aground and was wrecked." "Well, it could not easily have been otherwise," he replied; "for see, how wild and rugged the part of the island is that faces the sea. These are what they call the Hollows of Euboea, where a ship is doomed if it is driven ashore, and rarely are any of those aboard saved either, unless, of course, like you they sail in a very light craft. But come and have no fear. To-day you shall rest after your trying experience, but to-morrow we shall do our best to get you out safely, now that we have come to know you. You look to me like a man from the city, not a sailor or worker on the land, nay, you seem to be suffering from some grievous infirmity of body, to judge by your leanness."

I followed him gladly without fear of any treachery, since I had nothing but a shabby cloak. Now I had often found in other situations like this—for I was continually roaming about—and I certainly did in this one, that poverty is in reality a sacred and inviolable thing and no one wrongs you; yes, much less than they wrong those who carry the herald's wand.

<sup>1</sup> πολλήν Arnim: ἄλλην.

<sup>2</sup> ἄτε ἔχων οὐδὲν ἢ φαῦλον ἰμάτιον before ἦν deleted by Reiske.

σχεδόν τι περὶ τετταράκοντα στάδια πρὸς τὸ χωρίον.

- Ὡς οὖν ἐβαδίζομεν, διηγεῖτό μοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὰ αὐτοῦ πράγματα καὶ τὸν βίον ὃν ἔζη μετὰ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ παίδων. Ἡμεῖς γάρ, ἔφη, δύο ἐσμέν, ὦ ξένε, τὸν αὐτὸν οἰκοῦντες τόπον. ἔχομεν δὲ γυναῖκας ἀλλήλων ἀδελφὰς καὶ παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῶν υἱοὺς καὶ θυγατέρας.
- 11 ζῶμεν δὲ ἀπὸ θήρας ὡς τὸ πολὺ, μικρόν τι τῆς γῆς ἐπεργαζόμενοι. τὸ γὰρ χωρίον οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμέτερον οὔτε πατρῷον οὔτε ἡμεῖς ἐκτησάμεθα, ἀλλὰ ἦσαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐλεύθεροι μὲν, πένιητες δὲ οὐχ ἥττον ἡμῶν, μισθοῦ βουκόλοι, βοὺς νέμοντες ἀνδρὸς μακαρίου τῶν ἐνθένδε τινὸς ἐκ τῆς νήσου, πολλὰς μὲν ἀγέλας καὶ ἵππων καὶ βοῶν κεκτημένου, πολλὰς δὲ ποίμνας, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ καλοὺς<sup>1</sup> ἀγρούς, πολλὰ δὲ ἄλλα χρήματα, ξύμ-
- 12 παντα δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ὄρη. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀποθανόντος καὶ τῆς οὐσίας δημευθείσης—φασὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπολέσθαι διὰ τὰ χρήματα ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως—τὴν μὲν ἀγέλην εὐθύς ἀπήλασαν ὥστε κατακόψαι, πρὸς δὲ τῇ ἀγέλῃ καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἅττα βοῖδια, καὶ
- 13 τὸν μισθὸν οὐδεὶς ἀποδέδωκε. τότε μὲν δὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης αὐτοῦ κατεμείναμεν, οὐπερ ἐτύχομεν τὰς βοὺς ἔχοντες καὶ τινὰς σκηνὰς πεποιημένοι καὶ αὐλὴν διὰ ξύλων οὐ μεγάλην οὐδὲ ἰσχυράν, μόσχων ἕνεκεν, ὡς ἂν οἶμαι πρὸς αὐτό που τὸ θέρος. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ χειμῶνος ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ἐνέμομεν, νομὴν ἱκανὴν ἔχοντες καὶ πολλὴν χιλὸν ἀποκείμενον· τοῦ δὲ θέρους ἀπηλαύνομεν εἰς τὰ

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf : καλοὺς δὲ καὶ πολλοὺς.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

And so I followed without misgiving on this occasion. And it was about five miles to his place.

As we proceeded on our way he told me of his circumstances and how he lived with his wife and children. "There are two of us, stranger," he said, "who live in the same place. Each is married to a sister of the other, and we have children by them, sons and daughters. We live by the chase for the most part and work but a small bit of land. You see, the place does not belong to us: we did not inherit it or get it by our own efforts. Our fathers, though free, were just as poor as we are—hired herdsmen tending the cattle of a wealthy man, one of the residents of the island here, a man who owned many droves of horses and cattle, many flocks, many good fields too and many other possessions together with all these hills. Now when he died and his property was confiscated—they say he was put to death by the emperor<sup>1</sup> for his wealth—they at once drove off his stock to be butchered, and in addition to his stock our own few cattle, and, as for our wages, no one has ever paid them. At that time, then, we<sup>2</sup> stayed of necessity at the place where we happened to have had our cattle and had built certain huts and an enclosure of palings for the calves, not very large or strong—just what would do for the summer, I suppose; for in the winter we grazed our cattle in the flat lands, where we had plenty of pasturage and a good deal of hay put up; but in the summer we would drive them into

<sup>1</sup> Domitian.

<sup>2</sup> The word "we" refers to the two herdsmen left behind after the confiscation, and their families, of one of which the speaker was a member.

καὶ πρῶ, συνιστάμενοι ὑλάκτουν τε καὶ ἡμυνον, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ἐμάχοντο. γευόμενοι δὲ τοῦ αἵματος καὶ συῶν καὶ ἐλάφων καὶ τῶν κρεῶν πολλάκις ἐσθίουντες, ὁψὲ μεταμανθάνοντες κρέασιν ἀντὶ μάξης ἡδεσθαι, τῶν μὲν ἐμπιπλάμενοι εἴ ποτε ἀλοίη τι,<sup>1</sup> ὁπότε δὲ μὴ, πεινῶντες, μᾶλλον ἤδη τῷ τοιούτῳ προσεῖχον καὶ τὸ φαινόμενον ἐδίωκον πᾶν ὁμοίως, καὶ ὁσμῆς ἀμηγέπη καὶ ἴχνους ᾗσθάνοντο, καὶ ἀπέβησαν ἀντὶ βουκόλων τοιούτοί τινες ὀψιμαθεῖς καὶ βραδύτεροι θηρευταί.

- 18 Χειμῶνος δὲ ἐπελθόντος ἔργον μὲν οὐδὲν ἦν πεφηνὸς αὐτοῖς οὔτε εἰς ἄστνυ καταβάσιν οὔτε εἰς κώμην τινά· φραζάμενοι δὲ τὰς σκηναὺς ἐπιμελέστερον καὶ τὴν αὐλὴν πυκνοτέραν ποιήσαντες, οὕτως διεγένοντο, καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐκείνο πᾶν εἰργάσαντο, καὶ τῆς θήρας ἡ χειμερινὴ ῥᾶν
- 19 ἐγίγνετο. τὰ γὰρ ἴχνη φανερώτερα, ὥς ἂν ἐν ὑγρῷ τῷ ἐδάφει σημαινόμενα· ἡ δὲ χιὼν καὶ πάννυ τηλαυγὴ παρέχει, ὥστε οὐδὲν δεῖ ζητοῦντα πράγματα ἔχειν, ὥσπερ ὁδοῦ φερούσης ἐπ' αὐτά, καὶ τὰ θηρία μᾶλλον τι ὑπομένει ὀκνοῦντα· ἔστι δ' ἔτι καὶ λαγῶς καὶ δορκάδας ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς
- 20 καταλαμβάνειν. οὕτως δὴ τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνου διέμειναν, οὐδὲν ἔτι προσδεθέντες ἄλλου βίου. καὶ ἡμῖν συνέξευξαν γυναῖκας τοῖς ἀλλήλων υἱέσιν ἐκάτερος τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα. τεθνήκασι δὲ ἀμφοτέροι πέρυσσι σχεδόν, τὰ μὲν ἔτη πολλὰ λέγοντες<sup>2</sup> ἃ βεβιώκεσαν, ἰσχυροὶ δὲ ἔτι καὶ νέοι καὶ γενναῖοι τὰ σώματα. τῶν δὲ μητέρων ἡ ἐμὴ περίεστιν.

<sup>1</sup> σίτου after τι, deleted by Emperius.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

late, they would rally to the attack, barking and fending him off, as if they were fighting a man. And so, from tasting the blood of boars and deer and often eating their flesh, they changed their habits late in life and learned to like meat instead of barley-bread, gorging themselves with it whenever any game was caught and going hungry otherwise, till they finally gave more attention to the chase, pursued with equal zest every animal they sighted, began to pick up the scent and trails in some way or other, and thus changed from shepherd dogs into a sort of late-trained and rather slow hunting dogs.

“Then when winter came on, there was no work in sight for the men whether they came down to town or to a village. So after making their huts tighter and the yard fence closer, they managed to get along and worked the whole of that plot, and the winter hunting proved easier. The tracks were naturally clearer, because printed on the damp ground, and the snow made them visible at a great distance, so that there was no need of a troublesome search, since a high-road, as it were, led to them, and the quarry was sluggish and waited longer. It is possible, besides, to catch hares and gazelles in their lairs. In this way, then, our fathers lived from that time on, no longer having any desire for a different kind of life. And they married us their sons to wives, each giving his own daughter. The two old men died about a year ago, counting the many years they had lived, but being still strong and youthful and vigorous of body. Of the mothers mine is yet living.

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<sup>2</sup> λέγοντες Reiske: ἔλεγον.



- 21 Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἕτερος ἡμῶν οὐδεπώποτε εἰς πόλιν κατέβη, πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονώς· ἐγὼ δὲ δις μόνον, ἅπαξ μὲν ἔτι παῖς μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὀπηνίκα τὴν ἀγέλην εἶχομεν· ὕστερον δὲ ἡκέ τις ἀργύριον αἰτῶν, ὥσπερ ἔχοντάς τι, κελεύων ἀκολουθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἡμῖν δὲ ἀργύριον μὲν οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλ' ἀπωμοσάμην μὴ ἔχειν· εἰ δὲ μή, 22 δεδωκέναι ἄν. ἐξετίσαμεν δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς ἡδυνάμεθα κάλλιστα<sup>1</sup> καὶ δύο ἐλάφεια δέρματα ἐδώκαμεν· καὶ γὰρ ἡκολούθησα εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἔφη γὰρ ἀνάγκη εἶναι τὸν ἕτερον ἐλθεῖν καὶ διδάξαι περὶ τούτων.

- Εἶδον οὖν, οἷα καὶ πρότερον, οἰκίας πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας καὶ τεῖχος ἕξωθεν καρτερόν καὶ οἰκήματά τινα ὑψηλὰ καὶ τετράγωνα ἐν τῷ τείχει,<sup>2</sup> καὶ πλοῖα πολλὰ ὀρμοῦντα 23 ὥσπερ ἐν λίμνῃ<sup>3</sup> κατὰ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν. τοῦτο δὲ ἐνθάδε οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδαμοῦ ὅπου κατηνέχθης· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αἱ νῆες ἀπόλλυνται. ταῦτα οὖν ἐώρων καὶ πολλὴν ὄχλον ἐν ταύτῃ<sup>4</sup> συνειργμένον καὶ θόρυβον ἀμήχανον καὶ κραυγὴν, ὥστε ἐμοὶ ἐδόκουν πάντες μάχεσθαι ἀλλήλοις. ἄγει οὖν με πρὸς τινὰς ἄρχοντας καὶ εἶπε γελῶν, Οὗτός ἐστιν ἐφ' ὃν με ἐπέμψατε. ἔχει δὲ οὐδὲν εἰ μὴ γε τὴν κόμην καὶ σκηνὴν μάλα ἰσχυρῶν ξύλων. 24 οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐβάδιζον, καὶ γὰρ σὺν αὐτοῖς. τὸ δὲ θέατρον ἔστιν ὥσπερ φάραγξ κοῖλον, πλὴν οὐ μακρὸν ἐκατέρωθεν, ἀλλὰ στρογγύλον ἐξ ἡμίσεως, οὐκ αὐτόματον, ἀλλ' ὠκοδομη-

<sup>1</sup> κάλλιστα Dindorf: μάλιστα.

<sup>2</sup> τοὺς πύργους after τεῖχει deleted by Geel.

<sup>3</sup> ἐν τῇ λιμένι after λίμνη deleted by Cobet.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

" Now the other one of us has never yet been to town, though he is fifty years old, and I only twice—once when I was still a boy, with my father, when we had the cattle; and later on a man came demanding money, under the impression that we had some, and bade us follow him to the city. Now we had no money and swore on oath that we had not, adding that otherwise we would have given it. We entertained him as best we could and gave him two deerskins, and I followed him to the city;<sup>1</sup> for he said it was necessary for one of us to go and explain this matter.

" Now, as on my former trip, I saw many large houses and a strong surrounding wall with a number of lofty square structures<sup>2</sup> on the wall and many boats lying in complete calm at anchor in a lake as it were. There is nothing like that anywhere here where you put in, and that is why the ships are wrecked. Now that is what I saw, and a big crowd herded in together and a tremendous uproar and shouting, so that I thought they were all fighting with one another. Well, he brought me before certain magistrates and said with a laugh, 'This is the man you sent me for. He has nothing but his long hair and a hut of very strong timber.' Then the officials went into the theatre<sup>3</sup> and I with them. The theatre is hollow like a ravine, except that it is not long in two directions but semi-circular, and not natural but built of stone. But

<sup>1</sup> Carystus or Chalcis is thought of. <sup>2</sup> *i.e.* towers.

<sup>3</sup> Theatres were common all over Greece, and public meetings were generally held in them. Cf. *Acts* 19, 29 f.

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<sup>4</sup> ταύτη Reiske: ταύτη.

## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

μένον λίθοις. ἴσως δέ μου καταγελάς ὅτι σοι διηγοῦμαι σαφῶς εἰδότι ταῦτα.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν πολὺν τινα χρόνον ἄλλα τινα ἔπραττεν ὁ ὄχλος, καὶ ἐβόων ποτὲ μὲν πράως καὶ ἱλαροὶ πάντες, ἐπαινοῦντές τινας, ποτὲ δὲ  
 25 σφόδρα καὶ ὀργίλως. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο χαλεπὸν τὸ τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτῶν· καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εὐθὺς ἐξέπληττον οἷς ἀνέκραγον, ὥστε οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν περιτρέχοντες ἐδέοντο, οἱ δὲ τὰ ἱμάτια ἐρρίπτουν ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἅπαξ ὀλίγου κατέπεσον ὑπὸ τῆς κραυγῆς, ὥσπερ κλύδωνος  
 26 ἐξαίφνης ἢ βροντῆς ἐπιρραγείσης. ἄλλοι δὲ τινες ἀνθρωποὶ παριόντες, οἱ δ' ἐκ μέσων ἀνιστάμενοι, διελέγοντο πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, οἱ μὲν ὀλίγα ῥήματα, οἱ δὲ πολλοὺς λόγους. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἤκουον πολὺν τινα χρόνον, τοῖς δὲ ἐχαλέπαινον εὐθὺς φθεγξαμένοις καὶ οὐδὲ γρύζειν ἐπέτρεπον.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καθέστασάν ποτε καὶ ἡσυχία ἐγένετο,  
 27 παρήγαγον καὶ μέ. καὶ εἶπέ τις, Οὗτός ἐστιν, ὃ ἄνδρες, τῶν καρπουμένων τὴν δημοσίαν γῆν πολλὰ ἔτη οὐ μόνον αὐτός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ πρότερον, καὶ κατανέμουσι τὰ ἡμέτερα ὄρη καὶ γεωργοῦσι καὶ θηρεύουσι καὶ οἰκίας ἐνφοδομήκασι πολλὰς καὶ ἀμπέλους ἐμπεφυτεύκασι καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἔχουσιν ἀγαθὰ οὔτε τιμὴν καταβαλόντες οὐδενὶ τῆς γῆς οὔτε δωρεὰν παρὰ τοῦ  
 28 δήμου λαβόντες. ὑπὲρ τίνος γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἔλαβον; ἔχοντες δὲ τὰ ἡμέτερα καὶ πλουτοῦντες οὔτε

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

perhaps you are laughing at me for telling you what you know perfectly well.

“ Now at first the crowd deliberated on other matters for a considerable while, and they kept up a shouting, at one time in gentle fashion and all of them in cheerful mood, as they applauded certain speakers, but at other times with vehemence and in wrath. This wrath of theirs was something terrible, and they at once frightened the men against whom they raised their voices, so that some of them ran about begging for mercy, while others threw off their cloaks through fear. I too myself was once almost knocked over by the shouting, as though a tidal wave or thunder-storm had suddenly broken over me. And other men would come forward, or stand up where they were, and address the multitude, sometimes using a few words, at other times making long speeches. To some of these they would listen for quite a long time, but at others they were angry as soon as they opened their mouths, and they would not let them so much as cheep.

“ But when they finally settled down and there was quiet, they brought me forward. And someone cried out, ‘ This man, sirs, is one of the fellows who have been enjoying the use of our public land for many years, and not only he but his father before him. They graze their cattle on our mountains, farm and hunt, have built many houses, have set out vines, and enjoy many other advantages without paying rent to anybody for the land or ever having received it from the people as a gift. For what, pray, would they ever have received it? And though they occupy what is ours and are wealthy, yet they have

## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

- λειτουργίαν πώποτε ἐλειτούργησαν οὐδεμίαν οὔτε  
 μοῖράν τινα ὑποτελοῦσι τῶν γιγνομένων, ἀλλ'  
 ἀτελεῖς καὶ ἀλειτούργητοι διατελοῦσιν, ὥσπερ  
 εὐεργέται τῆς πόλεως. οἶμαι δέ, ἔφη, μηδὲ  
 29 ἐληλυθέναι πώποτε αὐτοὺς ἐνθάδε. καὶ γὰρ ἰνέ-  
 νευσα. ὁ δὲ ὄχλος ἐγέλασεν ὡς εἶδε. καὶ ὁ λέγων  
 ἐκεῖνος ὠργίσθη ἐπὶ τῷ γέλωτι καὶ μοι ἐλοιδο-  
 ρεῖτο. ἔπειτα ἐπιστρέψας, Εἰ οὖν, ἔφη, δοκεῖ ταῦτα  
 οὕτως, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιμεν ἅπαντες τὰ κοινὰ διαρ-  
 πάσαντες, οἱ μὲν τὰ χρήματα τῆς πόλεως, ὥσπερ  
 ἀμέλει καὶ νῦν ποιοῦσί τινες, οἱ δὲ τὴν χώραν  
 κατανειμάμενοι μὴ πείσαντες ὑμᾶς, ἐὰν ἐπιτρέ-  
 ψητε τοῖς θηρίοις τούτοις προῖκα ἔχειν πλέον ἢ  
 χίλια πλέθρα γῆς τῆς ἀρίστης, ὅθεν ὑμῖν ἔστι  
 τρεῖς χοίνικας Ἀττικὰς σίτου λαμβάνειν κατ'  
 ἄνδρα.  
 30 Ἐγὼ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐγέλασα ὅσον ἐδυνάμην  
 μέγιστον. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος οὐκέτ' ἐγέλων, ὥσπερ  
 πρότερον, ἀλλ' ἐθορύβουν. ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος<sup>1</sup>  
 ἐχαλέπαινε καὶ δεινὸν ἐμβλέψας εἰς ἐμὲ εἶπεν,  
 Ὅρατε τὴν εἰρωνείαν καὶ τὴν ὕβριν τοῦ  
 καθάρματος, ὡς καταγελαῖ πάννυ θρασέως; ὃν  
 ἀπάγειν ὀλίγου δέω καὶ τὸν κοινωνὸν αὐτοῦ.  
 πυνθάνομαι γὰρ δύο εἶναι τοὺς κορυφαίους τῶν  
 κατειληφόντων ἅπασαν σχεδὸν τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι  
 31 χώραν. οἶμαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς μηδὲ τῶν ναναγίων

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

never performed any public service, nor do they pay any tax on what they make, but live free from taxes and public services as though they were benefactors of the city. Yes, and I believe,' he continued, 'that they have never come here before.' I shook my head,<sup>1</sup> and the crowd laughed when they saw. This laughing enraged the speaker and he abused me roundly. Then turning toward the audience once more, he said, 'Well, then, if these doings meet with your approval, we had all better lose no time in looting the public property, some of us taking the city's money, just as certain individuals are even now doing, no doubt, and others squatting upon the land without your consent, if you are going to let these backwoodsmen hold without payment more than 250 acres of the best land, from which you might get three Attic measures<sup>2</sup> of grain per head.'

"When I heard this, I laughed as loud as I could. The crowd, however, did not laugh as before but became very noisy, while the fellow grew angry, and giving me a fierce look, said, 'Do you see the deceitfulness and impudence of the scamp and how insolently he mocks me? I have a mind to have him and his partner dragged off to prison; for I understand that there are two ringleaders of this gang that has seized practically all the land in the mountains. Yes, and I do not believe they keep

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "threw my head up (or back)." With the Greeks this indicated denial or dissent just as shaking the head does with us.

<sup>2</sup> The Attic measure or *choenix* was nearly a quart.

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<sup>1</sup> δ ῥήτωρ after ἄνθρωπος deleted by Cobet.

- ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἐκάστοτε ἐκπιπτόντων, ὑπὲρ αὐτὰς σχεδόν τι τὰς Καφηρίδας οἰκοῦντας. πόθεν γὰρ οὕτως πολυτελείς ἀγρούς, μᾶλλον δὲ ὅλας κώμας κατεσκευάσαντο καὶ τοσοῦτον πληῆθος βοσκημάτων καὶ ζεύγη καὶ ἀνδράποδα ;
- 32 καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ ἴσως ὁρᾶτε αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐξωμίδα ὡς φαύλη καὶ τὸ δέρμα ὃ ἐλήλυθε δεῦρο ἐναψάμενος τῆς ὑμετέρας ἔνεκεν ἀπάτης, ὡς πτωχὸς δῆλον ὅτι καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχων. ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, βλέπων αὐτὸν μικροῦ δέδοικα, ὥσπερ οἶμαι τὸν Ναύπλιον ὁρῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καφηρέως ἤκοντα. καὶ γὰρ οἶμαι πυρσεύειν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τοῖς πλέουσιν
- 33 ὅπως ἐκπίπτωσιν εἰς τὰς πέτρας. ταῦτα δὲ ἐκείνου λέγοντος καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις, ὁ μὲν ὄχλος ἡγριοῦτο· ἐγὼ δὲ ἠπόρουν καὶ ἐδεδοίκειν μὴ τί με ἐργάσωνται κακόν.

- Παρελθὼν δὲ ἄλλος τις, ὡς ἐφαίνετο, ἐπιεικὴς ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ τε τῶν λόγων οὓς εἶπε καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος, πρῶτον μὲν ἡξίου σιωπῆσαι τὸ πληῆθος· καὶ ἐσιώπησαν· ἔπειτα εἶπε τῇ φωνῇ πράως ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦσιν οἱ τὴν ἀργὴν τῆς χώρας ἐργαζόμενοι καὶ κατασκευάζοντες, ἀλλὰ
- 34 τοῦναντίον ἐπαίνου δικαίως ἂν τυγχάνοιεν· καὶ δεῖ μὴ τοῖς οἰκοδομοῦσι καὶ φυτεύουσι τὴν δημοσίαν γῆν χαλεπῶς ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς καταφθείρουσιν. ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, σχεδόν τι τὰ δύο μέρη τῆς χώρας ἡμῶν ἔρημά<sup>1</sup> ἐστὶ δι' ἀμέλειαν τε δι' καὶ ὀλιγανθρωπίαν. κἀγὼ πολλὰ κέκτημαι

<sup>1</sup> ἔρημα Pflugk: ὀρεινά.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

their hands off the wrecks that are cast up from time to time, living as they do almost above the rocks off Cape Caphereus.<sup>1</sup> Where, otherwise, did they get such valuable fields, nay, rather, entire villages, and such numbers of cattle and draught animals and slaves? Perhaps, too, you note how poor his blouse is and the skin he put on to come here in order to deceive you with the notion that he is evidently a beggar and has nothing. For my part, said he, when I look at him, I am almost frightened, as I fancy I should be if I saw Nauplius<sup>2</sup> come from Caphereus. I believe he flashes mariners a signal from the heights so as to decoy them on to the rocks.' While he said this and much more besides, the crowd grew ugly, while I was sore perplexed and afraid they might do me some mischief.

"Then another person came forward, a good kindly man, to judge from the words he spoke and from his appearance. He first asked the people to be silent, and they became silent, and then in a quiet tone he said that they who tilled the country's idle land and got it into shape did no wrong, but, on the contrary, deserved commendation. They should not be angry at those who built upon public land and planted trees upon it, but at those who injured it. 'At this moment, sirs,' he said, 'almost two-thirds of our land is a wilderness because of neglect and lack of population. I too own many acres, as I imagine

<sup>1</sup> A rocky dangerous promontory at the south-east corner of Euboea.

<sup>2</sup> King of Euboea. In revenge for the death of his son Palamedes at Troy through the treachery of Odysseus, he lighted beacon fires on the promontory as the Greeks were returning and lured many of their ships to destruction.



- πλέθρα, ὥσπερ οἶμαι καὶ ἄλλος τις, οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πεδινοῖς, ἃ εἴ τις ἐθέλοι γεωργεῖν, οὐ μόνον ἂν προῖκα δοίην, ἀλλὰ
- 35 καὶ ἀργύριον ἡδέως προστελέσαιμι. δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ἐμοὶ πλέονος ἀξία γίνεται, καὶ ἅμα ἡδὺ ὄραμα χώρα οἰκουμένη καὶ ἐνεργός· ἢ δ' ἔρημος οὐ μόνον ἀνωφελὲς κτῆμα τοῖς ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα ἐλεεινόν τε καὶ δυστυχίαν τινὰ κατηγο-
- 36 ροῦν τῶν δεσποτῶν. ὥστε μοι δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ἐτέρους προτρέπειν, ὅσους ἂν δύνησθε τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐργάζεσθαι τῆς δημοσίας γῆς ἀπολαβόντας, τοὺς μὲν ἀφορμὴν τινα ἔχοντας πλείω, τοὺς δὲ πένητας, ὅσην ἂν ἕκαστος ἢ δυνατός, ἵνα ὑμῖν ἢ τε χώρα ἐνεργὸς ἢ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οἱ θέλοντες δύο τῶν μεγίστων ἀπηλλαγμένοι κακῶν, ἀργίας
- 37 καὶ πενίας. ἐπὶ δέκα μὲν οὖν ἔτη προῖκα ἐχόντων· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ταξάμενοι μοῖραν ὀλίγην παρεχέτωσαν ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν βοσκημάτων μηδέν. εἰάν δέ τις ξένος γεωργῇ, πέντε ἔτη καὶ οὗτοι μηδέν ὑποτελούντων, ὕστερον δὲ διπλάσιον ἢ οἱ πολῖται. ὅς δὲ ἂν ἐξεργάσῃται τῶν ξένων διακόσια πλέθρα, πολίτην αὐτὸν εἶναι, ἵνα ὡς πλείστοι ὦσιν οἱ προθυμούμενοι.
- 38 Ἐπεὶ νῦν γε καὶ τὰ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἄγρια παντελῶς ἐστὶ καὶ αἰσχυρὰ δεινῶς, ὥσπερ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ τῇ βαθυτάτῃ, οὐχ ὡς προάστιον πόλεως· τὰ δέ γε ἐντὸς τείχους σπεύρεται τὰ πλείστα καὶ κατανέμεται. οὐκοῦν ἄξιον, ἔφη, θαυμάσαι τῶν ῥητόρων, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ Καφηρεῖ φιλεργοῦντας ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τῆς Εὐβοίας συκοφαντοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ τὸ γυμνάσιον γεωργοῦν-

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

some others do, not only in the mountains but also on the plains, and if anybody would till them, I should not only give him the chance for nothing but gladly pay money besides. For it is plain that they become more valuable to me, and at the same time the sight of land occupied and under cultivation is a pleasing one, while waste lands are not only a useless possession to those who hold them, but very distressing evidence of some misfortune of their owners. Wherefore, I advise you rather to encourage all the other citizens you can to take some of the public land and work it, those who have some capital taking more, and the poorer citizens as much as each is able to handle, that your land may be in use, and the citizens who accept may be free from two very great evils—idleness and poverty. So let these men have it free for ten years, and after that period let them agree to pay a small portion from their produce but nothing from their cattle. If any alien takes up land, let him likewise pay nothing for the first five years, but after that twice as much as the citizens. And let any alien who shall put fifty acres under cultivation be made a citizen, in order to encourage as many as possible.

“At the present moment even the land just outside the city gates is quite wild and terribly unattractive, as though it were in the depths of a wilderness and not in the suburbs of a city, while most of the land inside the walls is sown or grazed. It is therefore surprising that orators trump up charges against the industrious people of Caphereus in the remote parts of Euboea, and yet hold that the men farming the gymnasium and grazing cattle in

## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

- τας καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν κατανέμοντας οὐδὲν οἶονται  
 39 ποιεῖν δεινόν. βλέπετε γὰρ αὐτοὶ δῆπουθεν ὅτι  
 τὸ γυμνάσιον ὑμῖν ἄρουραν πεποιήκασιν, ὥστε  
 τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ ἄλλους ἀνδριάντας συχνοὺς  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ θέρους ἀποκεκρύφθαι, τοὺς μὲν ἡρώων,  
 τοὺς δὲ θεῶν· καὶ ὅτι καθ' ἡμέραν τὰ τοῦ ῥήτορος  
 τούτου πρόβατα ἔωθεν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐμβάλλει  
 καὶ κατανέμεται τὰ<sup>1</sup> περὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ  
 τὰ ἀρχεῖα· ὥστε τοὺς πρῶτον<sup>2</sup> ἐπιδημήσαντας  
 ξένους τοὺς μὲν καταγελᾶν τῆς πόλεως, τοὺς δὲ  
 οἰκτεῖρειν αὐτήν. πάλιν οὖν ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες  
 ὠργίζονται πρὸς ἐκείνους καὶ ἐθορύβουν.  
 40 Καὶ τοιαῦτα ποιῶν τοὺς ταλαιπώρους ἰδιώτας  
 οἶεται δεῖν ἀπαγαγεῖν, ἵνα δῆλον ὅτι μηδεὶς  
 ἐργάζεται τὸ λοιπόν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἔξω ληστεύ-  
 ωσιν, οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει λωποδυτῶσιν. ἐμοὶ δέ,  
 ἔφη, δοκεῖ τούτους εἶναι ἐφ' οἷς αὐτοὶ πεποιήκασιν,  
 ὑποτελοῦντας τὸ λοιπὸν ὅσον μέτριον, περὶ δὲ  
 τῶν ἔμπροσθεν προσόδων συγγνῶναι αὐτοῖς, ὅτι  
 ἔρημον καὶ ἀχρεῖον γεωργήσαντες τὴν γῆν κατε-  
 λάβοντο. εἰ δὲ τιμὴν θέλωσι καταβαλεῖν τοῦ  
 χωρίου, ἀποδόσθαι αὐτοῖς ἐλάττονος ἢ ἄλλοις.  
 41 Εἰπόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τοιαῦτα, πάλιν ὁ ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 ἐκεῖνος ἀντέλεγεν, καὶ ἐλοιδοροῦντο ἐπὶ πολὺ.  
 τέλος δὲ καὶ ἐμὲ ἐκέλευον εἰπεῖν ὅτι βούλομαι.  
 Καὶ τί με, ἔφην, δεῖ λέγειν; Πρὸς τὰ εἰρη-  
 μένα, εἶπέ τις τῶν καθημένων. Οὐκοῦν λέγω,  
 42 ἔφην, ὅτι οὐθὲν ἀληθές ἐστιν ὧν εἴρηκεν. ἐγὼ

<sup>1</sup> τὰ added by Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> πρῶτον Selden: πρώτους.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

the market-place are doing nothing out of the way. You can doubtless see for yourselves that they have made your gymnasium into a ploughed field, so that the Heracles and numerous other statues are hidden by the corn, some those of heroes and others those of gods. You see too, day after day, the sheep belonging to this orator invade the market-place at dawn and graze about the council chamber and the executive buildings. Therefore, when strangers first come to our city, they either laugh at it or pity it.' Now on hearing this they burst into a rage against that first speaker in his turn and made a great uproar.

" 'Yet though the accuser does such things, he thinks that humble and needy citizens ought to be haled off to prison, so that no one, forsooth, may do any work hereafter, but that those outside the city may live by brigandage and those within by thievery. I move,' he continued, 'that we leave these men in possession of what they themselves have created, provided they pay a moderate tax hereafter, and that we cancel all arrears to date, since they tilled land that had been wild and valueless and gained possession in that way. If, however, they wish to pay a price for their farm, let us sell to them at a cheaper figure than to anybody else.'

" When he had thus concluded, that first speaker again spoke in reply, and the two stormed at each other for a long time. But finally I was bidden to say whatever I wished.

" 'And what ought I to say?' I asked. 'Reply to what has been said,' cried one from his seat. 'Well then, I declare,' said I, 'that there is not one word of truth in what he has said. And as for

## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐνύπνια ὥμην, ἔφην, ὁρᾶν, ἀγροὺς καὶ κώμας καὶ τοιαῦτα φλυαροῦντος. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὔτε κώμην ἔχομεν οὔτε ἵππους οὔτε ὄνους οὔτε βούς. εἴθε γὰρ ἦν ἔχειν ἡμᾶς ὅσα οὗτος ἔλεγεν ἀγαθά, ἵνα καὶ ὑμῖν ἐδώκαμεν καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν μακαρίων ἦμεν. καὶ τὰ νῦν δὲ ὄντα ἡμῖν ἱκανά ἐστιν, ἐξ ὧν εἴ τι βούλεσθε λάβετε· καὶ πάντα ἐθέλητε, ἡμεῖς ἕτερα κτησόμεθα. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ ἐπήνεσαν.

- 43 Εἶτα ἐπηρώτα με ὁ ἄρχων τί δυνησόμεθα δοῦναι τῷ δήμῳ; καὶ γὰρ, Τέσσαρα, ἔφην, ἐλάφεια δέρματα πάνιν καλά. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐγέλασαν. ὁ δὲ ἄρχων ἠγανάκτησε πρὸς με. Τὰ γὰρ ἄρχεια, ἔφην, σκληρά ἐστιν καὶ τὰ τράγεια οὐκ ἄξια τούτων, ἀλλὰ δὲ παλαιά, τὰ δὲ μικρὰ αὐτῶν· εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε, κακεῖνα λάβετε. πάλιν οὖν ἠγανάκτει καὶ ἔφη με ἄγροικον εἶναι παντελῶς.
- 44 καὶ γὰρ, Πάλιν, εἶπον, αὐ καὶ σύ ἀγροὺς λέγεις; οὐκ ἀκούεις ὅτι ἀγροὺς οὐκ ἔχομεν;

- Ὁ δὲ ἠρώτα με εἰ τάλαυτον ἐκάτερος Ἀπτικὸν δοῦναι θέλομεν. ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπον, Οὐχ ἴσταμεν τὰ κρέα ἡμεῖς· ἀ δ' ἂν ἦ, δίδομεν. ἔστι δὲ ὀλίγα ἐν ἀλσί, τᾶλλα δ' ἐν τῷ καπνῷ ξηρά, οὐ πολὺ ἐκείνων χεῖρω, σκελίδες ὑῶν καὶ ἐλάφειοι καὶ
- 45 ἀλλὰ γεναῖα κρέα. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐθορύβουν καὶ ψεύδεσθαί με ἔφασαν. ὁ δὲ ἠρώτα με εἰ σίτον ἔχομεν καὶ πόσον τινά. εἶπον τὸν ὄντα ἀληθῶς·

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<sup>1</sup> ἀγροικὸς here really means clownish or boorish, but land-loper (tramp) is used to translate it in an attempt to preserve the pun in the Greek.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

me, sirs,' I continued, 'I thought I was dreaming when he prated about fields and villages and such like. We have no village or horses or asses or cattle. I wish we might possess all the good things he described, that we might not only have given to you but might also belong to the wealthy class ourselves! Yet what we even now have is sufficient for us, and do you take whatever you wish of it. Even if you want all, we shall replace it.' At these words they applauded.

"Thereupon the magistrate asked me what we would be able to give to the people, to which I replied, 'Four deer pelts of excellent quality.' Here the majority laughed and the magistrate was vexed at me. 'That is because the bear skins are rough,' I continued, 'and the goat skins are not as good as they. Some are old and some are small. But take these too, if you wish.' Then he was vexed once more and said that I was a downright land-loper,<sup>1</sup> and I replied, 'Do I again hear mention of lands, and from you? Did I not tell you that we have no lands?'

"He asked next whether we would agree each to give an Attic talent,<sup>2</sup> and I replied, 'We do not weigh our meat, but we will give whatever we have. There is a little salted down, but the rest is smoked and not much inferior to the other. There are sides of bacon and venison and other excellent meats.' Then they did raise an uproar and called me a liar. The man also asked me if we had any grain and about how much. I told him the exact amount.

<sup>1</sup> The speaker referred to the silver money talent worth somewhat more than £200 (\$1000). The countryman knew the talent only as a weight, about 85 pounds at that time.

## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

Δύο, ἔφην, μεδίμνους πυρῶν καὶ τέτταρας κριθῶν καὶ τοσοῦτους κέγχρων, κυάμων δὲ ἡμίεκτον· οὐ γὰρ ἐγένοντο τῆτες. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πυροὺς καὶ τὰς κριθάς, ἔφην, ὑμεῖς λάβετε, τὰς δὲ κέγχρους ἡμῖν ἄφετε. εἰ δὲ κέγχρων δεῖσθε, καὶ ταύτας λάβετε.

46 Οὐδὲ οἶνον ποιεῖτε; ἄλλος τις ἠρώτησεν. Ποιοῦμεν, εἶπον. ἂν οὖν τις ὑμῶν ἀφίκηται, δώσωμεν ὅπως δὲ ἥξει φέρων ἀσκόν τινα· ἡμεῖς γὰρ οὐκ ἔχομεν. Πόσαι γὰρ τινές εἰσιν ὑμῖν ἄμπελοι; Δύο μὲν, ἔφην, αἱ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν, ἔσω δὲ τῆς αὐλῆς εἴκοσι· καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πέραν ἃς ἔναγχος ἐφυτεύσαμεν, ἕτεραι τοσαῦται· εἰσὶ δὲ γενναῖαι σφόδρα καὶ τοὺς βότρυς φέρουσι μεγάλους, ὅταν οἱ παριόντες ἐπαφῶσιν αὐτοὺς.

47 ἵνα δὲ μὴ πράγματα ἔχητε καθ' ἕκαστον ἐρωτῶντες, ἐρῶ καὶ τᾶλλα ἃ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν. αἰγες ὀκτὼ θήλειαι, βοὺς κολοβή, μοσχάριον ἐξ αὐτῆς πάνυ καλόν, δρέπανα τέτταρα, δίκελλαι τέτταρες, λόγχαι τρεῖς, μάχαιραν ἡμῶν ἐκότερος κέκτηται πρὸς τὰ θηρία. τὰ δὲ κεράμια σκεύη τί ἂν λέγοι τις; καὶ γυναῖκες ἡμῖν εἰσι καὶ τούτων τέκνα· οἰκοῦμεν δὲ ἐν δυσὶ σκηναῖς καλαῖς· καὶ τρίτην ἔχομεν οὗ κείμεν τὸ σιτάριον καὶ τὰ δέρματα.

48 Νῆ Δία, εἶπεν ὁ ῥήτωρ, ὅπου καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον ἴσως κατορύττετε. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφην, ἀνάσκαψον ἐλθὼν, ὦ μῶρε. τίς δὲ κατορύττει ἀργύριον; οὐ γὰρ δὴ φύεταί γε. ἐνταῦθα πάντες ἐγέλων, ἐκείνου μοι δοκεῖν καταγελάσαντες.

Ταῦτα ἐστὶν ἡμῖν· εἰ οὖν καὶ πάντα θέλετε, ἡμεῖς ἐκόντες ὑμῖν χαριζόμεθα, καὶ οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

‘Three bushels of wheat,’ said I, ‘six of barley, and the same amount of millet, but only four quarts of beans, since there were none this year. Now do you take the wheat and the barley,’ said I, ‘and leave us the millet. But if you need millet, take it too.’

“‘And do you not make any wine?’ another asked. ‘We make it,’ I said, ‘so that if any one of you comes, we will hand it over, but be sure to bring some kind of wineskin with you, since we haven’t any.’ ‘Now, just how many vines have you?’ ‘Two,’ I replied, ‘outside our doors, twenty in the yard, the same number across the river that we set out recently. They are of very fine quality and yield large clusters when the passers-by leave them alone. But to spare you the trouble of asking about every detail, I will tell you what else we have: eight she-goats, a mulley<sup>1</sup> cow with a very pretty calf, four sickles, four grub hoes, three spears, and each of us owns a hunting knife. As for the crockery—why should one mention that? We have wives too, and children by them. We live in two pretty huts, and we have a third where the grain and the pelts are kept.’

“‘Yes by heavens,’ said the orator, ‘where you bury your money too, I suspect.’ ‘Well then,’ said I, ‘come and dig it up, you fool! Who buries money in the ground? It certainly does not grow.’ Then everybody laughed, and it was at him, I thought.

“‘That is what we have; and now, if you want everything, we are willing to give it to you volun-

<sup>1</sup> That is, hornless or polled.



ἀφαιρείσθαι δεῖ πρὸς βίαν ὥσπερ ἀλλοτριῶν ἢ  
 49 πονηρῶν· ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ πολίται τῆς πόλεώς ἐσμεν,  
 ὡς ἐγὼ τοῦ πατρὸς ἤκουον. καὶ ποτε ἐκεῖνος  
 δεῦρο ἀφικόμενος, ἐπιτυχὼν ἀργυρίῳ διδομένῳ,  
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἔλαβεν ἐν τοῖς πολίταις. οὐκοῦν καὶ  
 τρέφομεν ὑμετέρους πολίτας τοὺς παῖδας. καὶ  
 ποτε δέησθε, βοηθήσουσιν ὑμῖν πρὸς ληστὰς ἢ  
 πρὸς πολεμίους. νῦν μὲν οὖν εἰρήνη ἐστίν· ἐὰν  
 δέ ποτε συμβῇ καιρὸς τοιοῦτος, εὐξέσθε τοὺς  
 πολλοὺς φανῆναι ὁμοίους ἡμῖν. μὴ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ-  
 τόν γε τὸν ῥήτορα νομίζετε μαχεῖσθαι τότε περὶ  
 ὑμῶν, εἰ μὴ γε λαιδορούμενον ὥσπερ τὰς γυναῖκας.  
 50 τῶν μέντοι κρεῶν καὶ τῶν δερμάτων, ὅταν γέ  
 τοί ποτε ἔλωμεν θηρίον, μοῖραν δώσομεν· μόνον  
 πέμπετε τὸν ληψόμενον. ἐὰν δὲ κελεύσῃτε καθ-  
 ελεῖν τὰς σκηνάς, εἴ τι βλάβησουσι, καθελοῦμεν.  
 ἀλλ' ὅπως δώσετε ἡμῖν ἐνθάδε οἰκίαν· ἢ πῶς  
 ὑπενεγκεῖν δυνησόμεθα τοῦ χειμῶνος; ἔστιν ὑμῖν  
 οἰκήματα πολλὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους, ἐν οἷς οὐδεὶς  
 οἰκεῖ· τούτων ἡμῖν ἐν ἀρκέσει. εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐνθάδε  
 ζῶμεν οὐδὲ πρὸς τῇ στενοχωρίᾳ τοσούτων ἀν-  
 θρώπων ἐν ταύτῃ διαγόντων καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐνοχλοῦ-  
 μεν, οὐ δήπου διὰ γε τοῦτο μετοικίξεσθαι ἄξιόν  
 ἐσμεν.

51 Ὁ δὲ ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν ναυαγίων  
 πρᾶγμα οὕτως ἀνόσιον καὶ πονηρόν—τοῦτο γὰρ  
 μικροῦ ἐξελαθόμην εἰπεῖν, ὃ πάντων πρῶτον ἔδει  
 με εἰρηκέναι—τίς ἂν πιστεύσειέ ποτε ὑμῶν;  
 πρὸς γὰρ τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ καὶ ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἐκεῖθεν  
 καὶ ὅτιοῦν λαβεῖν, ὅπου καὶ τῶν ξύλων οὐδὲν  
 πλέον ἐστιν ἰδεῖν ἢ τὴν τέφραν· οὕτω πάνυ σμικρὰ  
 ἐκπίπτει, καὶ ἔστιν ἐκείνη μόνη ἢ ἀκτὴ ἀπασῶν

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

tarily. There is no need for you to take it from us by force as though it belonged to foreigners or rogues; for, mark you, we are citizens too of this city, as I used to hear my father say. And once he too came here just when a grant of money was being made, as it happened, and got some too along with the rest. Therefore we are raising our children to be your fellow-citizens; and should you ever need them, they will help you against brigands and foreign foes. Just now there is peace; but if ever such a crisis does arise, you will pray heaven that the majority be like ourselves. For do not imagine that this talker will fight for you then, unless, indeed, it be to scold like a woman. Besides, whenever we catch any game, we will give you a part of the meat and of the skins; only send someone to get them. Then if you bid us raze our huts, we will do so if they trouble you. But you must give us housing here; else how shall we endure the winter's cold? You have many empty houses inside the city walls; one of them will be enough for us. Yet if we choose to live elsewhere than here and thus avoid adding to the congestion caused by so many people being huddled together, that surely is no reason for moving us.

“Then as to that ghoulis and wicked practice in case of wrecked vessels which the speaker had the hardihood to accuse us of—and I almost forgot to speak of it, although I should have done so at the very start—who among you could possibly believe him? Not to mention the impiety of it, it is impossible to salvage anything at all there. Indeed, all the timber you can find there is the splinters, so very small are the fragments cast up. Besides,

- 52 ἀπρόσιτος. καὶ τοὺς ταρροὺς<sup>1</sup> οὓς<sup>2</sup> ἄπαξ εὐρόν ποτε ἐκβεβρασμένους, καὶ τούτους ἀνέπηξα εἰς τὴν δρῦν τὴν ἱερὰν τὴν πλησίον τῆς θαλάττης. μὴ γὰρ εἴη ποτέ, ὦ Ζεῦ, λαβεῖν μηδὲ κερδᾶναι κέρδος τοιοῦτον ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων δυστυχίας. ἀλλὰ ὠφελήθην μὲν οὐδὲν πώποτε, ἠλέησα δὲ πολλάκις ναυαγούς ἀφικομένους καὶ τῇ σκηνῇ ὑπεδεξάμην καὶ φαγεῖν ἔδωκα καὶ πιεῖν, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐδυνάμην, ἐπεβοήθησα καὶ συνηκολούθησα μέχρι  
53 τῶν οἰκουμένων. ἀλλὰ τίς ἂν ἐκείνων ἐμοὶ νῦν μαρτυρήσειεν; οὐκ οὐκ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐποιοῦν μαρτυρίας ἕνεκεν ἢ χάριτος, ὅς γε οὐδ' ὀπόθεν<sup>3</sup> ἦσαν ἠπιστάμην. μὴ γὰρ ὑμῶν γε μηδεὶς περιπέσοι τοιούτῳ πράγματι.

- Ταῦτα δὲ ἐμοῦ λέγοντος ἀνίσταται τις ἐκ μέσων· κἀγὼ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἐνεθυμήθην ὅτι ἄλλος  
54 τις τοιοῦτος τυχὸν ἐμοῦ καταψευδόμενος. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, "Ἄνδρες, ἐγὼ πάσαι τοῦτον ἀμφιγνοῶν ἠπίστανται ὅμως. ἐπεὶ δὲ σαφῶς αὐτὸν ἔγνωκα, δεινὸν μοι δοκεῖ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀσεβές, μὴ εἰπεῖν ἂν συνεπίσταμαι μηδ' ἀποδοῦναι λόγῳ χάριν,  
55 ἔργῳ τὰ μέγιστα εὖ παθῶν. εἰμὶ δέ, ἔφη, πολίτης, ὡς ἴστε, καὶ ὅδε, δείξας τὸν παρακαθήμενον, καὶ ὅς ἐπανεστή· ἐτύχομεν δὲ πλέοντες ἐν τῇ Σωκλέους νηὶ τρίτον ἔτος. καὶ διαφθαρείσης τῆς νεὸς περὶ τὸν Καφηρέα παντελῶς ὀλίγοι τινὲς ἐσώθημεν ἀπὸ πολλῶν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πορφυρεῖς ἀνέλαβον· εἶχον γὰρ αὐτῶν τινες ἀργύριον ἐν φασκωλίοις. ἡμεῖς δὲ γυμνοὶ παν-

<sup>1</sup> ταρροὺς Jacobs: λάρους.

<sup>2</sup> οὓς added by Reiske.

<sup>3</sup> ὀπόθεν Emperius: ποθεν or ὅθεν.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

that is the most inaccessible beach in existence. And the oar-blades which I once found cast ashore—why, I nailed them to the sacred oak that grows by the sea. Pray God I may never get or earn any profit like that from human misfortune! Why, I have never made anything out of it, but many is the time I have pitied shipwrecked travellers who have come to my door, taken them into my hut, given them to eat and to drink, helped them in any other way that I could, and accompanied them until they got out of the wilderness. Yet who of them is there who will testify for me now? And I never did that to win a testimonial or gratitude; why, I never knew where the men came from even. I pray that none of you may ever undergo such an experience.'

"While I was thus speaking, a man rose in their midst, and I thought to myself that perhaps he was another of the same sort who was going to slander me, but he said: 'Sirs, for a long time I have been wondering whether I knew this man, but nevertheless was inclined to think that I did not. But now that I have clearly identified him, it seems to me that it would be dreadful, or rather a crime against heaven, for me not to corroborate his statements as far as I can, or express my gratitude in words after having in very deed received the greatest kindness at his hands. I am,' he continued, 'a citizen here, as you are aware, and so is this man,' pointing to his neighbour, who thereupon rose also. 'Two years ago we happened to be sailing in Socles' boat when it was lost off Caphereus and only a handful of us were saved out of a large number. Now some were sheltered by purple-fishers, for a few had money in their wallets; but we who were cast ashore

- τελῶς ἐκπεσόντες δι' ἀτραποῦ τινος ἐβαδίζομεν, ἐλπίζοντες εὐρήσειν σκέπην τινὰ ποιμένων ἢ βουκόλων, κινδυνεύοντες ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τε καὶ δί-  
 56 ψους διαφθαρῆναι. καὶ μόλις ποτὲ ἤλθομεν ἐπὶ σκηνάς τινας καὶ στάντες ἐβοῶμεν. προελθὼν δὲ οὗτος εἰσάγει τε ἡμᾶς ἔνδον καὶ ἀνέκαε πῦρ οὐκ ἀθρόον, ἀλλὰ κατ' ὀλίγον· καὶ τὸν μὲν ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνέτριβε, τὸν δὲ ἡ γυνὴ στέατι· οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἔλαιον· τέλος δὲ ὕδωρ κατέχευον  
 57 θερμόν, ἕως ἀνέλαβον ἀπεψυγμένους. ἔπειτα κατακλίναντες καὶ περιβαλόντες οἷς εἶχον παρέθηκαν φαγεῖν ἡμῖν ἄρτους πυρίνους, αὐτοὶ δὲ κέγχρον ἐφθῆν ἡσθιον. ἔδωκαν δὲ καὶ οἶνον ἡμῖν πιεῖν, ὕδωρ αὐτοὶ πίνοντες, καὶ κρέα ἐλάφεια ὀπτῶντες ἄφθονα, τὰ δὲ ἔψοντες· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ βουλομένους ἀπιέναι κατέσχον ἐπὶ  
 58 τρεῖς ἡμέρας. ἔπειτα προύπεμψαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, καὶ ἀπιούσι κρέας ἔδωκαν καὶ δέρμα ἑκατέρω πάνυ καλόν. ἐμὲ δὲ ὄρων ἐκ τῆς κακοπαθείας ἔτι πονηρῶς ἔχοντα ἐνέδυσε χιτῶνιον, τῆς θυγατρὸς ἀφελόμενος· ἐκείνη δὲ ἄλλο τι ῥάκος περιεζώσατο. τοῦτο, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ἐγενόμην, ἀπέδωκα. οὕτως ἡμεῖς γε ὑπὸ τούτου μάλιστα ἐσώθημεν μετὰ τοὺς θεοὺς.
- 59 Ταῦτα δὲ ἐκείνου λέγοντος ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἤκουεν ἠδέως καὶ ἐπήνουν με, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀναμνησθεὶς, Χαῖρε, ἔφην, Σωτάδῃ· καὶ προσελθὼν ἐφίλουν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἕτερον. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐγέλα σφόδρα ὅτι ἐφίλουν αὐτούς. τότε ἔγνων ὅτι ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι οὐ φιλοῦσιν ἀλλήλους.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

destitute tramped along a path, hoping to find some shelter among shepherds or herdsmen, for we were in danger of perishing from hunger and thirst. And after much hardship we did finally reach some huts and stopped and hallooed, when this man here came out, brought us in, and made a low fire which he gradually increased. Then he himself rubbed one of us, and his wife the other, with tallow, for they had no olive oil. Finally, they poured warm water over us until they brought us around, chilled to the bone as we had been. Then, after making us recline and throwing about us what they had, they put wheaten loaves before us to eat while they themselves ate millet porridge. They also gave us wine to drink, they themselves drinking water, and they roasted venison in abundance, while some of it they boiled. And though we wanted to go away on the morrow, they held us back for three days. Then they escorted us down to the plains and gave us meat when we left them, as well as a very handsome pelt for each of us. And when this man here saw that I was still ill from my trying experience, he put on me a little tunic which he took from his daughter, and she girded a bit of cloth about herself instead. This I gave back when I reached the village. So, next to the gods, we owe our lives to this man especially.'

"While he was thus speaking, the people listened with pleasure and showed me their approval, and I recalled it all and cried out, 'Hello, Sotades!' And I approached and kissed him and the other man. However, the people laughed heartily because I kissed them. Then I understood that in the cities people do not kiss one another.

- 60 Παρελθὼν δὲ ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἐπιεικὴς ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ λέγων, Ἐμοί, ὦ ἄνδρες, δοκεῖ καλέσαι  
 τοῦτον εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἐπὶ ξένια.<sup>1</sup> οὐ γάρ,  
 εἰ μὲν ἐν πολέμῳ τινὰ ἔσωσε τῶν πολιτῶν  
 ὑπερασπίσας, πολλῶν ἂν καὶ μεγάλων δωρεῶν  
 ἔτυχε· νυνὶ δὲ δύο σώσας πολίτας, τυχὸν δὲ  
 καὶ ἄλλους οἳ οὐ πάρεισιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἄξιος  
 61 οὐδεμιᾶς τιμῆς; ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ χιτῶνος ὃν ἔδωκε  
 τῷ πολίτῃ κινδυνεύοντι, τὴν θυγατέρα ἀποδύσας,  
 ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν χιτῶνα καὶ ἱμάτιον,  
 ἵνα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προτροπὴ γένηται δικαίοις  
 εἶναι καὶ ἐπαρκεῖν ἀλλήλοις, ψηφίσασθαι δὲ  
 αὐτοῖς καρποῦσθαι τὸ χωρίον καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ  
 τὰ τέκνα, καὶ μηδένα αὐτοῖς ἐνοχλεῖν, δοῦναι  
 δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς εἰς κατασκευήν·  
 τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον τοῦτο ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐγὼ παρ'  
 ἑμαυτοῦ δίδωμι.
- 62 Ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ ἐπηνέθη, καὶ τᾶλλα ἐγένετο  
 ὥς εἶπεν. καὶ ἐκομίσθη παραχρῆμα εἰς τὸ  
 θέατρον τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον. ἐγὼ δὲ  
 οὐκ ἐβουλόμην λαβεῖν, ἀλλ' εἶπον<sup>2</sup> ὅτι οὐ  
 δύνασαι δειπνεῖν ἐν τῷ δέρματι. Οὐκοῦν, εἶπον,  
 τὸ σήμερον ἄδειπνος μενῶ. ὅμως δὲ ἐνέδυσάν με  
 τὸν χιτῶνα καὶ περιέβαλον τὸ ἱμάτιον. ἐγὼ  
 δὲ ἄνωθεν βαλεῖν ἐβουλόμην τὸ δέσμα, οἳ δὲ  
 63 οὐκ εἶων. τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον οὐκ ἐδεξάμην οὐδένα  
 τρόπον, ἀλλ' ἀπωμοσάμην λήψεσθαι. Εἰ δὲ  
 ζητεῖτε τίς λάβῃ, τῷ ῥήτορι, ἔφην, δότε, ὅπως  
 κατορύξῃ αὐτό· ἐπίσταται γὰρ δῆλον ὅτι. ἀπ'  
 ἐκείνου δ' ἡμᾶς οὐδεὶς ἠνώχλησε.

<sup>1</sup> ξένια Dindorf: ξενία.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

"Then that kind and good man who had spoken in my behalf at the beginning came forward and said, 'I move, sirs, that we invite this man to dine in the town-hall. If he had saved one of our townsfolk in battle by covering him with his shield, would he not have received many large gifts? But now, when he has saved two citizens, and perhaps others who are not here, is he entitled to no honour at all? For the tunic which he stripped from his daughter and gave to his fellow-townsmen in distress, let the city give him a tunic and a cloak as an inducement to others to be righteous and to help one another. Further, let it vote that they and their children have the use of the farm free from molestation, and that the man himself be given one hundred drachmas for equipment; and as for this money, I offer it out of my own pocket on behalf of the city.'

"For this he was applauded and the motion was carried. The clothes and the money were also brought into the theatre at once. But I was loath to accept, whereupon they said, 'You cannot dine in the skin.' 'Well then,' said I, 'I shall go without dinner to-day.' However, they put the tunic on me and threw the cloak over my shoulders. Then I wanted to throw my skin on top of all, but they would not let me. The money I absolutely refused and swore that I would not take it. 'But if you are hunting for somebody who will take it,' said I, 'give it to that orator that he may bury it, for he knows all about that evidently.' And from that day nobody has bothered us."

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<sup>2</sup> εἶπον Aldine edition: εἶπεν.



## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

- 64 Σχεδὸν οὖν εἰρηκότος αὐτοῦ πρὸς ταῖς σκηναῖς ἦμεν. καὶ γὰρ γελάσας εἶπον, 'Ἄλλ' ἔν τι ἀπεκρύψω τοὺς πολίτας, τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν κτημάτων. Τί τοῦτο; εἶπεν. Τὸν κῆπον, ἔφην, τοῦτον, πάνυ καλὸν καὶ λάχανα πολλὰ καὶ δένδρα ἔχοντα. Οὐκ ἦν, ἔφη, τότε, ἀλλ' ὕστερον ἐποιήσαμεν.
- 65 Εἰσελθόντες οὖν εὐωχούμεθα τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας, ἡμεῖς μὲν κατακλιθέντες ἐπὶ φύλλων τε καὶ δερμάτων ἐπὶ στιβάδος ὑψηλῆς, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ πλησίον παρὰ τὸν ἄνδρα καθημένη. θυγάτηρ δὲ ὠραία γάμου διηκονεῖτο, καὶ ἐνέχει πιεῖν μέλανα οἶνον ἡδύν. οἱ δὲ παῖδες τὰ κρέα παρεσκεύαζον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἅμα ἐδείπνουν παρατιθέντες, ὥστε ἐμὲ εὐδαιμονίζειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκείνους καὶ οἶεσθαι μακαρίως ζῆν πάντων μάλιστα ὧν
- 66 ἡπιστάμην. καίτοι πλουσίῳ μὲν οἰκίας τε καὶ τραπέζας ἡπιστάμην, οὐ μόνον ἰδιωτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σατραπῶν καὶ βασιλέων, οὐ μάλιστα ἐδόκουν μοι τότε ἄθλιοι, καὶ πρότερον δοκοῦντες, ἔτι μᾶλλον, ὁρῶντι τὴν ἐκεῖ πενίαν τε καὶ ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀπελείποντο οὐδὲ τῆς περὶ τὸ φαγεῖν τε καὶ πιεῖν ἡδονῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτοις ἐπλεονέκτουں σχεδόν τι.
- 67 Ἦδη δ' ἱκανῶς ἡμῶν ἐχόντων ἦλθε καὶ κεῖνος ὁ ἕτερος. συνηκολούθει δὲ υἱὸς αὐτῷ, μειράκιον οὐκ ἀγευνές, λαγὼν φέρων. εἰσελθὼν δὲ οὗτος ἠρυθρίασεν· ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ ἠσπάζετο

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

Now he had hardly ended when we were at the huts, and laughing I said, "But you have hidden from your fellow-citizens one thing, the fairest of your possessions." "What is that?" said he. "This garden," I replied, "very pretty indeed with all its vegetables and trees." "There was not any then," he said; "we made it afterwards."

Then we entered and feasted the rest of the day, we reclining on boughs and skins that made a high bed and the wife sitting near beside her husband. But a daughter of marriageable age served the food and poured us a sweet dark wine to drink; and the boys prepared the meat, helping themselves as they passed it around, so that I could not help deeming these people fortunate and thinking that of all the men that I knew, they lived the happiest lives.<sup>1</sup> And yet I knew the homes and tables of rich men, of satraps and kings as well as of private individuals; but then they seemed to me the most wretched of all; and though they had so appeared before, yet I felt this the more strongly as I beheld the poverty and free spirit<sup>2</sup> of the humble cottagers and noted that they lacked naught of the joy of eating and drinking, nay, that even in these things they had, one might almost say, the better of it.

We were already well enough supplied when that other man entered, accompanied by his son, a prepossessing lad who carried a hare. The latter on entering commenced to blush; and while his father

<sup>1</sup> The description of the entertainment offered by the humble cottagers seems to have been suggested by Plato's *Republic* 2. 372.

<sup>2</sup> Both the Greeks and the Romans feared the corrupting influence of riches. They believed that poverty, or rather, humble circumstances, and a free manly spirit went together.

- ἡμᾶς, αὐτὸς ἐφίλησε τὴν κόρην καὶ τὸν λαγῶν  
 ἐκείνη ἔδωκεν. ἡ μὲν οὖν παῖς ἐπαύσατο δια-  
 κοινουμένη καὶ παρὰ τὴν μητέρα ἐκαθέζετο, τὸ  
 68 δὲ μεираκίον αὐτ' ἐκείνης διηκουεῖτο. καὶ γὰρ τὸν  
 ξένον ἠρώτησα, Αὐτὴ, ἔφην, ἐστίν, ἥς τὸν χιτῶνα  
 ἀποδύσας τῷ ναυαγῷ ἔδωκας; καὶ ὃς γελάσας,  
 Οὐκ, ἔφη, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη, εἶπε, πάλαι πρὸς ἄνδρα  
 ἐδόθη, καὶ τέκνα ἔχει μεγάλα ἤδη, πρὸς ἄνδρα  
 πλούσιον εἰς κώμην. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφην, ἐπαρκοῦσιν  
 69 ὑμῖν ὃ τι ἂν δέησθε; Οὐδέν, εἶπεν ἡ γυνή,  
 δεόμεθα ἡμεῖς· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ λαμβάνουσι καὶ  
 ὀπηνίκ' ἂν<sup>1</sup> τι θηραθῇ καὶ ὀπώραν καὶ λάχανα·  
 οὐ γὰρ ἔστι κῆπος παρ' αὐτοῖς. πέρυσιν<sup>2</sup> πυροὺς  
 ἐλάβομεν, σπέρμα ψιλόν, καὶ ἀπεδώκαμεν αὐτοῖς  
 εὐθὺς τῆς θερείας. Τί οὖν; ἔφην, καὶ ταύτην  
 διανοεῖσθε διδόναι πλουσίῳ, ἵνα ὑμῖν καὶ αὐτὴ  
 πυροὺς δανείσῃ; ἐνταῦθα μέντοι ἄμφω ἠρυθρια-  
 σάτην, ἡ κόρη καὶ τὸ μεираκίον.  
 70 Ὁ δὲ πατήρ αὐτῆς ἔφην, Πένητα ἄνδρα  
 λήψεται, ὅμοιον ἡμῖν κυνηγέτην· καὶ μειδιάσας  
 ἔβλεψεν εἰς τὸν νεανίσκον. καὶ γὰρ, Τί οὖν οὐκ  
 ἤδη δίδοτε; ἢ δεῖ ποθεν αὐτὸν ἐκ κώμης ἀφι-  
 κέσθαι; Δοκῶ μὲν, εἶπεν, οὐ μακρὰν ἐστίν· ἀλλ'  
 ἔνδον ἐνθάδε. καὶ ποιήσομέν γε τοὺς γάμους  
 ἡμέραν ἀγαθὴν ἐπιλεξάμενοι. καὶ γὰρ, Πῶς, ἔφην,  
 κρίνετε τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἡμέραν; καὶ ὃς, "Ὅταν μὴ  
 μικρὸν ἢ τὸ σελήνιον· δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀέρα εἶναι  
 71 καθαρόν, αἰθρίαν λαμπράν. καὶ γὰρ, Τί δέ; τῷ  
 ὄντι κυνηγέτης ἀγαθὸς ἐστίν; ἔφην. "Εγώ γε,  
 εἶπεν ὁ νεανίσκος, καὶ ἔλαφον καταπονῶ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ὀπηνίκ' ἂν Dindorf: ὀπηνίκα.

<sup>2</sup> πέρυσιν added by Casaubon.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

was welcoming us, he himself kissed the maiden and gave her the hare. The child then ceased serving and sat down beside her mother while the boy served in her stead. "Is she the one," I enquired of my host, "whose tunic you took off and gave to the shipwrecked man?" "No," said he with a smile, "that daughter was married long ago and already has grown-up children. Her husband is a rich man living in a village." "And do they help you when you need anything?" I enquired. "We do not need anything," replied the wife, "but they get game from us whenever we catch any, and fruit and vegetables, for they have no garden. Last year we borrowed some wheat just for seed, but we repaid them as soon as harvest time was come." "Tell me," said I, "do you intend to marry this girl also to a rich man that she too may lend you wheat?" At this the two blushed, the girl as well as the boy.

"She will have a poor man for a husband," said the father, "a hunter like ourselves," and with a smile he glanced at the young man. And I said, "But why do you not give her away at once? Must her husband come from some village or other?" "I have an idea," he replied, "that he is not far off; nay, he is here in this house, and we shall celebrate the marriage when we have picked out a good day." "And how do you determine the good day?" said I. And he replied, "When the moon is not in a quarter; the air must be clear too, and the weather fine." And then I said, "Tell me, is he really a good hunter?" "I am," cried the youth; "I can run down a deer and face the charge

## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

σὺν ὑφίσταμαι. ὄψει δὲ αὐριον ἂν θέλῃς, ὦ ξένε. καὶ τὸν λαγῶν τοῦτον σύ, ἔφη, ἔλαβες ; Ἐγὼ, ἔφη γελάσας, τῷ λιναρίῳ τῆς νυκτός· ἦν γὰρ αἰθρία πάνυ καλὴ καὶ ἡ σέλήνη τηλικαύτη  
 72 τὸ μέγεθος ἡλικῇ οὐδεπώποτε ἐγένετο. ἐνταῦθα μέντοι ἐγέλασαν ἀμφοτέροι, οὐ μόνον ὁ τῆς κόρης πατήρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ ἐκείνου. ὁ δὲ ἠσχύνθη καὶ ἐσιώπησε.

Λέγει οὖν ὁ τῆς κόρης πατήρ, Ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, οὐδὲν ὑπερβάλλομαι. ὁ δὲ πατήρ σου περιμένει, ἔστ' ἂν ἱερεῖον πρίηται πορευθεῖς. δεῖ γὰρ θῦσαι τοῖς θεοῖς. εἶπεν οὖν ὁ νεώτερος ἀδελφὸς τῆς κόρης, Ἀλλὰ ἱερεῖόν γε πάλαι οὗτος παρεσκεύακε, καὶ ἔστιν ἔνδον τρεφόμενον  
 73 ὅπισθεν τῆς σκηνῆς, γενναῖον. ἡρώτων οὖν αὐτόν, Ἀληθῶς ; ὁ δὲ ἔφη. Καὶ πόθεν σοι ; ἔφασαν. Ὅτε τὴν ὕν ἐλάβομεν τὴν τὰ τέκνα ἔχουσαν, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα διέδρα· καὶ ἦν, ἔφη, ταχύτερα τοῦ λαγῶ· ἐνὸς δὲ ἐγὼ λίθῳ ἔτυχον καὶ ἀλόντι<sup>1</sup> τὸ δέρμα ἐπέβαλον· τοῦτο ἡλλαξά-  
 74 καὶ ἔθρεψα ποιήσας ὅπισθεν συφεόν. Ταῦτα, εἶπεν, ἄρα ἡ μήτηρ σου ἐγέλα, ὅποτε θαυμάζοιμι ἀκούων γρυλιζούσης τῆς συός, καὶ τὰς κριθὰς οὕτως ἀνήλινκες. Αἱ γὰρ εὐβοῖδες, εἶπεν, οὐχ ἱκαναὶ ἦσαν πιᾶναι, εἰ μόνας<sup>2</sup> γε βαλάνους ἤθε-  
 λεν ἐσθίειν. ἀλλὰ εἰ βούλεσθε ἰδεῖν αὐτήν, ἄξω

<sup>1</sup> ἀλόντι Geel: ἄλλοι.

<sup>2</sup> μόνας Cohoon: μῆ. Von Arnim proposed ἡ μηδέ.

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<sup>1</sup> The word βάλανος was used not only of the acorn but also of any similar fruit. The sweet chestnut, for example,

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

of a boar. You shall see to-morrow, stranger, if you wish it." "And did you catch this hare?" said I. "Yes," he replied, laughing—"with my net during the night, for the sky was very beautiful, and the moon was never so big before." Then the two men laughed, not only the girl's father but his also. As for him, he felt ashamed and became silent.

Then the girl's father said, "Well, my boy, it is not I who am delaying you, but your father is waiting until he can go and buy a victim, for we must sacrifice to the gods." At this point the girl's younger brother interrupted, saying, "Why, this fellow got a victim long ago. It is being fattened in there behind the hut, and a fine animal it is." "Is it really so?" they asked him, and he said "Yes." "And where did you get it?" they enquired. "When we caught the wild sow that had the young ones, they all escaped but one. They ran more swiftly than the hare," he added. "One, however, I hit with a stone, caught, and covered with my leather jerkin. I exchanged it in the village and got a young pig for it. Then I made a sty out behind and raised it." "So that is the reason why your mother would laugh," exclaimed the father, "when I used to wonder on hearing the pig grunt, and you were using the barley so freely." "Well," he replied, "the chestnuts<sup>1</sup> were not enough to fatten her,<sup>2</sup> supposing she had been willing to eat nuts without anything else. But if you wish to

was called *Διὸς βάλανος*, *Εὐβοῖς* (*sc.* *βάλανος*), or *Εὐβοϊκὸν* (*sc.* *κάρυον*). See Liddell and Scott.

<sup>2</sup> Chestnuts were very plentiful in Euboea, as the Greek name for them would indicate, but were said to be hard to digest. See Athenaeus 2, chap. 43.

πορευθείς. οἱ δὲ ἐκέλευον. ἀπήεσαν οὖν ἐκεῖνός  
 75 τε καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτόθεν<sup>1</sup> δρόμῳ χαίροντες. ἐν  
 δὲ τούτῳ ἡ παρθένος ἀναστᾶσα ἐξ ἐτέρας σκηνῆς  
 ἐκόμισεν οὐα τετμημένα καὶ μέσπιλα καὶ μῆλα  
 χειμερινὰ καὶ τῆς γενναίας σταφυλῆς βότρυς  
 σφριγώντας, καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν, κατα-  
 ψήσασα φύλλοις ἀπὸ τῶν κρεῶν, ὑποβαλοῦσα  
 καθαρὰν πτερίδα. ἤκου δὲ καὶ οἱ παῖδες τὴν ὕν  
 76 ἄγοντες μετὰ γέλωτος καὶ παιδιᾶς. συνηκο-  
 λούθει δὲ ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ νεανίσκου καὶ ἀδελφοὶ  
 δύο παιδιάρια· ἔφερον δὲ ἄρτους τε καθαρούς καὶ  
 ῥᾶ ἐφθὰ ἐν ξυλίνοις πίναξι καὶ ἐρεβίνθους  
 φρυκτούς.

Ἀσπασαμένη δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡ γυνὴ<sup>2</sup> καὶ  
 τὴν ἀδελφιδὴν ἐκαθέζετο παρὰ τὸν αὐτῆς ἄν-  
 δρα καὶ εἶπεν, Ἰδοὺ τὸ ἱερεῖον, ὃ οὗτος πάλαι  
 ἔτρεφεν εἰς τοὺς γάμους, καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ παρ'  
 ἡμῶν<sup>3</sup> ἑτοιμὰ ἐστι, καὶ ἄλφιστα καὶ ἄλευρα  
 πεποίηται· μόνον ἴσως οἶναρίου προσδεησόμεθα·  
 καὶ τοῦτο οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐκ τῆς κώμης λαβεῖν.  
 77 παρειστήκει δὲ αὐτῇ πλησίον ὁ υἱὸς<sup>4</sup> πρὸς τὸν  
 κηδεστὴν ἀποβλέπων. καὶ ὃς μειδιάσας εἶπεν.  
 Οὗτος, ἔφη, ἐστὶν ὁ ἐπέχων· ἴσως γὰρ ἔτι  
 βούλεται πιᾶναι τὴν ὕν. καὶ τὸ μειράκιον, Αὕτη  
 78 μέν, εἶπεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ λίπους διαρραγήσεται. καὶ γὰρ  
 βουλόμενος αὐτῷ βοηθῆσαι, Ὅρα, ἔφην, μὴ ἔως  
 πιαίνεται ἡ ὕς οὗτος ὑμῖν λεπτὸς γένηται. ἡ δὲ  
 μήτηρ, Ἀληθῶς, εἶπεν, ὁ ξένος λέγει, ἐπεὶ καὶ  
 νῦν λεπτότερος αὐτοῦ γέγονε· καὶ πρῶν ἡσθόμην  
 τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτὸν ἐγρηγορότα καὶ προελθόντα

<sup>1</sup> οἱ παῖδες αὐτόθεν Geel : οἱ αὐτόθεν παῖδες.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα after γυνὴ deleted by Selden.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

see her, I will go and fetch her in." And they bade him do so. So he and the boys were off at once on the run full of glee. Meanwhile the girl had risen and brought from another hut some sliced sorb-apples, medlars, winter apples, and swelling clusters of fine grapes, and placed them on the table after wiping off the stains from the meat with leaves and putting some clean fern beneath. Then the boys came in laughing and full of fun, leading the pig, and with them followed the young man's mother and two small brothers. They brought white loaves of wheaten bread, boiled eggs in wooden platters, and parched chickpeas.

After the woman had greeted her brother and her niece, his daughter, she sat down beside her husband and said, "See, there is the victim which that boy has long been feeding for his wedding day, and everything else is ready on our side. The barley and wheaten flour have been ground; only perhaps we shall need a little more wine. This too we can easily get from the village." And close beside her stood her son, glancing at his future father-in-law. He smiled at the lad and said, "There is the one who is holding things up. I believe he wants to fatten the pig a bit more." The young man replied, "Why, she is ready to burst with fat." And wishing to help him, I said, "Take care that your young man doesn't get thin while the pig gets fat." "Our guest speaks well," said the mother, "for he has already grown thinner than I have ever seen him before; and I noticed a short time ago that he was

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<sup>3</sup> ἡμῶν Emperius: ἡμῖν.

<sup>4</sup> ὁ υἱὸς Emperius: οὗτος.



- 79 ἔξω τῆς σκηνῆς. Οἱ κύνες, ἔφη, ὑλάκτουν καὶ  
 ἐξῆλθον ὀφρόμενος. Οὐ σύ γε, εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ  
 περιεπάτεις ἀλύων. μὴ οὖν πλείω χρόνον ἐῷμεν  
 ἀνιάσθαι αὐτόν. καὶ περιβαλοῦσα ἐφίλησε τὴν  
 μητέρα τῆς κόρης. ἡ δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν  
 ἐαυτῆς, Ποιῶμεν, εἶπεν, ὡς θέλουσι. καὶ ἔδοξε  
 ταῦτα, καὶ εἶπον, Εἰς τρίτην ποιῶμεν τοὺς  
 γάμους. παρεκάλουν δὲ καὶ μὲ προσμεῖναι τὴν  
 80 ἡμέραν. καὶ γὰρ προσέμεινα οὐκ ἀηδῶς, ἐνθυ-  
 μούμενος ἅμα τῶν πλουσίων ὁποῖά ἐστι τά τε  
 ἄλλα καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς γάμους, προμνηστριῶν τε  
 πέρι καὶ ἐξετάσεων οὐσιῶν τε καὶ γένους, προικῶν  
 τε καὶ ἔδνων καὶ ὑποσχέσεων καὶ ἀπατῶν,  
 ὁμολογιῶν τε καὶ συγγραφῶν, καὶ τελευταῖον  
 πολλάκις ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς γάμοις λοιδοριῶν καὶ  
 ἀπεχθειῶν.  
 81 Ἄπαντα δὴ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον διῆλθον οὐκ  
 ἄλλως οὐδ' ὡς τάχ' ἂν δόξαιμί τισιν, ἀδολεσχεῖν  
 βουλόμενος, ἀλλ' οὐπὲρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπεθέμην βίου  
 καὶ τῆς τῶν πενήτων διαγωγῆς παράδειγμα  
 ἐκτιθεὶς, ὃ αὐτὸς ἠπιστάμην, τῷ βουλομένῳ  
 θεάσασθαι λόγων τε καὶ ἔργων καὶ κοινω-  
 νιῶν τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, εἴ τι τῶν πλουσίων  
 ἐλαττοῦνται διὰ τὴν πενίαν πρὸς τὸ ζῆν εὐσχη-  
 μόνως καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἢ τῷ παντὶ πλέον ἔχουσιν.  
 82 καὶ δῆτα καὶ τὸ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου σκοπῶν, εἰ κατ'

<sup>1</sup> The farmer in humble circumstances says in the *Electra* 424-5:

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

wakeful in the night and went out of the hut." "The dogs were barking," the young man interrupted, "and I went out to see." "No, you did not," said she, "but you were walking around distraught. So don't let us permit him to be tortured any longer." And throwing her arms about the girl's mother she kissed her; and the latter, turning to her husband, said, "Let us do as they wish." This they decided to do and said, "Let us have the wedding the day after to-morrow." They also invited me to stay over, and I did so gladly, at the same time reflecting on the character of weddings and other things among the rich, on the matchmakers, the scrutinies of property and birth, the dowries, the gifts from the bridegroom, the promises and deceptions, the contracts and agreements, and, finally, the wranglings and enmities that often occur at the wedding itself.

Now I have not told this long story idly or, as some might perhaps infer, with the desire to spin a yarn, but to present an illustration of the manner of life that I adopted at the beginning and of the life of the poor—an illustration drawn from my own experience for anyone who wishes to consider whether in words and deeds and in social intercourse the poor are at a disadvantage in comparison with the rich on account of their poverty, so far as living a seemly and natural life is concerned, or in every way have the advantage. And really, when I consider Euripides' words<sup>1</sup> and ask myself whether as a matter

ἔστιν δὲ δὴ τοσαῦτα γ' ἐν δόμοις ἔτι,  
ὥσθ' ἐν γ' ἐπ' ἡμᾶρ τοῦδε πληρῶσαι βορᾶς.

"Yea and within the house is store enough  
To satisfy for one day these with meat."

Way in L.C.L.

ἀλήθειαν ἀπόρως αὐτοῖς ἔχει τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους, ὥς μήτε ὑποδέξασθαι ποτε δύνασθαι μήτε ἐπαρκέσαι δεομένῳ τινί, οὐδαμῇ τοιοῦτον εὐρίσκω τὸ τῆς ξενίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πῦρ ἐναύοντας προθυμότερον τῶν πλουσίων καὶ ὁδῶν ἀπροφασίστους ἡγεμόνας ὄντας.<sup>1</sup> ἐπεὶ τοι τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ αἰσχύνοιντο ἄν'· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ μεταδιδόντας ὧν ἔχουσιν ἐτοιμότερον· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ναυαγῶ τις δώσει ἐκείνων οὔτε τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀλουργές ἢ τὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς οὔτε<sup>2</sup> πολὺ ἤττον τούτου φόρημα, τῶν χλαινῶν τινα ἢ χιτῶνων, μυρία ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν οἰκετῶν οὐδενὸς ἱμάτιον.

- 83 Δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο "Ομηρος· τὸν μὲν γὰρ Εὐμαιον πεποίηκε δούλον καὶ πένητα ὅμως τὸν Ὀδυσσέα καλῶς ὑποδεχόμενον καὶ τροφῇ καὶ κοίτῃ· τοὺς δὲ μνηστήρας ὑπὸ πλούτου καὶ ὕβρεως οὐ πάνυ ῥαδίως αὐτῷ μεταδιδύοντας οὐδὲ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, ὥς που καὶ αὐτὸς πεποιῆται λέγων πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίνοον, ὀνειδίζων τὴν ἀνελευθερίαν,

οὐ σύγ' ἂν ἐξ οἴκου σῶ ἐπιστάτῃ οὐδ' ἄλλα  
δοίης,

ὃς νῦν ἀλλοτρίοισι παρήμενος οὔτι μοι ἔτλης  
σίτου ἀπάρξασθαι, πολλῶν κατὰ οἶκον  
έόντων.

- 84 Καὶ τούτους μὲν ἔστω διὰ τὴν ἄλλην πονηρίαν εἶναι τοιούτους· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν Πηνελόπην, καίτοι χρηστὴν οὔσαν καὶ σφόδρα ἡδέως διαλεγομένην πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πεπυσμένην,

<sup>1</sup> ὄντας added by Capps.

<sup>2</sup> οὔτε Geel; οὐδέ.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

of fact the entertainment of strangers is so difficult for them that they can never welcome or succour anyone in need, I find this by no means to be true of their hospitality. They light a fire more promptly than the rich and guide one on the way without reluctance—indeed, in such matters a sense of self-respect would compel them—and often they share what they have more readily. When will you find a rich man who will give the victim of a shipwreck his wife's or his daughter's purple gown or any article of clothing far cheaper than that: a mantle, for example, or a tunic, though he has thousands of them, or even a cloak from one of his slaves?

Homer too illustrates this, for in Eumaeus he has given us a slave and a poor man who can still welcome Odysseus generously with food and a bed, while the suitors in their wealth and insolence share with him but grudgingly even what belongs to others, and this, I think, is just what Odysseus himself is represented as saying to Antinous when he upbraids him for his churlishness.

“Thou wouldst not give a suppliant even salt  
In thine own house,—thou who, while sitting  
here,

Fed at another's table, canst not bear  
To give me bread from thy well-loaded board.”<sup>1</sup>

But granted that such meanness on the suitors' part was in accord with their general depravity, yet how was it with Penelope? Though she was an excellent woman, overjoyed to talk with Odysseus and learn about her husband, Homer does not say that

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey* 17. 455 f. The last line of this quotation is considerably different from that given in the text of the *Odyssey*.

- οὐδὲ ταύτην φησὶν ἱμάτιον αὐτῷ δοῦναι γυμνῷ  
 παρακαθημένῳ, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, ἂν  
 ἄρα φανῇ ἀληθεύων περὶ τοῦ Ὀδυσσεώς, ὅτι  
 85 ἐκείνου τοῦ μηνὸς ἤξιοι, καὶ ὕστερον, ἐπειδὴ τὸ  
 τόξον ἦτει, τῶν μνηστήρων, οὐ δυναμένων  
 ἐντεῖναι,<sup>1</sup> χαλεπαινόντων ἐκείνῳ, ὅτι ἡξίου πρὸς  
 αὐτοὺς ἀμιλλᾶσθαι περὶ ἀρετῆς, ἀξιοῖ δοθῆναι  
 αὐτῷ· οὐ γὰρ δὴ περὶ τοῦ γάμου γε εἶναι  
 κακείνῳ τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ' ἔαν τύχῃ ἐπιτεῖνας  
 καὶ διαβαλὼν διὰ τῶν πελέκεων, ἐπαγγέλλεται  
 αὐτῷ δώσειν χιτῶνα καὶ ἱμάτιον καὶ ὑποδήματα·  
 86 ὥς δέον αὐτὸν τὸ Εὐρύτου τόξον ἐντεῖναι καὶ  
 τοσοῦτοις νεανίσκοις ἐχθρὸν γενέσθαι, τυχὸν  
 δὲ καὶ ἀπολέσθαι παραχρῆμα ὑπ' αὐτῶν, εἰ  
 μέλλει τυγχάνειν ἐξωμίδος καὶ ὑποδημάτων, ἢ  
 τὸν Ὀδυσσεά, εἵκοσιν ἐτῶν οὐδαμοῦ πεφηνότα,  
 ἦκοντα ἀποδειξαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν ἡμέραις ῥηταῖς·  
 εἰ δὲ μή, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι ῥάκεσι παρὰ  
 τῆς σώφρονος καὶ ἀγαθῆς Ἰκαρίου θυγατρὸς  
 βασιλίδος.  
 87 Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ὁ Τηλέμαχος τοιαῦτα ἕτερα  
 πρὸς τὸν συβώτην λέγει περὶ αὐτοῦ, κελεύων  
 αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν πέμπειν τὴν ταχίστην  
 πτωχεύσοντα ἐκεῖ, καὶ μὴ πλείους ἡμέρας τρέφειν  
 ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ· καὶ γὰρ εἰ ξυνέκειτο αὐτοῖς  
 ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ὅ γε συβώτης οὐ θαυμάζει τὸ  
 88 πρᾶγμα καὶ τὴν ἀπανθρωπίαν, ὥς ἔθους δὴ ὄντος  
 οὕτως ἀκριβῶς καὶ ἀνελευθέρως πράττειν τὰ  
 περὶ τοὺς ξένους τοὺς πένητας, μόνους δὲ τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> ἐντεῖναι Cobet: ἐπιτεῖναι.<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey* 17. 549; 19. 306 f.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 21. 285 f.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

even she gave him a cloak as he sat beside her in a bare tunic, but that she merely promised him one if it turned out that he was telling the truth about Odysseus in saying that he would arrive within the month.<sup>1</sup> And afterwards, when he asked for the bow, and the suitors, who could not draw it, were angry at him because he had the hardihood to vie with them in prowess,<sup>2</sup> she urged that it be given to him, adding that of course her promise of marriage could not apply to him; but she promised to give him a tunic, cloak, and shoes, if he succeeded in stretching the bow and shooting through the axes; as though he had to bend the bow of Eurytus and become the enemy of all those young men, and perhaps lose his life at their hands then and there, if he was to receive tunic and shoes, or else must produce Odysseus in person, who had not been seen anywhere for twenty years, and within a stated time at that, with the alternative, in case he could do neither, of departing in the same rags out of the presence of the good and prudent daughter royal of Icarus!

Other words of about the same purport Telemachus too addresses to the swineherd regarding Odysseus when he bids the latter to send him to the city as soon as possible<sup>3</sup> that he may beg for alms there, and not to feed him at the steading any longer. And even if this had been agreed upon between them, yet the swineherd feels no surprise at the treatment and its inhumanity, as though it were the regular procedure to deal with needy strangers thus strictly and meanly and to welcome open-

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 17. 10 f.

- πλουσίους ὑποδέχεται φιλοφρόνως ξενίοις καὶ δώροις, παρ' ὧν δῆλον ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ προσεδόκων τῶν ἴσων ἂν τυχεῖν, ὅποια σχεδὸν καὶ τὰ τῶν νῦν ἐστὶ φιλανθρωπίας τε πέρι καὶ προαιρέσεως.
- 89 αἱ γὰρ δὴ δοκοῦσαι φιλοφρονήσεις καὶ χάριτες, ἔαν σκοπῇ τις ὀρθῶς, οὐδὲν διαφέρουσιν ἐράνων καὶ δανείων, ἐπὶ τόκῳ συχνῶ καὶ ταῦτα ὡς τὸ πολὺ γιγνόμενα, εἰ μὴ νῆ Δί' ὑπερβάλλει τὰ νῦν τὰ πρότερον, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ ξυμπάσῃ
- 90 κακίᾳ. ἔχω γε μὴν εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν Φαιάκων καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων φιλανθρωπίας, εἴ τῳ δοκοῦσιν οὗτοι οὐκ ἀγεννῶς οὐδ' ἀναξίως τοῦ πλούτου προσενεχθῆναι τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ, μεθ' οἷας μάλιστα διανοίας καὶ δι' ἧς αἰτίας προυτράπησαν ἀφθόνης καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς χαρίζεσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ πολὺ πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν καὶ τὰ νῦν ὑπὲρ τούτων εἰρημένα.
- 91 Δῆλόν γε μὴν ὡς ὁ πλούτος οὔτε πρὸς ξένους οὔτε ἄλλως μέγα τι συμβάλλεται τοῖς κεκτημένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον γλίσχρους καὶ φειδωλοὺς ὡς τὸ πολὺ μᾶλλον τῆς πενίας ἀποτελεῖν πέφυκεν. οὐδὲ γάρ, εἴ τις αὖ τῶν πλουσίων, εἰς που τάχα ἐν μυρίοις, δαψιλῆς καὶ μεγαλόφρων τὸν τρόπον εὔρεθείη, τοῦτο ἱκανῶς δείκνυσι τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς χεῖρους περὶ ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι
- 92 τῶν ἀπορωτέρων. ἀνδρὶ δὲ πένητι μὴ φαύλῳ τὴν φύσιν ἀρκεῖ τὰ παρόντα καὶ τὸ σῶμα μετρίως ἀσθενήσαντι, τοιούτου ποτὲ νοσήματος ξυμβάντος, οἷάπερ εἶωθε γίγνεσθαι τοῖς οὐκ ἀργοῖς ἐκάστοτε ἐμπιμπλαμένοις, ἀνακτῆσασθαι, καὶ ξένοις ἐλθοῦσι δοῦναι προσφιλεῖ ξένια χωρὶς ὑποψίας παρ'

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

heartedly with gifts and presents only the rich, from whom, of course, the host expected a like return, very much as the present custom is in selecting the recipients of our kindly treatment and preferment; for what seem to be acts of kindness and favours turn out, when examined rightly, to be nothing more or less than accommodations and loans, and that too at a high rate of interest as a usual thing, if, by heavens, conditions to-day are not worse than they used to be, just as is the case with every other evil. Furthermore, I could state in regard to the Phaeacians also and their generosity, in case anyone imagines that their behaviour towards Odysseus was neither ungenerous nor unworthy of their wealth, just what motives and reasons induced them to be so open-handed and splendid in their generosity. But what I have said so far about this matter is more than sufficient.

It is certainly clear that wealth does no great service to its owners as regards the entertainment of strangers or otherwise. On the contrary, it is more likely to make them stingy and parsimonious, generally speaking, than poverty is. Even if some man of wealth may be found—one perhaps in a million—who is liberal and magnanimous in character, this by no means conclusively proves that the majority do not become worse in this regard than those whose means are limited. A poor man, if he be of strong character, finds the little that he has sufficient both to enable him to regain his health when his body has been attacked by an illness not too severe—when, for example, he is visited by the sort of malady that usually attacks hard-working people whenever they overeat—and also to give



- 93 *είκόντων διδόμενα ἀλύπως, οὐκ ἴσως ἀργυροῦς κρατῆρας ἢ ποικίλους πέπλους ἢ τέθριππον, τὰ<sup>1</sup> Ἑλένης καὶ Μενέλεω Τηλεμάχῳ δῶρα. οὐδὲ γὰρ τοιοῦτους ὑποδέχοντ' ἄν, ὥς εἰκός, ξένους, σατράπας ἢ βασιλέας, εἰ μὴ γε πάνυ σώφρονας καὶ ἀγαθοὺς, οἷς οὐδὲν ἐνδεὲς μετὰ φιλίας γιγνόμενον. ἀκολάστους δὲ καὶ τυραννικοὺς οὐτ' ἂν οἶμαι δύναιντο θεραπεύειν ἱκανῶς ξένους οὐτ' ἂν*
- 94 *ἴσως προσδέοιντο τοιαύτης ξενίας. οὐδὲ γὰρ τῷ Μενέλεω δῆπουθεν ἀπέβη πρὸς τὸ λῶον, ὅτι ἡδύνατο δέξασθαι τὸν πλουσιώτατον ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ξένον, ἄλλος δὲ οὐδεὶς ἱκανὸς ἦν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ τὸν Πριάμου τοῦ βασιλέως υἱὸν ὑπο-*
- 95 *δέξασθαι. τοιγάρτοι ἐρημώσας αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ πρὸς τοῖς χρήμασι τὴν γυναῖκα προσλαβών, τὴν δὲ θυγατέρα ὀρφανὴν τῆς μητρὸς εἰσάσας, ὥχeto ἀποπλέων. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Μενέλαος χρόνον μὲν πολλὸν ἐφθείρετο πανταχόσε τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὀδυρόμενος τὰς αὐτοῦ συμφορὰς, δεόμενος ἐκάστου τῶν βασιλέων ἐπαμῦναι. ἡναγκά-*
- 96 *σθη δὲ ἰκετεῦσαι καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὅπως ἐπιδῷ τὴν θυγατέρα σφαγῆσομένην ἐν Αὐλίδι. δέκα δὲ ἔτη καθῆστο πολεμῶν ἐν Τροίᾳ, πάλιν ἐκεῖ κολακεύων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ ἀδελφός· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὠργίζοντο καὶ ἠπείλουν ἐκάστοτε ἀποπλεύσεσθαι· καὶ πολλοὺς πόνους καὶ κινδύνους ἀμηχάνους ὑπομένων, ὕστερον δὲ ἡλᾶτο καὶ οὐχ οἷός τ' ἦν δίχα<sup>2</sup> μυρίων κακῶν οἴκαδ' ἀφικέσθαι.*

<sup>1</sup> ἢ before τὰ deleted by Geel.<sup>2</sup> δίχα Emperius: διὰ.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

acceptable gifts to strangers when they come—gifts willingly given that do not arouse the recipient's suspicion or give him offence—perhaps not silver bowls, or embroidered robes, or a four-horse chariot, which were the gifts of Helen and Menelaus to Telemachus. For the poor man would be unlikely to have such guests to welcome as satraps or kings, for instance, unless they were very temperate and good men in whose eyes no gift is inadequate which is prompted by affection. But guests that are dissolute and tyrannical they would neither be able, I suppose, to serve acceptably nor, perhaps, would they care to extend such hospitality. For it surely did not turn out any better for Menelaus that he was able to receive the wealthiest prince of Asia as a guest and that nobody else in Sparta was equal to entertaining the son of King Priam. For, mark you, that prince despoiled his home, appropriated his wife as well as his treasures, left the daughter motherless, and sailed away. And after that Menelaus wasted a great deal of time travelling all over Greece bewailing his misfortunes and begging every king in turn to help him. He was forced also to implore his brother to give his daughter<sup>1</sup> to be sacrificed at Aulis.<sup>2</sup> Then for ten years he sat fighting in Troy-land, where again both he and his brother kept cajoling the leaders of the army. When this was not done, the soldiers would grow angry and on every occasion would threaten to sail for home. Besides, he endured many hardships and dire perils, after which he wandered about and was able to reach his home only after infinite trouble.

<sup>2</sup> A harbour in Boeotia where the Greeks assembled before sailing for Troy.

- 97 Ἄρ' οὖν οὐ σφόδρα ἀνάξιον<sup>1</sup> ἀγασθαι τοῦ πλούτου κατὰ<sup>2</sup> τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ τῷ ὄντι ζηλωτὸν ὑπολαβεῖν; ὅς φησιν αὐτοῦ μέγιστον εἶναι ἀγαθὸν τὸ δοῦναι ξένοις, καὶ εἴαν ποτέ τινες ἔλθωσι τρυφῶντες ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, μὴ ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι παρασχεῖν κατάλυσιν καὶ προθεῖναι
- 98 ξένια, οἷς ἂν ἐκείνοι μάλιστα ἤδωιντο; λέγομεν δὲ ταῦτα μεμνημένοι τῶν ποιητῶν, οὐκ ἄλλως ἀντιπαρεξάγοντες ἐκείνοις οὐδὲ τῆς δόξης ζηλοτυποῦντες, ἣν ἀπὸ τῶν ποιημάτων ἐκτήσαντο ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ· οὐ τούτων ἕνεκα, φιλοτιμούμενοι ἐξελέγχειν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἐκείνοις μάλιστα εὐρήσειν ἡγούμενοι τὴν τῶν πολλῶν διάνοιαν, ἃ δὴ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐδόκει περὶ τε πλούτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἃ θαυμάζουσιν, καὶ τί μέγιστον οἴονται σφισι γενέσθαι ἂν ἀφ'<sup>3</sup> ἐκάστου τῶν
- 99 τοιούτων. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι μὴ συμφωνοῦντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ ποιήματος μηδὲ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχοντος οὐκ ἂν οὕτω σφόδρα ἐφίλουν οὐδὲ ἐπήνουν ὡς σοφούς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ<sup>4</sup>
- 100 τάληθῇ λέγοντας. ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἕκαστον ἀπολαμβάνοντα ἐλέγχειν τοῦ πλήθους, οὐδ' ἀνερωτᾶν ἅπαντας ἐν μέρει, Τί γὰρ σύ, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, δέδοικας τὴν πενίαν οὕτως πάννυ, τὸν δὲ πλούτον ὑπερτιμᾶς, τί δ' αὖ σὺ ἐλπίζεις κερδανεῖν μέγιστον, ἂν τύχῃς πλουτήσας ἢ νῆ Δία ἔμπορος γενόμενος ἢ καὶ βασιλεύσας; ἀμήχανον γὰρ δὴ τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ οὐδαμῶς

<sup>1</sup> ἀνάξιον Capps: ἄξιον.

<sup>2</sup> κατὰ Emperius: καί.

<sup>3</sup> ἀφ' Selden: ἐφ'.

<sup>4</sup> γενέσθαι before καὶ deleted by Reiske.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

Is it not, then, most unfitting to admire wealth as the poet<sup>1</sup> does and regard it as really worth seeking? He says that its greatest good lies in giving to guests and, when any who are used to luxury come to one's house, being in a position to offer them lodging and set such tokens of hospitality before them as would please them most. And in advancing these views we cite the poets, not to gain-say them idly nor because we are envious of the reputation for wisdom that they have won by their poems; no, it is not for these reasons we covet the honour of showing them to be wrong, but because we think that it is in them especially that we shall find the thought and feeling of men generally, just what the many think about wealth and the other objects of their admiration, and what they consider would be the greatest good derived from each of them. For it is evident that men would not love the poets so passionately nor extol them as wise and good and exponents of the truth if the poetry did not echo their own sentiments nor express their own views. Since, then, it is not possible to take each member of the multitude aside and show him his error or to cross-question everybody in turn by saying, "How is it, sir, that you fear poverty so exceedingly and exalt riches so highly?" and again, "What great profit do you expect to win if you happen to have amassed wealth or, let us say, to have turned merchant or even become a king?" Such a procedure would involve infinite trouble and

<sup>1</sup> The reference seems to be to Euripides' *Electra* 404 f., where the peasant hesitates as to whether he can entertain Orestes and Pylades suitably. Cf. V, 427:

σκοπῶ τὰ χρήμαθ' ὥς ἔχει μέγα σθένος.

πενήτων σκεπτέον ἂν εἴη τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν ἐργασιῶν, πῶς ἂν μάλιστα διάγοντες καὶ ποῖ' ἅττα μεταχειριζόμενοι δυνήσονται μὴ κακῶς ζῆν μηδὲ φαυλότερον τῶν δανειζόντων ἐπὶ τόκοις συχνοῖς, εὖ μάλ' ἐπισταμένων τὸν ἡμερῶν τε καὶ μηνῶν ἀριθμόν, καὶ τῶν συνοικίας τε μεγάλας καὶ ναῦς κεκτημένων καὶ ἀνδράποδα πολλά.

105 Μήποτε σπάνια ἢ τὰ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἔργα τοῖς τοιούτοις, ἀφορμῆς τε ἔξωθεν προσδεόμενα, ὅταν οἰκεῖν τε μισθοῦ δέῃ καὶ τᾶλλ' ἔχειν ὠνουμένους, οὐ μόνον ἱμάτια καὶ σκεύη καὶ σῖτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξύλα, τῆς γε καθ' ἡμέραν χρείας ἕνεκα τοῦ πυρός, κἂν φρυγάνων δέῃ ποτὲ ἢ φύλλων ἢ ἄλλου ὅτουοῦν τῶν πάνυ φαύλων, δίχα δὲ

106 ὕδατος τὰ ἄλλα σύμπαντα ἀναγκάζονται<sup>1</sup> λαμβάνειν, τιμὴν κατατιθέντες, ἅτε πάντων κατακλειομένων καὶ μηδενὸς ἐν μέσῳ φαινομένου πλην γε οἶμαι τῶν ἐπὶ πράσει πολλῶν καὶ τιμιῶν. τάχα γὰρ ἂν φανεῖται χαλεπὸν τοιούτῳ βίῳ διαρκεῖν μηδὲν ἄλλο κτῆμα ἔξω τοῦ σώματος κεκτημένους, ἄλλως τε ὅταν μὴ τὸ τυχὸν ἔργον μηδὲ πάνθ' ὁμοίως συμβουλευόμεν αὐτοῖς

107 ὅθεν ἔστι κερδᾶναι· ὥστε ἴσως ἀναγκασθησόμεθα ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τῷ λόγῳ τοὺς κομψοὺς πένητας, ἵνα παρέχωμεν τῷ ὄντι καθ' "Ομηρον τὰς πόλεις εὖ ναιεταώσας, ὑπὸ μόνων τῶν μακαρίων οἰκουμένας, ἐντὸς δὲ τείχους οὐδένα ἐάσομεν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐλεύθερον ἐργάτην. ἀλλὰ τοὺς τοιούτους ἅπαντας τί δράσομεν; ἢ διασπείραντες ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κατοικιοῦμεν, καθάπερ Ἀθηναίους φασὶ νέμεσθαι καθ' ὅλην τὴν

<sup>1</sup> ἀναγκάζονται Reiske: ἀναγκάζονται.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

of poor men who live in the capital or some other city, and see by what routine of life and what pursuits they will be able to live a really good life, one not inferior to that of men who lend out money at excessive rates of interest and understand very well the calculation of days and months, nor to that of those who own large tenement houses and ships and slaves in great numbers!

For the poor of this type suitable work may perhaps be hard to find in the cities, and will need to be supplemented by outside resources when they have to pay house-rent and buy everything they get, not merely clothes, household belongings, and food, but even the wood to supply the daily need for fire, and even any odd sticks, leaves, or other most trifling thing they need at any time, and when they are compelled to pay money for everything but water, since everything is kept under lock and key, and nothing is exposed to the public except, of course, the many expensive things for sale. It will perhaps seem hard for men to subsist under such conditions who have no other possession than their own bodies, especially as we do not advise them to take any kind of work that offers or all kinds indiscriminately from which it is possible to make some money. So perhaps we shall be forced in our discussion to banish the respectable poor from the cities in order to make our cities in reality cities "well-inhabited," as Homer calls them, where only the prosperous dwell, and we shall not allow any free labourer, apparently, within the walls. But what shall we do with all these poor people? Shall we scatter them in settlements in the country as the Athenians are said to have been

Ἀττικὴν τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ πάλιν ὕστερον τυραν-  
 108 νήσαντος Πεισιστράτου; οὐκ οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις  
 ἀξύμφορος ἢ τοιαύτη δίαίτα ἐγένετο, οὐδὲ ἀγεννεῖς  
 ἦνεγκε φύσεις πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ τῷ παντὶ βελτίους  
 καὶ σωφρονεστέρους τῶν ἐν ἄστει τρεφομένων  
 ὕστερον ἐκκλησιαστῶν καὶ δικαστῶν καὶ γραμ-  
 ματέων, ἀργῶν ἅμα καὶ βαναύσων. οὐκ οὐδὲ  
 κίνδυνος μέγας οὐδὲ χαλεπός, εἰ πάντες οὗτοι  
 καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἀγροικοὶ ἔσονται· οἶμαι δ'  
 ὅμως αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀπορήσειν οὐδὲ ἐν ἄστει  
 τροφῆς.

109 Ἀλλὰ ἴδωμεν πόσα καὶ ἅττα πράττοντες  
 ἐπιεικῶς ἡμῖν διάξουσιν, ἵνα μὴ πολλάκις ἀναγ-  
 κασθῶσιν ἀργοὶ καθιήμενοι πρὸς τι τῶν φαύλων  
 τραπήναι. αἱ μὲν δὴ σύμπασαι κατὰ πόλιν  
 ἐργασίαι καὶ τέχναι πολλαὶ καὶ παντοδαπαί,  
 σφόδρα τε λυσιτελεῖς ἔναι τοῖς χρωμένοις, εἴαν  
 110 τις τὸ λυσιτελὲς σκοπῇ πρὸς ἀργύριον. ὀνομάσαι  
 δὲ αὐτὰς πάσας κατὰ μέρος οὐ ῥάδιον διὰ τὸ  
 πλήθος καὶ τὴν ἀτοπίαν οὐχ ἥττον. οὐκοῦν ὅδε  
 εἰρήσθω περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν βραχεὶ ψόγος τε καὶ  
 ἔπαινος. ὅσαι μὲν σώματι βλαβεραὶ πρὸς  
 ὑγίειαν ἢ πρὸς ἰσχὺν τὴν ἱκανὴν δι' ἀργίαν τε  
 καὶ ἐδραιότητα ἢ ψυχῇ<sup>1</sup> ἀσχημοσύνην τε καὶ  
 ἀνελευθερίαν ἐντίκτουςι ἢ ἄλλως ἀχρεῖοι καὶ  
 πρὸς οὐδὲν ὄφελός εἰσιν, εὐρημέναι δι' ἀβελ-  
 τερίαν τε καὶ τρυφήν τῶν πόλεων, ἅς γε τὴν

<sup>1</sup> ψυχῇ Schenkl: ψυχῆς.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

spread all over Attica in early times and again later when Peisistratus became tyrant? That mode of life did not prove disadvantageous to the Athenians of that time, nor did it produce a degenerate breed of citizens either, but men in every way better and more temperate than those who later on got their living in the city as ecclesiasts,<sup>1</sup> jurymen, and clerks—a lazy and at the same time ignoble crowd. It will not, therefore, cause any great and dire peril if all these respectable poor shall become by any end and every means rustics, but nevertheless I think that even in the city they will not fail to make a living.

But let us see what the variety and nature of the occupations are which they are to follow in order to live in what we believe is the proper way and not be often compelled to turn to something unworthy because they are out of work. The occupations and trades in the city, if all are taken into consideration, are many and of all kinds, and some of them are very profitable for those who engage in them if one thinks of money when he says “profitable.” But it is not easy to name them all separately on account of their multitude, and equally because that would be out of place here. Therefore, let this brief criticism and praise of them suffice: All which are injurious to the body by impairing its health or by preventing the maintenance of its adequate strength through their inactive or sedentary character, or which engender in the soul either turpitude or illiberality or, in general, are useless and good for nothing since they owe their origin to

<sup>1</sup> Members of the Athenian popular assembly, which consisted of the whole body of male citizens over eighteen years of age.



- ἀρχὴν μήτε τέχνας μήτε ἐργασίας τό γε ὀρθὸν  
καλεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε Ἑσίοδος σοφὸς ὦν  
ἐπήνεσεν ὁμοίως πᾶν ἔργον, εἴ τι τῶν πονηρῶν ἢ  
τῶν αἰσχυρῶν ἡξίου ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας·  
111 αἷς μὲν οὖν ἂν τις προσῇ τούτων τῶν βλαβῶν  
καὶ ἡτισοῦν, μηδένα ἅπτεσθαι τῶν ἐλευθέρων τε  
καὶ ἐπιεικῶν μηδὲ ἐπίστασθαι μήτε αὐτὸν μήτε  
παῖδας τοὺς αὐτοῦ διδάσκειν, ὥς οὔτε καθ' Ἑσίο-  
δον οὔτε καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐργάτην ἐσόμενον, ἂν τι μετα-  
χειρίζηται τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ ἀργίας τε ἅμα καὶ  
αἰσχροκερδείας ἀνελεύθερον ἔξοντα ὄνειδος,  
βάνανσον καὶ ἀχρεῖον καὶ πονηρὸν ἀπλῶς  
112 ὀνομαζόμενον. ὅσα δὲ αὖ μήτε ἀπρεπῇ<sup>1</sup> τοῖς  
μετιοῦσι μοχθηρίαν τε μηδεμίαν ἐμποιοῦντα τῇ  
ψυχῇ μήτε νοσώδη τῶν τε ἄλλων νοσημάτων καὶ  
δῆτα ἀσθενείας τε καὶ ὀκνου καὶ μαλακίας διὰ  
πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν ἐγγιγνομένης ἐν τῷ σώματι, καὶ  
μὴν χρεῖαν γε ἱκανὴν παρέχοντα πρὸς τὸν βίον,  
113 πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττοντες προθύμως καὶ  
φιλοπόνως<sup>2</sup> οὔ ποτ' ἂν ἐνδεεῖς ἔργου καὶ βίου  
γίγνοιτο, οὐδ' ἂν ἀληθῆ τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν παρέχοιεν  
τοῖς πλουσίοις καλεῖν αὐτοὺς ἢ περ εἰώθασιν,  
ἀπόρους ὀνομάζοντες,<sup>3</sup> τοῦναντίον μᾶλλον ἐκείνων  
ὄντες πορισταὶ καὶ μηδενὸς ἀποροῦντες, ὥς ἔπος  
εἰπεῖν, τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ χρησίμων.
- 114 Φέρε οὖν μνησθῶμεν ἀφ' ἑκατέρου τοῦ γένους,

<sup>1</sup> ἀπρεπῇ Reiske: ἀποτρέπει.

<sup>2</sup> φιλοπόνως Dindorf: φιλοφρόνως.

<sup>3</sup> ὀνομάζοντες Casaubon: ὀνομάζοντας.

<sup>1</sup> As we might say, "a parasite living on tainted wealth."

<sup>2</sup> Note the word play in the use of ἀπόρους, πορισταὶ and ἀποροῦντες. ἄπορος, "without means," is the opposite of

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

the silly luxury of the cities—these cannot properly be called trades or occupations at all ; for Hesiod, a wise man, would never have commended all occupations alike if he had thought that any evil or disgraceful thing was entitled to that name—so where any of these evils, be it what it may, is attached to these activities, no self-respecting and honourable man should himself have anything to do with them or know anything about them or teach them to his sons, for he knows that he will not be what either Hesiod or we mean by “workman” if he engages in any such business, but will incur the shameful reproach of being an idler living on disgraceful gains<sup>1</sup> and hear himself bluntly called sordid, good for nothing, and wicked. But, on the other hand, where the occupations are not unbecoming to those who follow them and create no evil condition in their souls nor injure their health by inducing, among other diseases, physical weakness in particular, sluggishness, and softness on account of the almost complete lack of exercise, and, further, enable one to make a satisfactory living—the men who engage zealously and industriously in any of these will never lack work and a living from it, nor will they give the rich any justification for calling them the “poor class,”<sup>2</sup> as is their wont; on the contrary, they will be rather purveyors to the rich and lack practically nothing that is necessary and useful.

Now without describing in detail each and every

εὖπορος, “rich,” “well-to-do,” but here Dio wants us to think of it as also meaning “not providing” in contrast to ποριστής, “provider.” The idle rich are not really εὖποροι, for they provide nothing.

# DIO CHRYSOSTOM

εἰ καὶ μὴ πάνυ ἀκριβῶς ἕκαστα φράζοντες, ἀλλ' ὡς τύπῳ γε<sup>1</sup> κατιδεῖν, τὰ ποῦ ἅττα<sup>2</sup> καὶ ὧν ἔνεκα οὐ προσιέμεθα, καὶ ποῖα θαρροῦντας ἐπιχειρεῖν κελεύομεν, μηδὲν φροντίζοντας τῶν ἄλλως τὰ τοιαῦτα προφερόντων, οἷον εἰώθασι λοιδορούμενοι προφέρειν πολλάκις οὐ μόνον τὰς αὐτῶν ἐργασίας, αἷς οὐδὲν ἄτοπον πρόσεστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν γονέων, ἂν τινος ἔριθος ἢ μήτηρ ἢ<sup>3</sup> ἢ τρυγῆτρια ἐξελθούσά ποτε ἢ μισθοῦ τιτθεύσῃ παῖδα τῶν ὄρφανῶν ἢ πλουσίων ἢ ὁ πατὴρ διδάξῃ γράμματα ἢ παιδαγωγῇσιν· μηδὲν οὖν  
115 τοιοῦτον αἰσχυνομένους ὁμόσε ἰέναι. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλως αὐτὰ ἐροῦσιν, ἂν λέγωσιν, ἢ ὡς σημεία πενίας, πενίαν αὐτὴν λοιδοροῦντες δῆλον ὅτι καὶ προφέροντες ὡς κακὸν δὴ τι καὶ δυστυχές, οὐ τῶν ἔργων οὐδέν. ὥστε ἐπειδὴ οὐ φάμεν χεῖρον οὐδὲ δυστυχέστερον πλούτου πενίαν οὐδὲ πολλοῖς ἴσως ἀξυμφορώτερον, οὐδὲ τὸ ὄνειδος τοῦ ὀνειδούς  
116 μᾶλλον τι βαρυντέον τοῦτ' ἐκείνου. εἰ γάρ τοι<sup>4</sup> δέοι<sup>5</sup> μὴ ὀνομάζοντας τὸ πρᾶγμα δ' ψέγουσι, τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν συμβαίνοντα δι' αὐτὸ<sup>6</sup> βλασφημεῖν προφέροντας, πολὺ πλείω ἂν ἔχοιεν καὶ τῷ ὄντι αἰσχρὰ διὰ πλοῦτον γιγνόμενα, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τὸ παρὰ τῷ Ἡσιόδῳ κεκριμένον ἐπονείδιστον προφέρειν, τὸ τῆς ἀργίας, λέγοντες,<sup>7</sup> ὅτι σε, ὦ ἄνθρωπε,

οὔτε<sup>8</sup> σκαπτῆρα θεοὶ θέσαν οὔτ' ἀροτῆρα,

<sup>1</sup> γε Reiske: τε.

<sup>2</sup> ποῦ ἅττα Geel: τοιαῦτα.

<sup>3</sup> ἢ μήτηρ ἢ Jacobs: ἢ μήτηρ P.

<sup>4</sup> τοι Pflugk: τῷ.

<sup>5</sup> δέοι Emperius: δοκεῖ.

<sup>6</sup> δι' αὐτὸ Selden: διὰ τὸ.

<sup>7</sup> λέγοντες Reiske: λέγοντας.

<sup>8</sup> Aristotle (*Nicomachean Ethics* 6. 7) has τὸν δ' οὔτ' ἄρ'.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

occupation, but simply offering a general outline, let us mention in these two classes the kinds we do not approve of, giving our reasons, and the kinds we urge men to undertake without hesitation. Let them pay no heed to those idle objectors who are wont often to sneer obviously not only at a man's occupation when it has nothing at all objectionable in it, but even at that of his parents, when, for instance, his mother was once on occasion someone's hired servant or a harvester of grapes, or was a paid wet-nurse for a motherless child or a rich man's, or when his father was a schoolmaster or a tutor. Let them, I say, feel no shame before such persons but go right ahead. For if they refer to such things, they will simply be mentioning them as indications of poverty, evidently abusing and holding up poverty itself as something evil and unfortunate, and not any of these occupations. Therefore, since we maintain that to be poor is no worse and no more unfortunate than to be rich, and perhaps no less advantageous to many, the sneer at one's occupation ought not to give any greater offence than the sneer at one's poverty. You see, if, without mentioning the thing with which they found fault, they had to bring up and denounce the things it caused from day to day, they would have a great many more and really disgraceful things caused by the possession of wealth to bring up, and not least of all what in Hesiod is adjudged the greatest shame, namely, the charge of idleness, and exclaim, "Sir,

"Never a delver did the gods make thee, nor a ploughman,"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Part of a verse from fragment 2 of the *Margites*, a poem ascribed to Homer, not to Hesiod.

καὶ ὅτι ἄλλως τὰς χεῖρας ἔχεις κατὰ τοὺς μνηστῆρας ἀτρίπτους καὶ ἀπαλὰς.

- 117 Οὐκοῦν τόδε μὲν οἶμαι παντὶ τῷ δήλῳ καὶ πολλάκις λεγόμενον ἴσως, ὅτι βαφεῖς μὲν καὶ μυρεψοὺς σὺν<sup>1</sup> κουρικῇ γυναικῶν τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν, οὐ πολὺ τι διαφοροῦσαις<sup>2</sup> τὰ νῦν, καὶ ποικιλτικῇ πάσῃ σχεδόν, οὐκ ἐσθήτος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τριχῶν καὶ χρωτὸς, ἐγχοῦση<sup>3</sup> καὶ ψιμυθίῳ καὶ πᾶσι φαρμάκοις μηχανωμένη ὥρας<sup>4</sup> ψευδεῖς καὶ νόθα εἶδωλα, ἔτι δὲ ἐν οἰκιῶν ὀροφαῖς καὶ τοίχοις καὶ ἐδάφει τὰ μὲν χρώμασι, τὰ δὲ λίθοις, τὰ δὲ
- 118 χρυσῷ, τὰ δὲ ἐλέφαντι ποικιλλόντων, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν τοίχων γλυφαῖς, τὸ μὲν ἄριστον μὴ παραδέχεσθαι καθόλου τὰς πόλεις, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον<sup>5</sup> ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι λόγῳ διορίσαι μηδένα ἂν τοιοῦτον<sup>6</sup> γίνεσθαι τῶν ἡμετέρων πενήτων· ὥς πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους ἡμεῖς ἀγωνιζόμεθα ὥσπερ χορῷ τὰ νῦν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ εὐδαιμονίας προκειμένου τοῦ ἀγῶνος· οὐ γὰρ πενία τυττό γε πρόκειται τὸ ἄθλον οὐδὲ αὖ πλούτῳ, μόνης δὲ ἀρετῆς ἐστὶν ἐξαίρετον· ἄλλως δὲ ὑπὲρ ἀγωγῆς τινος καὶ μετριότητος βίου.

- 119 Καὶ τοίνυν οὐδ' ὑποκριτὰς τραγικοὺς ἢ κωμικοὺς ἢ διὰ<sup>7</sup> τινων μίμων ἀκράτου γέλωτος δημιουργοὺς οὐδὲ ὀρχηστὰς οὐδὲ χορευτὰς, πλήν γε τῶν ἱερῶν χορῶν, ἀλλ' οὐκ<sup>8</sup> ἐπὶ γε τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> καὶ βυρσοδέψας before σὺν deleted by Pflugk.

<sup>2</sup> διαφοροῦσαις Morel: διαφοροῦσας.

<sup>3</sup> ἐγχοῦση Casaubon: ἐπεγχοῦση or ἐπεχοῦση.

<sup>4</sup> ὥρας Imperius: ὥς ἔρα.

<sup>5</sup> δεύτερον added by Capps. Kayser conj. ἀρκοῦν.

<sup>6</sup> τοιοῦτον Reiske: τὸ τοιοῦτον.

<sup>7</sup> διὰ added by Reiske.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

adding, "In vain hast thou hands; soft and tender are they like those of the suitors."

Now what I have to say next is, I imagine, apparent to every man and perhaps often remarked—that dyeing and perfumery, along with the dressing of men's and women's hair—nearly the same for both sexes to-day—and practically all adorning, not only of clothing, but even of the hair and skin by the use of alkanet,<sup>1</sup> white lead, and all kinds of chemicals in the attempt to counterfeit youthfulness make a spurious image of the person, and further, the decorating of the roofs, walls, and floor of houses, now with paints, now with precious stones, here with gold and there with ivory, and, again, with carving of the walls themselves—that as for these occupations, the best thing would be that cities should admit none of them at all, but that for us in our present discussion the next best thing would be to rule that none of our poor should adopt any such trade; for we are at present contending against the rich as if with a chorus,<sup>2</sup> and the contest is not for happiness—that is not the prize set before poverty, or before wealth either, but is the especial reward of virtue alone—no, it is for a certain manner of life and moderation therein.

Furthermore, we shall not permit our poor to become tragic or comic actors or creators of immoderate laughter by means of certain mimes, or dancers or chorus-men either. We except, however, the sacred choruses, but not if they represent the

<sup>1</sup> A plant, also called *anchusa*, whose root yields a red dye.

<sup>2</sup> Just as chorus contended against chorus, so Dio as spokesman for the poor is contending against the rich.

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<sup>8</sup> *οὐκ* added by Reiske.

Νιόβης ἢ Θυέστου πάθεσιν ἄδοντας ἢ ὄρχου-  
 μένους, οὐδὲ κιθαρωδούς οὐδὲ αὐλητὰς περὶ  
 νίκης ἐν θεάτροις ἀμιλλωμένους, εἰ καὶ τινες τῶν  
 ἐνδόξων πόλεων ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡμῖν δυσχερῶς  
 ἔξουσι, Σμύρνα καὶ Χίος, καὶ δῆτα σὺν ταύταις  
 καὶ τὸ Ἄργος, ὥς τὴν Ὀμήρου τε καὶ Ἀγα-  
 μέμνονος δόξαν οὐκ ἐώντων αὔξεσθαι τὸ γοῦν  
 120 ἐφ' ἡμῖν τυχὸν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι χαλεπανοῦσιν,  
 ἀτιμάζεσθαι νομίζοντες τοὺς σφετέρους ποιητὰς  
 τραγικοὺς καὶ κωμικοὺς, ὅταν τοὺς ὑπηρέτας  
 αὐτῶν ἀφαιρώμεθα, μηδὲν ἀγαθὸν φάσκοντες  
 ἐπιτηδεύειν. εἰκὸς δὲ ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ Θηβαίους,  
 ὥς τῆς νίκης αὐτῶν ὑβριζομένης, ἣν προεκρίθησαν  
 121 ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup> τῆς Ἑλλάδος νικᾶν ἐπ' αὐλητικῇ· ταύτην  
 δὲ τὴν νίκην οὕτω σφόδρα ἡγάπησαν, ὥστε  
 ἀναστάτου τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς γενομένης καὶ ἔτι  
 νῦν σχεδὸν οὐσης πλὴν μικροῦ μέρους, τῆς  
 Καδμείας οἰκουμένης, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδενὸς  
 ἐφρόντισαν τῶν ἡφανισμένων ἀπὸ πολλῶν μὲν  
 ἱερῶν, πολλῶν δὲ στηλῶν καὶ ἐπιγραφῶν, τὸν δὲ  
 Ἑρμῆν ἀναζητήσαντες πάλιν ἀνώρθωσαν, ἐφ' ᾧ  
 ἦν τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ περὶ τῆς αὐλητικῆς,

Ἑλλὰς μὲν Θήβας νικᾶν προέκρινεν ἐν<sup>2</sup>  
 αὐλοῖς·

Καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ μέσης τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀγορᾶς ἐν  
 122 τοῦτο ἄγαλμα ἕστηκεν ἐν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις· οὐ δὲ  
 φοβηθέντες οὐδένα τούτων οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐπιτιμῆ-  
 στοντας<sup>3</sup> ἡμῖν, ὥς τὰ σπουδαιότατα παρὰ τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ Reiske: ὑπὲρ.

<sup>2</sup> ἐν added by Casaubon.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπιτιμῆσοντας Reiske: ἐπιτιμηθέντας.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

sorrows of Niobe or Thyestes by song or dance. Nor shall the poor become harpers or flute-players contending for victory in the theatres, even if we shall offend certain distinguished cities by so doing, cities such as Smyrna<sup>1</sup> or Chios,<sup>1</sup> for example, and, of course, Argos<sup>2</sup> too, for not permitting the glory of Homer and Agamemnon to be magnified, at least so far as we can help it. Perhaps the Athenians also will have a grievance because they believe that we are disparaging their poets, tragic and comic, when we deprive them of their assistants, claiming that there is nothing good in their calling. It is likely that the Thebans too will be resentful, on the ground that indignity is being offered their victory in flute-playing which was awarded them by Greece. They cherished that victory so dearly that when their city had been destroyed—almost as it remains to-day except for a small part, the Cadmea, which is still inhabited—they cared nothing for the other things that had disappeared, for the many temples, many columns and inscriptions, but the Hermes they hunted out and set up again because the inscription about the contest in flute-playing was engraved upon it.

“Greece awarded to Thebes the victory in playing on flute-pipes.”

And now in the middle of the old market-place stands this one statue surrounded by ruins. But we shall have no fear of any of these people nor of those who will charge us with disparaging the things

<sup>1</sup> Claimed to be Homer's birthplace.

<sup>2</sup> Chief city of Argolis, which was once Agamemnon's country and itself called Argos.



Ἑλλησι ψέγομεν, ἅπαντα τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐκ αἰδημόνων οὐδὲ ἐλευθέρων ἀνθρώπων ἀποφαινόμενοι ἔργα, ὥς ἄλλα τε<sup>1</sup> πολλὰ δυσχερῇ πρόσσεστιν αὐτοῖς καὶ δὴ μέγιστον τὸ τῆς ἀναιδείας, τὸ μᾶλλον τοῦ δέοντος φρονεῖν τὸν ὄχλον, ὅπερ<sup>2</sup> θρασύνεσθαι καλεῖν ὀρθότερον.

- 123 Οὐκουν οὐδὲ κήρυκας ὠνίων οὐδὲ κλοπῶν ἢ δρασμῶν μήνυτρα προτιθέντας, ἐν ὁδοῖς καὶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ φθεγγομένους μετὰ πολλῆς ἀνελευθερίας,<sup>3</sup> οὐδὲ συμβολαίων<sup>4</sup> καὶ προκλήσεων καὶ καθόλου τῶν περὶ δίκας καὶ ἐγκλήματα συγγραφεῖς, προσποιουμένους νόμιμον ἐμπειρίαν, οὐδὲ αὖ τοὺς σοφοὺς τε καὶ δεινοὺς δικορράφους τε καὶ συνηγόρους, μισθοῦ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἐπαγγελλομένους βοηθήσειν καὶ<sup>5</sup> ἀδικοῦσι τὰ μέγιστα, καὶ<sup>6</sup> ἀναισχυντήσειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀδικημάτων καὶ σχετλιάσειν καὶ βοήσασθαι καὶ ἰκετεύσειν ὑπὲρ τῶν οὔτε φίλων οὔτε συγγενῶν σφίσιν ὄντων, σφόδρα ἐντίμους καὶ λαμπροὺς ἐνίους εἶναι δοκούντας ἐν τῇ πόλει, οὐδὲ τοιοῦτον οὐδένα ἀξιολομεν<sup>7</sup> ἂν ἐκείνων γίνεσθαι, παραχωρεῖν δὲ ἑτέροις.
- 124 χειροτέχνας μὲν γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν τινας ἀνάγκη γενέσθαι, γλωσσοτέχνας δὲ καὶ δικοτέχνας οὐδεμία ἀνάγκη.

Τούτων δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων τε καὶ ῥηθησομένων εἴ τινα<sup>8</sup> δοκεῖ χρήσιμα ταῖς πόλεσιν, ὥσπερ ταῖς νῦν οἰκουμέναις, οἷον δὴ ἴσως τὸ περὶ τὴν τῶν

<sup>1</sup> τε Reiske : γε.

<sup>2</sup> μέγιστον after ὅπερ deleted by Reiske.

<sup>3</sup> ἀνελευθερίας Herwerden : ἐλευθερίας.

<sup>4</sup> συμβολαίων Emperius : συμβόλων.

<sup>5</sup> καὶ Casaubon : μή.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

which the Greeks cherish as most important, but shall declare that all such activities have no place with self-respecting or free men, holding that many evils are due to them, the greatest of which certainly is shamelessness, that overweening pride on the part of the populace, for which arrogance would be a better name.

Neither should our poor become auctioneers or proclaimers of rewards for the arrest of thieves or runaways, shouting in the streets and market-place with great vulgarity, or scriveners who draw up contracts and summonses or, in general, documents that have to do with trials and complaints, and claim knowledge of legal forms; nor must they be learned and clever pettifogging lawyers, who pledge their services to all alike for a fee, even to the greatest scoundrels, and undertake to defend unblushingly other men's crimes, and to rage and rant and beg mercy for men who are neither their friends nor kinsmen, though in some cases these advocates bear a high report among their fellow-citizens as most honourable and distinguished men. No, we shall allow none of our poor to adopt such professions but shall leave these to the other sort. For though some of them must of necessity become handicraftsmen, there is no necessity that they should become tongue-craftsmen and law-craftsmen.

Still, if any of the occupations of which I have been speaking, and shall yet speak, seem to have their useful place in our cities as they do in these now

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<sup>6</sup> καὶ . . . ἀδικημάτων in MSS. occurs after ἐν τῇ πόλει: moved by Dindorf.

<sup>7</sup> ἀξιοῦμεν Reiske: ἀξιοῦμεν.

<sup>8</sup> εἴ τινα Emperius: ἔστιν ἄ.

- δικῶν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τῶν συμβολαίων, τάχα δὲ καὶ κηρυγμάτων ἓνια,<sup>1</sup> ὅπως ἂν ἡ<sup>2</sup> ὑφ' ὧν γιγνόμενα ἦκιστα ἂν εἴη βλαβερὰ, οὐ νῦν καιρὸς  
 125 ἐστὶ διορίζειν. οὐ γὰρ πολιτείαν ἐν τῷ παρόντι διατάττομεν, ὅποια τις ἂν ἡ ἀρίστη γένοιτο ἢ πολλῶν ἀμείνων, ἀλλὰ περὶ πενίας προυθέμεθα εἰπεῖν, ὥς οὐκ ἄπορα αὐτῇ τὰ πράγματά ἐστιν, ἢ περ δοκεῖ τοῖς πολλοῖς αὐτὴ τε εἶναι φευκτὸν καὶ κακόν, ἀλλὰ μυρίας ἀφορμὰς πρὸς τὸ ζῆν παρέχει τοῖς αὐτουργεῖν βουλομένοις οὔτε ἀσχί-  
 126 μονας οὔτε βλαβερὰς. ἀπὸ γὰρ αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης τὰ περὶ γεωργίας καὶ θήρας προουτράπη-  
 μεν προδιελθεῖν ἐπὶ πλέον πρότερον, καὶ νῦν περὶ τῶν κατὰ ἄστυ ἐργασιῶν, τίνες αὐτῶν πρέπουσαι καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς τοῖς μὴ κάκιστα βιωσομένοις καὶ τίνες χείρους ἂν ἀποτελοῖεν τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῶν.  
 127 Εἰ δὲ πολλὰ τῶν εἰρημένων καθόλου χρήσιμά ἐστι πρὸς πολιτείαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ προσήκουτος αἵρεσιν, ταύτη καὶ δικαιότερον συγγώμην ἔχειν τοῦ μήκους τῶν λόγων, ὅτι οὐ μάτην ἄλλως οὐδὲ περὶ ἄχρηστα πλανωμένῳ πλείονες γεγόνασιν. ἡ γὰρ περὶ ἐργασιῶν<sup>3</sup> καὶ τεχνῶν σκέψις καὶ καθόλου περὶ βίου προσήκουτος ἢ μὴ τοῖς μετρίοις καὶ καθ' αὐτὴν ἀξία πέφηνεν πολλῆς καὶ  
 128 πάνυ ἀκριβοῦς θεωρίας. χρὴ οὖν τὰς ἐκτροπὰς τῶν λόγων, ἂν καὶ σφόδρα μακροὶ δοκῶσι, μὴ μέντοι περὶ γε φαύλων μηδὲ ἀναξίων μηδὲ<sup>4</sup> οὐ προσηκόντων, μὴ δυσκόλως φέρειν, ὥς οὐκ αὐτὴν λιπόντος τὴν τῶν ὅλων ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ λέγοντος,

<sup>1</sup> ἓνια Capps: ἐνίων.<sup>2</sup> ἡ Pflugk: ἡ.<sup>3</sup> ἐργασιῶν Pflugk: γεωργιῶν.<sup>4</sup> λόγων before μηδὲ deleted by Casaubon.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

existing, such as perhaps the registering of judgments and contracts, and perhaps certain proclamations, it is not now the place for us to determine how and by whom these needs shall be met with the least harm. For we are not at present mapping out the form of government that would be best, or better than many, but we did set out to discuss poverty and to show that its case is not hopeless, as the majority think, who hold it as an evil which should be avoided, but that it affords many opportunities of making a living that are neither unseemly nor injurious to men who are willing to work with their hands. Indeed, it was with that very premise that we were led to tell that quite lengthy tale at the beginning about life among farmers and hunters, and to speak now about city occupations, defining those that are befitting and not harmful to men who are not to live on the lowest plane,<sup>1</sup> and those which degrade the men who are employed in them.

Further, if much that I have said is, in general, serviceable in moulding public policy and assisting in a proper choice, then there is the greater reason for pardoning the length of my discourse, because I have not dragged it out in idle wandering or talk about useless things. For the study of employments and trades and, in general, of the life fitting or otherwise for ordinary people has proved to be, in and of itself, worthy of a great deal of very careful research. The hearer should therefore not be annoyed at digressions even if they do seem excessively long, if only they are not about trivial or unworthy or irrelevant things, since the speaker has not abandoned the real

<sup>1</sup> As we say, "have the lowest standard of living."

- ἕως<sup>1</sup> ἂν περὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ προσηκόντων  
 129 φιλοσοφία διεξίη. σχεδὸν γὰρ κατὰ τοῦτο  
 μιμούμενοι τοὺς κυνηγέτας οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοιμεν·  
 οἷ γε ἐπειδὴν τὸ πρῶτον ἵχνος ἐκλαβόντες καὶ κείνῳ  
 ἐπόμενοι μεταξὺ ἐπιτύχωσιν ἐτέρῳ φανερωτέρῳ  
 καὶ μᾶλλον ἐγγύς, οὐκ ὥκνησαν τούτῳ ξυνα-  
 κολουθῆσαι,<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἐλόντες τὸ ἐμπεσὸν ὕστερον  
 130 ἐπ' ἐκείνο μετήλθον. ἴσως οὖν οὐδὲ ἐκείνο  
 μεμπτέον, ὅστις περὶ ἀνδρὸς δικαίου καὶ δικαιο-  
 σύνης λέγειν ἀρξάμενος, μνησθεὶς πόλεως παρα-  
 δείγματος ἔνεκεν, πολλαπλάσιον λόγον ἀνάλωσεν  
 περὶ πολιτείας, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀπέκαμε πρὶν ἢ  
 πάσας μεταβολὰς καὶ ἅπαντα γένη πολιτειῶν  
 διεξῆλθε, πάννυ ἐναργῶς τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς τὰ  
 131 ξυμβαίνοντα περὶ ἐκάστην ἐπιδεικνύς· εἰ καὶ  
 παρά τισιν αἰτίαν ἔχει περὶ τοῦ μήκους τῶν  
 λόγων καὶ τῆς διατριβῆς τῆς περὶ τὸ παράδειγμα  
 δήπουθεν· ἀλλ' ὥς<sup>3</sup> οὐδὲν ὄντα πρὸς τὸ προκεί-  
 μενον τὰ εἰρημένα καὶ οὐδ' ὅπωςτιοῦν σαφεστέρου  
 δι' αὐτὰ τοῦ ζητουμένου γεγονότος, οὐπερ ἔνεκεν  
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰς τὸν λόγον παρελήφθη, διὰ ταῦτα,  
 εἴπερ ἄρα, οὐ παντάπασιν ἀδίκως εὐθύνεται.  
 132 ἐὰν οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς μὴ προσήκοντα μηδὲ οἰκεία τῷ  
 προκειμένῳ φαινώμεθα διεξιόντες, μακρολογεῖν  
 εἰκότως ἂν φαινοίμεθα καθ' αὐτὸ δὲ ἄλλως οὔτε  
 μῆκος οὔτε βραχύτητα ἐν λόγοις ἐπαινεῖν ἢ  
 ψέγειν δίκαιον.

<sup>1</sup> ἕως Casaubon: ὥς.

<sup>2</sup> ξυνακολουθῆσαι Carps: ξυνακολουθήσαντες. For ἐπ' ἐκείνο μετήλθον Jap. has τὸν πρῶτον ἵχνος ἐπανελθεῖν.

<sup>3</sup> ἀλλ' ὥς Casaubon: ἀλλ' ὥς.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

theme of the whole provided he treats of the matters that are essential and pertinent to philosophy. Probably if we imitated the hunter in this we should not go far astray. When he picks up his first trail and, following it, all at once comes upon another that is clearer and fresher, he does not hesitate to follow up this latter and then, after bagging his game, goes back to the first trail. Neither should we, perhaps, find fault with a man<sup>1</sup> who set out to discuss the just man and justice and then, having mentioned a city for the sake of illustration, expatiated at much greater length on the constitution of a state and did not grow weary until he had enumerated all the variations and the kinds of such organizations, setting forth very clearly and magnificently the features characteristic of each; even though he does find critics here and there who take him to task for the length of his discussion and the time spent upon "the illustration, forsooth!" But if the criticism be that his remarks on the state have no bearing on the matter in hand and that not the least light has been thrown on the subject of investigation which led him into the discussion at the start—for these reasons, if for any, it is not altogether unfair to call him to task. So if we too shall be found to be expounding matters that are not pertinent or germane to the question before us, then we might be found guilty of prolixity. But, strictly speaking, it is not fair on other grounds to commend or to criticize either length or brevity in a discourse.

<sup>1</sup> The man here referred to is Plato, who in his *Republic* sets out to determine what justice is, and from this is led on to describe an ideal state founded on justice.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι πράξεων  
 χρὴ θαρροῦντας διαπερᾶναι, τῶν μὲν μιμησκο-  
 μένους, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐὼντας ἄρρητὰ τε καὶ  
 ἀμνημόνευτα.

- 133 Οὐ γὰρ δὴ περὶ γε πορνοβοσκῶν καὶ περὶ  
 πορνοβοσκίας ὡς ἀμφιβόλων ἀπαγορευτέον, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ πάνυ ἰσχυριστέον τε καὶ ἀπορρητέον, λέγοντι  
 μηδένα προσχρῆσθαι μήτε οὖν πέννητα μήτε πλού-  
 σιον ἐργασίᾳ τοιαύτῃ, μισθὸν ὕβρεως καὶ ἀκο-  
 λασίας ὁμοίως παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐπονείδιστον ἐκλέ-  
 γοντας, ἀναφροδίτου μίξεως καὶ ἀνεράστων<sup>1</sup>  
 ἐρώτων κέρδους ἕνεκα γιγνομένους συναγωγούς,<sup>2</sup>  
 αἰχμάλωτα σώματα γυναικῶν ἢ παίδων ἢ ἄλλως  
 ἀργυρώνητα ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ προϊστάντας ἐπ' οἰκη-  
 μάτων ῥυπαρῶν, πανταχοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀποδε-  
 δειγμένων, ἐν τε παρόδοις ἀρχόντων καὶ ἀγοραῖς,  
 134 πλησίον ἀρχείων τε καὶ ἱερῶν, μεταξὺ τῶν ὀσιω-  
 τάτων, μήτ' οὖν βαρβαρικὰ σώματα μήτε Ἑλλή-  
 νων πρότερον μὲν οὐ πάνυ, τὰ νῦν δὲ ἀφθόνῳ τε  
 καὶ πολλῇ δουλείᾳ κεχρημένων, ἐπὶ τὴν τοιαύτην  
 λώβην καὶ ἀνάγκην ἄγοντας, ἵπποφορβῶν καὶ  
 ὄνοφορβῶν πολλὸν κάκιον καὶ ἀκαθαρτότερον ἔργον  
 ἐργαζομένους, οὐ κτήνεσι κτήνῃ δίχα βίας  
 ἐκόντα ἐκούσιν ἐπιβάλλοντας οὐδὲν αἰσχυνο-  
 μένοις, ἀλλὰ ἀνθρώποις αἰσχυνομένοις καὶ ἄκου-  
 σιν οἰστρῶντας καὶ ἀκολάστους ἀνθρώπους ἐπ'  
 ἀτελεῖ καὶ ἀκάρπῳ συμπλοκῇ σωμάτων φθορὰν  
 μᾶλλον ἢ γένεσιν ἀποτελούσῃ,<sup>3</sup> οὐκ<sup>4</sup> αἰσχυνο-  
 135 μένους οὐδένα ἀνθρώπων ἢ θεῶν, οὔτε Δία γε-

<sup>1</sup> ἀνεράστων Emperius: ἀνεράστου τῶν.

<sup>2</sup> συναγωγούς Pflugk: συναγαγοῦσαι.

<sup>3</sup> ἀποτελούσῃ Reiske: ἀποτελούντων.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

Now we must confidently go on and finish our discussion of the other activities of city life, mentioning some of them and leaving others unmentioned and unrecorded.

In dealing with brothel-keepers and their trade we must certainly betray no weakness as though something were to be said on both sides, but must sternly forbid them and insist that no one, be he poor or be he rich, shall pursue such a business, thus levying a fee, which all the world condemns as shameful, upon brutality and lust. Such men bring individuals together in union without love and intercourse without affection, and all for the sake of filthy lucre. They must not take hapless women or children, captured in war or else purchased with money, and expose them for shameful ends in dirty booths which are flaunted before the eyes in every part of the city, at the doors of the houses of magistrates and in market-places, near government buildings and temples, in the midst of all that is holiest. Neither barbarian women, I say, nor Greeks—of whom the latter were in former times almost free but now live in bondage utter and complete—shall they put in such shameful constraint, doing a much more evil and unclean business than breeders of horses and of asses carry on, not mating beasts with beasts where both are willing and feel no shame, but mating human beings that do feel shame and revulsion, with lecherous and dissolute men in an ineffectual and fruitless physical union that breeds destruction rather than life. Yes, and they respect no man nor god—

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<sup>4</sup> οὐκ Emperius: οὐτε.



μένοις μελέτης καὶ συνηθείας ἀκάθεκτον τὴν  
 ἰσχὺν<sup>1</sup> καὶ ῥώμην λαβοῦσα οὐδενὸς ἔτι φείδεται  
 τῶν λοιπῶν.

139 Ἦδη οὖν χρή παντὸς μᾶλλον οἶεσθαι τὰς ἐν  
 τῷ μέσῳ ταύτας φανεράς καὶ ἀτίμους μοιχείας  
 καὶ λίαν ἀναισχύντως καὶ ἀνέδην γιγνομένας, ὅτι  
 τῶν ἀδήλων καὶ ἀφανῶν εἰς<sup>2</sup> ἐντίμους γυναῖκας  
 τε καὶ παῖδας ὕβρεων οὐχ ἥκιστα παρέχουσι τὴν  
 αἰτίαν τοῦ πᾶν ῥαδίως τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμᾶσθαι,  
 τῆς αἰσχύνης ἐν κοινῷ καταφρονουμένης, ἀλλ'  
 οὐχ, ὥσπερ οἶονταί τινες, ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας καὶ  
 ἀποχῆς ἐκείνων εὐρῆσθαι τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων.

140 Τάχ' οὖν λέγοι τις ἂν ἀγροικύτερον οὕτω πως·  
 Ὡ σοφοὶ νομοθέται καὶ ἄρχοντες οἱ παραδεξά-  
 μενοι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ὡς δὴ τι θαυμαστὸν  
 εὐρηκότες<sup>3</sup> ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑμεῖς σωφροσύνης φάρ-  
 μακον, ὅπως ὑμῖν μὴ τὰ φανερά ταῦτα καὶ  
 ἄκλειστα οἰκήματα τὰς κεκλεισμένας οἰκίας καὶ  
 τοὺς ἐνδοθεν θαλάμους ἀναπετάσῃ καὶ τοὺς ἔξω  
 καὶ φανερώς ἀσελγαίνοντας ἀπὸ μικρᾶς δαπάνης  
 ἐπὶ τὰς ἐλευθέρας καὶ σεμνὰς τρέψῃ γυναῖκας  
 μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων τε καὶ δώρων, τὸ σφόδρα  
 εὖνων καὶ μετ' ἐξουσίας οὐκέτι στέργοντας, ἀλλ'  
 αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ κεκωλυμένον ἐν φόβῳ τε καὶ πολλοῖς

141 ἀναλώμασι διώκοντας. ὄψεσθε δὲ αὐτό, ἐμοὶ  
 δοκεῖν, ἀκριβέστερον, εἰς σκοπῆτε· παρ' οἷς γὰρ  
 καὶ τὰ τῶν μοιχειῶν μεγαλοπρεπέστερόν πως  
 παραπέμπεται, πολλῆς καὶ σφόδρα φιλανθρώπου  
 τῆς εὐγνωμοσύνης τυγχάνοντα, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ  
 ὑπὸ χρηστότητος οὐκ αἰσθανομένων τῶν ἀνδρῶν,

<sup>1</sup> ἰσχὺν Reiske: αἰσχύνην.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

habits that seem trivial and allowable, it acquires a strength and force that are uncontrollable, and no longer stops at anything.

Now at this point we must assuredly remember that this adultery committed with outcasts, so evident in our midst and becoming so brazen and unchecked, is to a very great extent paving the way to hidden and secret assaults upon the chastity of women and boys of good family, such crimes being only too boldly committed when modesty is openly trampled upon, and that it was not invented, as some think, to afford security and abstinence from those crimes.

Perhaps now someone may say, rather rudely, something like this: "O you wise rulers and law-givers, who tolerated such practices in the beginning and imagined you had actually discovered some wondrous elixir to produce chastity in our cities, your motive being to keep these open and unbarred brothels from contaminating your barred homes and inner chambers, and keep men who practise their excesses abroad and openly at little cost from turning to your free-born and respected wives with their many bribes and gifts!" For men do grow weary of what is excessively cheap and freely permitted, but pursue in fear and at great expense what is forbidden simply because it is forbidden. I think you will see this more clearly if you just consider. For where men condone even the matter of adultery in a somewhat magnificent fashion and the practice of it finds great and most charitable consideration, where husbands in their simplicity do not notice most things and do

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<sup>2</sup> *eis* Reiske: *εις τε*.

<sup>3</sup> *εὐρηκότες* Jacobs: *εὐρήκατε*.

τὰ δέ τινα οὐχ ὁμολογούντων εἰδέναι, ξένους δὲ  
καὶ φίλους καὶ ξυγγενεῖς τοὺς μοιχοὺς καλου-  
μένους ἀνεχομένων, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐνίοτε φιλοφρονου-  
μένων καὶ παρακαλούντων ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς καὶ  
θυσίαις ἐπὶ τὰς ἐστιάσεις, ὡς ἂν οἶμαι τοὺς  
142 οἰκειοτάτους, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς σφόδρα ἐκδήλοις καὶ  
φανεροῖς μετρίας τὰς ὀργὰς ποιουμένων· παρ'  
οἷς, φημί, ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐπιεικῶς ἐξάγεται τὰ  
περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν παρθένων ἐκεῖ  
θαρρήσαι ῥάδιον τῆς κορείας<sup>1</sup> οὐδὲ τὸν ὑμέναιον  
ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ δικαίως ἀδόμενον ἐν τοῖς παρθε-  
143 νικοῖς γάμοις πιστεῦσαί ποτε. ἡ οὐκ<sup>2</sup> ἰνάγκη  
πολλὰ εἰκότα ξυμβαίνειν αὐτόθι τοῖς παλαιοῖς  
μύθοις, δίχα γε τῆς τῶν πατέρων ὀργῆς καὶ πολυ-  
πραγμοσύνης, μάλα<sup>3</sup> πολλῶν μιμουμένων τοὺς  
λεγομένους τῶν θεῶν ἔρωτας χρυσοῦ τε πολλοῦ  
διαρρέοντος διὰ τῶν ὀρόφων καὶ πάνυ ῥαδίως,  
ἄτε οὐ χαλκῶν<sup>4</sup> ὄντων οὐδὲ λιθίνων τῶν οἰκη-  
144 μάτων, καὶ νῆ Δία ἀργύρου στάζοντος οὐ κατ'  
ὀλίγον οὐδ' εἰς τοὺς τῶν παρθένων κόλπους  
μόνον, ἀλλ' εἰς τε μητέρων καὶ τροφῶν καὶ  
παιδαγωγῶν, καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν  
δώρων τῶν μὲν κρύφα εἰσιόντων διὰ τῶν στεγῶν,  
ἔστι δ' ὧν φανερώς κατ' αὐτάς που τὰς κλισίας ;  
145 τί δ' ; ἐν ποταμοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ κρηνῶν οὐκ εἰκὸς  
ὅμοια πολλὰ γένεσθαι τοῖς πρότερον λεγομένοις  
ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν ; πλὴν ἴσως γε οὐ δημόσια<sup>5</sup>  
γιγνόμενα οὐδ' ἐν τῷ φανερῷ, κατ' οἰκίας δὲ

<sup>1</sup> κορείας Jacobs: χορείας.

<sup>2</sup> οὐκ Pflugk: οὐν.

<sup>3</sup> μάλα Imperius: ἀλλὰ.

<sup>4</sup> χαλκῶν Dindorf: χαλκίων.

<sup>5</sup> δημόσια Arnim: δημοσία.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

not admit knowledge of some things but suffer the adulterers to be called guests and friends and kinsmen, at times even entertaining these themselves and inviting them to their tables at festivals and sacrifices as, I imagine, they might invite their bosom friends, and display but moderate anger at actions that are most glaring and open—where, I say, these intrigues of the married women are carried on with such an air of respectability, in that community it will not be easy to feel quite sure of the maidenhood of the unmarried girls or ever to be confident that the words of the wedding song sung at the marriage of the girls are truthful and honest. Is it not inevitable that in these cities many things occur which are like the old legends?—omitting, of course, the angry and meddling fathers<sup>1</sup>—that a great many persons copy the storied amours of the gods and gold pours in showers through the roofs<sup>2</sup> (and with little difficulty, since the chambers are not of brass or stone), and yes, by heavens, that silver trickles in no small stream nor into the laps of the maidens alone, but into those of mothers also and nurses and tutors—to say nothing of many other handsome gifts which sometimes enter stealthily through the roof and sometimes openly no doubt at the very bedside! Is it not likely, too, that much occurs in rivers and beside springs which is like those happenings of ancient times that the poets describe? Only perhaps they do not occur in the open publicly, but in homes of truly great felicity,

<sup>1</sup> The regular characters in the old tales; cf. the New Comedy.

<sup>2</sup> A very similar passage, in comic vein, occurs in Menander's *Samia* 387 f., where Demeas tries to persuade Niceratus that Zeus is the father of his bastard grandson.

ὄντως<sup>1</sup> εὐδαίμονας, κήπων τε καὶ προαστείων πολυτελεῖς ἐπαύλεις, ἐν τισι νυμφῶσι κατεσκευασμένοις καὶ θαυμαστοῖς ἄλσεσιν, ἅτε οὐ περὶ<sup>2</sup> πενιχρὰς οὐδὲ πενήτων βασιλέων οἷας ὑδροφορεῖν τε καὶ παίζειν παρὰ τοῖς ποταμοῖς, ψυχρὰ λουτρὰ λουόμενας καὶ ἐν αἰγιαλοῖς<sup>3</sup> ἀναπεπταμένοις, ἀλλὰ μακαρίας καὶ μακαρίων γονέων, ἐν βασιλικαῖς καταγωγαῖς ἴδια πάντα ταῦτα ἐχούσαις πολὺ κρείττονα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστερα τῶν κοινῶν.

- 146 Ἄλλ' ἴσως γε οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐμελλον ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ πόλει παῖδας προσδοκᾶν ἐσομένους, οἷον Ὅμηρος εἶρηκεν Εὐδωρον, υἱὸν Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Πολυδώρας, ὑποκοριζόμενος αὐτὸν οἶμαι κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν,

παρθένιος, τὸν ἔτικτε χορῶ καλῇ Πολυδώρῃ.

- 147 σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔτυχόν τινες ταύτης τῆς ἐπωνυμίας τῶν οὕτως γενομένων, Παρθενίαι κληθέντες συχνοί· ὥστ', εἰ μὴ διεφθείροντο οἱ πλείους τῶν ἐν ταῖς οὕτως τρυφώσαις πόλεσι γιγνομένων, ἅτε οὐδαμῶς οἶμαι δαιμονίου τυγχάνοντες ἐπιμελείας, οὐδὲν ἂν ἐκώλυε πάντα  
148 μεστὰ ἡρώων εἶναι. νῦν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀπόλλυνται παραχρῆμα· ὅσοι δ' ἂν καὶ τραφῶσι,<sup>4</sup> κρύφα ἐν δούλου σχήματι μένουσιν ἄχρι γήρως, ἅτε οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς δυναμένων τῶν σπειράντων προσωφελεῖν.

Εἶεν δὴ, παρ' οἷς ἂν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς κόρας

<sup>1</sup> ὄντως Gael: οὕτως.

<sup>2</sup> περὶ added by Reiske.

<sup>3</sup> αἰγιαλοῖς Pflugk: ἄλσεσιν.

<sup>4</sup> τραφῶσι Schwartz: φανῶσι.

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 16. 180, but the last word in Homer's verse is Πολυμήλη, not Πολυδώρη, which occurs in verse 175.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

at costly lodges in parks and city suburbs, in luxurious artificial bowers and in splendid groves; for it is not a question of poor daughters of penniless kings, the kind that carry water and play on beaches beside the rivers, bathing in cool water, or on wide-spreading beaches of the sea; no, they are the wealthy daughters of wealthy parents in princely establishments that possess all these things in private far surpassing anything in public splendour and magnificence.

But perhaps they would nevertheless be expecting children to be born in that city, children of the kind that Homer refers to when he mentions Eudorus, son of Hermes and Polydora, and makes use of an euphemism, as I see it, in referring to his birth:

“Virgin’s son whom bore Polydora, fair in the chorus.”<sup>1</sup>

I suspect that at Sparta as well some boys of a similar paternity received this appellation, since quite a number are called Parthenians.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, if the majority born in such immoral cities did not perish through utter lack, I imagine, of divine protection, then nothing would save the world from being overrun by demigods. But as it is, some die at birth, while those that do survive live on to old age in obscurity in the status of slaves, since those who gave them being can give them no further support.

Now then, in a city where the girls’ condition

<sup>2</sup> i.e., sons of *parthenoi* or virgins. The term was applied to the youths born at Sparta during the Messenian War.

οὕτως ἀπλῶς<sup>1</sup> ἔχῃ, τί χρὴ προσδοκᾶν τοὺς κόρους,  
 149 ποίας τινὸς παιδείας καὶ ἀγωγῆς τυγχάνειν ;  
 ἔσθ' ὅπως ἂν ἀπόσχοιτο τῆς τῶν ἀρρένων λώβης  
 καὶ φθορᾶς τό γε ἀκόλαστον γένος, τοῦτον ἱκανὸν  
 καὶ σαφῆ ποιησάμενον ὄρον τὸν τῆς φύσεως, ἀλλ'  
 οὐκ ἂν ἐπιμπλάμενον πάντα τρόπον τῆς περὶ  
 γυναικας ἀκρασίας διακορὲς γενόμενον τῆς ἡδονῆς  
 ταύτης ζητοίῃ ἑτέραν μείζω καὶ παρανομωτέραν  
 150 ὕβριν ; ὡς τὰ γε γυναικῶν, αὐτῶν σχεδόν τι<sup>2</sup>  
 τῶν ἐλευθέρων καὶ παρθένων, ἐφάνη ῥάδια καὶ  
 οὐδεὶς πόνος θηρῶντι μετὰ πλούτου τὴν τοιάνδε  
 θήραν· οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τὰς πάνυ σεμνὰς καὶ σεμνῶν  
 τῷ ὄντι γυναικας καὶ θυγατέρας ὅστις ἂν ἦ<sup>3</sup>  
 σὺν τῇ τοῦ Διὸς μηχανῇ, χρυσὸν μετὰ χεῖρας  
 151 φέρων, οὐ μῆποτε ἀποτυγχάνῃ. ἀλλ' αὐτὰ που  
 τὰ λοιπὰ δῆλα παρὰ πολλοῖς γιγνόμενα· ὃ γε  
 ἄπληστος τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιθυμιῶν, ὅταν μὴδὲν  
 εὐρίσκη σπάνιον μὴδὲ ἀντιτεῖνον ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ  
 γένει, καταφρονήσας τοῦ ῥαδίου καὶ ἀτιμάσας  
 τὴν ἐν ταῖς γυναιξίν 'Αφροδίτην, ὡς ἔτοιμον δὴ  
 τινα καὶ τῷ ὄντι θῆλυν παντελῶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνδρω-  
 νίτιν μεταβήσεται, τοὺς ἄρξοντας αὐτίκα μάλα  
 καὶ δικάσοντας καὶ στρατηγήσοντας ἐπιθυμῶν  
 152 καταισχύνειν, ὡς ἐνθάδε που τὸ χαλεπὸν καὶ  
 δυσπόριστον εὐρήσων τῶν ἡδονῶν εἶδος, τοῖς  
 ἄγαν φιλοπόταις καὶ οἰνόφλυξι ταῦτ' ὡς πεπονθὼς  
 πάθος, οἱ πολλάκις μετὰ πολλὴν ἀκρατοποσίαν  
 καὶ συνεχῇ οὐκ ἐθέλοντες πιεῖν αὐχμὸν ἐξεπίτηδες  
 μηχανῶνται διὰ τε ἰδρώτων καὶ σιτίων ἀλμυρῶν  
 καὶ δριμέων προσφορᾶς.

<sup>1</sup> For οὕτως ἀπλῶς Emperius conj. οὕτω σαπρῶς, perhaps rightly.

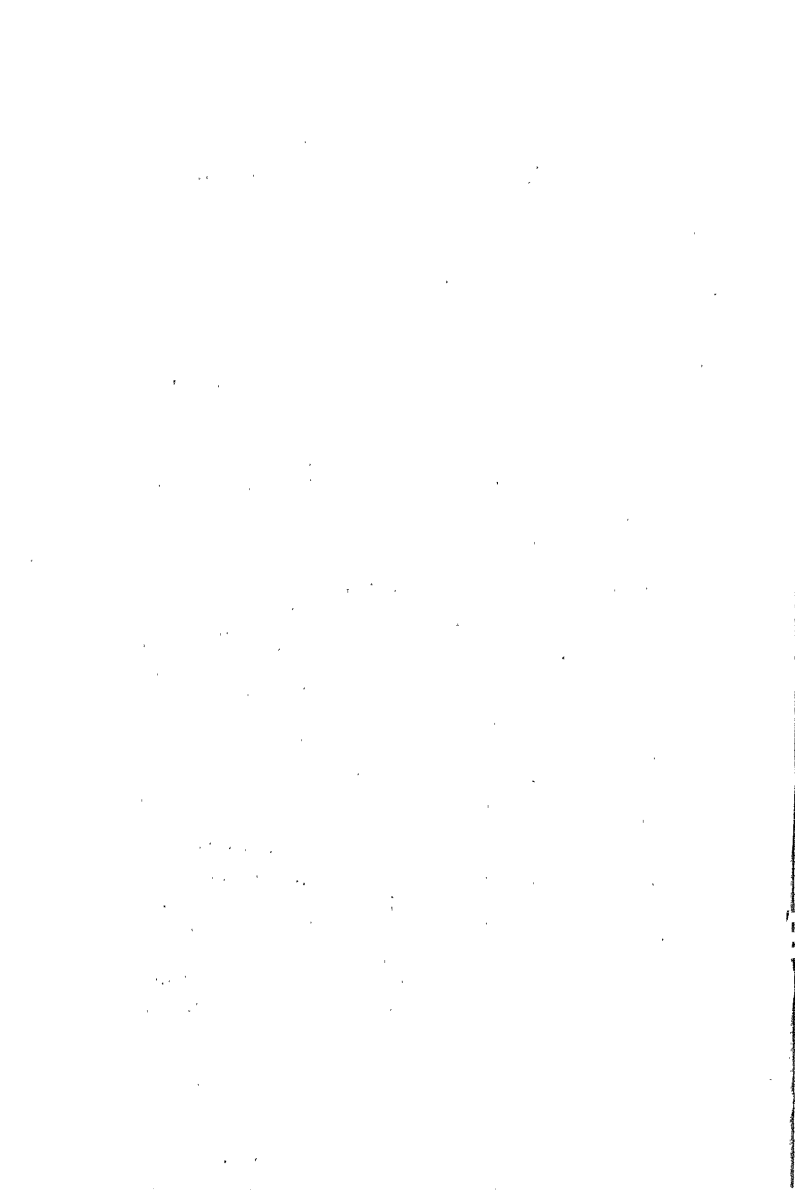
<sup>2</sup> τι Reiske: τε.

<sup>3</sup> ἦ Reiske: ἦ or εἰ.

## THE SEVENTH, OR EUBOEAN, DISCOURSE

is as bad as we have described, what are we to expect the boys to be? What education and training should we expect them to receive? Is there any possibility that this lecherous class would refrain from dishonouring and corrupting the males, making their clear and sufficient limit that set by nature? Or will it not, while it satisfies its lust for women in every conceivable way, find itself grown weary of this pleasure, and then seek some other worse and more lawless form of wantonness? Yes, the seduction of women—especially, one might almost say, of the freeborn and virgins—has been found easy and no task for a man who pursues that kind of game with money; and even against the highly respected wives and daughters of men really respected, the libertine who attacks with the device of Zeus and brings gold in his hands will never fail. But the further developments, I presume, are perfectly evident, since we see so many illustrations. The man whose appetite is insatiate in such things, when he finds there is no scarcity, no resistance, in this field, will have contempt for the easy conquest and scorn for a woman's love, as a thing too readily given—in fact, too utterly feminine—and will turn his assault against the male quarters, eager to befoul the youth who will very soon be magistrates and judges and generals, believing that in them he will find a kind of pleasure difficult and hard to procure. His state is like that of men who are addicted to drinking and wine-bibbing, who after long and steady drinking of unmixed wine, often lose their taste for it and create an artificial thirst by the stimulus of sweatings, salted foods, and condiments.





## THE EIGHTH DISCOURSE, ON VIRTUE

The subject of the eighth Discourse is "The Real Athlete," and the speech was evidently delivered during Dio's period of exile. The reference to Diogenes' exile at the beginning is no accident. When the latter was represented as telling how he endured hunger, thirst, and poverty, and narrating the labours of Heracles, Dio's audience naturally thought of the speaker himself; and when Eurystheus, who tyrannized over Heracles, was mentioned, they thought of Domitian, who banished Dio.

## 8. ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ Η ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΕΤΗΣ

- 1 Διογένης ὁ Σινωπεὺς ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, οὐδενὸς διαφέρων τῶν πάνυ φαύλων Ἀθήναζε ἀφίκετο, καὶ καταλαμβάνει συχνούς ἔτι τῶν Σωκράτους ἐταίρων· καὶ γὰρ Πλάτωνα καὶ Ἀρίστιππον καὶ Αἰσχίνην καὶ Ἀντισθένην καὶ τὸν Μεγαρέα Εὐκλείδην· Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἔφηνε διὰ τὴν μετὰ Κύρου στρατείαν. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων ταχὺ κατεφρόνησεν, Ἀντισθέnei δὲ ἐχρήτο, οὐκ αὐτὸν οὕτως ἐπαινῶν ὥς τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἔλεγεν, ἡγούμενος μόνους εἶναι ἀληθεῖς καὶ μάλιστα
- 2 δυναμένους ἄνθρωπον ὠφελῆσαι. ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν γε τὸν Ἀντισθένην παραβάλλων πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ἐνότε ἤλεγχεν ὥς πολὺ μαλακώτερον, καὶ ἔφη αὐτὸν εἶναι σάλπιγγα λοιδορῶν· αὐτοῦ γὰρ οὐκ ἀκούειν φθεγγομένου μέγιστον. καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης ὑπέμενε αὐτὸν ταῦτα ἀκούων· πάνυ
- 3 γὰρ ἐθαύμαζε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὴν φύσιν. ἔλεγεν οὖν ἀμυνόμενος ἀντὶ τῆς σάλπιγγος τοῖς σφηξίν αὐτὸν ὁμοιον εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ τῶν σφηκῶν εἶναι τὸν μὲν ψόφον τῶν πτερῶν μικρόν, τὸ δὲ κέντρον δριμύτατον. ἔχαιρεν οὖν τῇ παρρησίᾳ τοῦ Διογένους, ὥσπερ οἱ ἵππικοί, ὅταν ἵππον θυμοειδῇ λάβωσιν, ἄλλως δὲ ἀνδρεῖον καὶ φιλόπονον,

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<sup>1</sup> Important town of Pontus on the southern shore of the Euxine or Black Sea.

## THE EIGHTH DISCOURSE : DIOGENES OR ON VIRTUE

WHEN Diogenes was exiled from his native Sinope,<sup>1</sup> he came to Athens, looking like the veriest beggar; and there he found a goodly number still of Socrates' companions: to wit, Plato, Aristippus,<sup>2</sup> Aeschines,<sup>3</sup> Antisthenes,<sup>4</sup> and Eucleides<sup>5</sup> of Megara; but Xenophon was in exile on account of his campaign with Cyrus. Now it was not long before he despised them all save Antisthenes, whom he cultivated, not so much from approval of the man himself as of the words he spoke, which he felt to be alone true and best adapted to help mankind. For when he contrasted the man Antisthenes with his words, he sometimes made this criticism, that the man himself was much weaker; and so in reproach he would call him a trumpet because he could not hear his own self, no matter how much noise he made. Antisthenes tolerated this banter of his since he greatly admired the man's character; and so, in requital for being called a trumpet, he used to say that Diogenes was like the wasps, the buzz of whose wings is slight but the sting very sharp. Therefore he took delight in the outspokenness of Diogenes, just as horsemen, when they get a horse that is high-strung and yet

<sup>1</sup> Founder of the Cyrenaic or Hedonistic school of philosophy.

<sup>2</sup> Not the orator but the philosopher, a disciple of Socrates.

<sup>3</sup> Founder of the Cynic school of philosophy.

<sup>4</sup> Historian and disciple of Socrates.

- ὀδόντας ἰᾶσθαι, πάντες ἂν αὐτῷ προσῆσαν οἱ  
 δεόμενοι ὀδόντα ἐξελέσθαι, καὶ νῆ Δία εἰ  
 ὑπέσχετο ὀφθαλμούς θεραπεύειν, πάντες ἂν οἱ  
 ὀφθαλμιῶντες αὐτοὺς ἐπεδείκνουν· ὁμοίως δέ, εἰ  
 σπληνὸς ἢ ποδάγρας ἢ κορύζης εἶδέναι φάρμακον·  
 8 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔφη παύσειν τοὺς πεισομένους αὐτῷ  
 ἀγνοίας καὶ πονηρίας καὶ ἀκολασίας, οὐδεὶς  
 αὐτῷ προσεῖχεν οὐδὲ ἐκέλευεν ἰᾶσθαι αὐτόν,  
 οὐδὲ εἰ πολὺ προσλήψεσθαι ἀργύριον ἔμελλεν,  
 ὥς ἦττον ὑπὸ τούτων ἢ ὑπ' ἐκείνων<sup>1</sup> ἐνοχλού-  
 μενος ἢ χαλεπώτερον ἀνθρώπῳ σπληνὸς ἀνέ-  
 χεσθαι οἰδοῦντος καὶ<sup>2</sup> διεφθαρμένου ὀδόντος ἢ  
 ψυχῆς ἄφρονος καὶ ἀμαθοῦς καὶ δειλῆς καὶ  
 θρασεῖας καὶ φιληδόνου καὶ ἀνελευθέρου καὶ  
 ὀργίλης καὶ λυπηρᾶς καὶ πανούργου καὶ πάντα  
 τρόπον διεφθαρμένης.
- 9 Καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἦν περὶ τὸν νεῶν τοῦ  
 Ποσειδῶνος ἀκούειν πολλῶν μὲν σοφιστῶν κα-  
 κοδαιμόνων βοώντων καὶ λοιδορουμένων ἀλλή-  
 λους, καὶ τῶν λεγομένων μαθητῶν ἄλλου ἄλλῳ  
 μαχομένων, πολλῶν δὲ συγγραφέων ἀναγιγ-  
 νωσκόντων ἀναίσθητα συγγράμματα, πολλῶν δὲ  
 ποιητῶν ποιήματα ἁδόντων, καὶ τούτους ἐπαι-  
 νούντων ἐτέρων, πολλῶν δὲ θαυματοποιῶν θαύ-  
 ματα ἐπιδεικνύντων, πολλῶν δὲ τερατοσκοπῶν  
 τέρατα κρινόντων, μυρίων δὲ ῥητόρων δίκας  
 στρεφόντων, οὐκ ὀλίγων δὲ καπῆλων διακαπη-  
 10 λευόντων ὅτι τύχοιεν ἕκαστος. εὐθὺς οὖν καὶ  
 αὐτῷ τινες προσῆλθον, τῶν μὲν Κορινθίων  
 οὐδεὶς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ᾔοντο οὐδὲν ὠφεληθήσεσθαι,

<sup>1</sup> ὑπ' ἐκείνων Casaubon: ἐκεῖνοι.<sup>2</sup> καὶ Geel: ἢ.

## THE EIGHTH DISCOURSE, ON VIRTUE

had he claimed to be a physician for the teeth, everybody would flock to him who needed to have a tooth pulled; yes, and by heavens, had he professed to treat the eyes, all who were suffering from sore eyes would present themselves, and similarly, if he had claimed to know of a medicine for diseases of the spleen or for gout or for running of the nose; but when he declared that all who should follow his treatment would be relieved of folly, wickedness, and intemperance, not a man would listen to him or seek to be cured by him, no matter how much richer he might become thereby, as though he were less inconvenienced by these spiritual complaints than by the other kind, or as though it were worse for a man to suffer from an enlarged spleen or a decayed tooth than from a soul that is foolish, ignorant, cowardly, rash, pleasure-loving, illiberal, irascible, unkind, and wicked, in fact utterly corrupt.

That was the time, too, when one could hear crowds of wretched sophists around Poseidon's temple shouting and reviling one another, and their disciples, as they were called, fighting with one another, many writers reading aloud their stupid works, many poets reciting their poems while others applauded them, many jugglers showing their tricks, many fortune-tellers interpreting fortunes, lawyers innumerable perverting judgment, and peddlers not a few peddling whatever they happened to have. Naturally a crowd straightway gathered about him too; no Corinthians, however, for they did not think it would be at all worth their while, since they were accustomed to see

ὅτι καθ' ἡμέραν ἑώρων αὐτὸν ἐν Κορίνθῳ· τῶν δὲ ξένων ἦσαν οἱ προσιόντες, καὶ τούτων ἕκαστος βραχύ τι εἰπὼν ἢ ἀκούσας ἀπῆει, φοβούμενος  
 11 τὸν ἔλεγχον. διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἔφη ὁ Διογένης προσεοικέναι τοῖς κυσὶ τοῖς Λάκωσι· καὶ γὰρ τούτους, ὅταν στῶσιν εἰς τὰς πανηγύρεις, πολλοὺς μὲν εἶναι τοὺς καταψήχοντας καὶ προσπαίζοντας, μηδένα δὲ ὠνεῖσθαι ῥαδίως διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπίστασθαι χρῆσθαι.

Πυθομένον δέ τινος εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦκοι τὸν ἀγῶνα θεασόμενος, οὐκ, ἔφη, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιούμενος. καὶ ὃς ἐγέλασέ τε καὶ ἤρετο αὐτὸν τίνας ἔχοι  
 12 τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστάς. ὁ δὲ ὥσπερ εἰώθει ὑποβλέψας, τοὺς χαλεπωτάτους, εἶπε, καὶ ἀμαχωτάτους, οἷς οὐδεὶς δύναται ἀντιβλέψαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὐ μέντοι διατρέχοντας ἢ παλαίοντας ἢ διαπηδώντας οὐδὲ πυκτεύοντας καὶ ἀκοντίζοντας καὶ δισκεύοντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς σωφρονίζοντας.  
 13 Τίνας μὴν; ἤρετο. Τοὺς πόνοους, ἔφη, μάλα ἰσχυροὺς τε καὶ ἀνικήτους ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἐμπεπλησμένων καὶ τετυφωμένων καὶ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ὅλας ἐσθιόντων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς νυξὶ ῥεγχόντων, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἡττωμένους λεπτῶν τε καὶ ἀσάρκων καὶ τῶν σφηκῶν τὰς γαστέρας μᾶλλον  
 14 ἐντετμημένων. ἢ σὺ οἶε τούτων τι ὄφελος εἶναι τῶν τὰς μεγάλας κοιλίας ἐχόντων, οὓς ἐχρῆν περιαγαγόντας καὶ περικαθάραντας ἐκβαλεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ καταθύσαντας καὶ κατατεμόντας

<sup>1</sup> The curious glance from under heavy brows that was characteristic of Socrates, cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 117B, ταυρηδὸν ὑποβλέψας.

<sup>2</sup> In Athens and some other Greek states the community was purified on Thargelion 6th (May 24th) in order that the

## THE EIGHTH DISCOURSE, ON VIRTUE

him every day in Corinth. The crowd that gathered was composed of strangers, and each of these, after speaking or listening for a short time, went his way, fearing his refutation of their views. Just for that reason, said Diogenes, he was like the Laconian dogs; there were plenty of men to pat them and play with them when they were shown at the popular gatherings, but no one was willing to buy any because he did not know how to deal with them.

And when a certain man asked whether he too came to see the contest, he said, "No, but to take part." Then when the man laughed and asked him who his competitors were, he said with that customary glance<sup>1</sup> of his: "The toughest there are and the hardest to beat, men whom no Greek can look straight in the eye; not competitors, however, who sprint or wrestle or jump, not those that box, throw the spear, and hurl the discus, but those that chasten a man." "Who are they, pray?" asked the other. "Hardships," he replied, "very severe and insuperable for gluttonous and folly-stricken men who feast the livelong day and snore at night, but which yield to thin, spare men, whose waists are more pinched in than those of wasps. Or do you think those potbellies are good for anything?—creatures whom sensible people ought to lead around, subject to the ceremony of purification, and then thrust beyond the borders,<sup>2</sup> or, rather, kill, quarter, and use as

god Apollo might be received worthily on the 7th. Two victims, called *pharmakoi* or *katharmata*, at first a man and woman, later two men, were given cheese, barley cake, and figs to eat, led around the city, beaten seven times with leeks and twigs of the wild olive, then put to death, their bodies burned with the limbs of unfruitful trees, and the ashes cast into the sea. The community believed that it cast upon these *pharmakoi* or scape-men its pollution and guilt,



- εὐωχεῖσθαι, καθάπερ οἶμαι τὰ τῶν κητῶν κρέα, τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας, ἔψοντας ἀλσὶ καὶ θαλάσῃ, τὴν δὲ πιμελὴν τήξαντας, ὥσπερ ἐν Πόντῳ παρ' ἡμῖν τὸ τῶν δελφάκων<sup>1</sup> στέαρ, ἀλείφεισθαι τοὺς δεομένους. οἶμαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς τῶν ὑῶν ἥττονα  
 15 ψυχὴν ἔχειν. ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ ὁ γενηαῖος ἡγεῖται τοὺς πόνους ἀνταγωνιστὰς μεγίστους καὶ τούτοις ἀεὶ φιλεῖ μάχεσθαι καὶ τὴν νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ σελίνου, ὥσπερ αἱ αἰγες,<sup>2</sup> οὐδὲ κοτίνου καὶ πίτυος, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ εὐδαιμονίας καὶ ἀρετῆς παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον, οὐχ ὅταν Ἥλεῖοι προείπωσιν ἢ Κορίνθιοι ἢ τὸ κοινὸν Θετταλῶν, μηδένα αὐτῶν φοβούμενον μηδὲ εὐχόμενον ἄλλῳ λαχεῖν,  
 16 ἀλλὰ προκαλούμενον ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντας, καὶ λιμῷ φιλονεικοῦντα καὶ ψύχει καὶ δίψος ὑπομένοντα, καὶ δέῃ μαστιγούμενον καρτερεῖν καὶ τεμνόμενον καὶ καόμενον μηδὲν μαλακὸν<sup>3</sup> ἐνδιδόντα· πενίαν δὲ καὶ φυγὴν καὶ ἀδοξίαν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι δεινὸν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ πάνυ κοῦφα, καὶ πολλάκις παίζειν ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν τέλειον, ὥσπερ οἱ παῖδες τοῖς ἀστραγάλοις καὶ ταῖς σφαίραις ταῖς ποικίλαις.

<sup>1</sup> δελφάκων Capps: δελφίνων.

<sup>2</sup> αἰγες Jacobs: γυναῖκες. <sup>3</sup> μαλακὸν Ruhnken: μάλλον.

which were carried away by the victims at death. At a later period the victims were simply thrust out beyond the borders of the state. Since people from the lowest classes for whom life was not worth living on account of poverty and disease would volunteer to be scape-men for the sake of the rich food at the expense of the state which they received for some time previous to the ceremony, *katharma* and *pharmakos* came to be terms of the bitterest reproach. See Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 75 f.

## THE EIGHTH DISCOURSE, ON VIRTUE

food just as people do with the flesh of large fish, don't you know, boiling it in brine and melting out the fat, the way our people at home in Pontus<sup>1</sup> do with the lard of pigs when they want to anoint themselves. For I think these men have less soul than hogs. But the noble man holds his hardships to be his greatest antagonists, and with them he is ever wont to battle day and night, not to win a sprig of parsley<sup>2</sup> as so many goats might do, nor for a bit of wild olive,<sup>3</sup> or of pine,<sup>4</sup> but to win happiness and virtue throughout all the days of his life, and not merely when the Eleans make proclamation,<sup>5</sup> or the Corinthians,<sup>6</sup> or the Thessalian assembly.<sup>7</sup> He is afraid of none of those opponents nor does he pray to draw another antagonist, but challenges them one after another, grappling with hunger and cold, withstanding thirst, and disclosing no weakness even though he must endure the lash or give his body to be cut or burned. Hunger, exile, loss of reputation, and the like have no terrors for him; nay, he holds them as mere trifles, and while in their very grip the perfect man is often as sportive as boys with their dice and their coloured balls.

<sup>1</sup> Diogenes came from Sinope in Pontus.

<sup>2</sup> A chaplet of parsley was placed upon the heads of the victors at the Isthmian and Nemean games.

<sup>3</sup> Used to make the crown for the victors at the Olympian games.

<sup>4</sup> A wreath of pine was used to crown the victors at the Isthmian games.

<sup>5</sup> *i.e.* for the Olympian games.

<sup>6</sup> *i.e.* for the Isthmian games.

<sup>7</sup> *i.e.* for the Pythian games. The Thessalians had great influence in the Amphictyonic League, which controlled these.

- 17 Καὶ γὰρ δοκοῦσι μὲν, ἔφη, δεινοὶ καὶ ἀνυπόστατοι πᾶσι τοῖς κακοῖς οἱ ἀνταγωνισταὶ οὗτοι· ἐὰν δέ τις αὐτῶν καταφρονήσῃ καὶ προσίῃ θαρρῶν δειλοὺς εὐρήσει<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἡδυνάτους ἄνδρας ἰσχυροὺς κρατῆσαι, μάλιστα τοῖς κυσὶν ὁμοίους, οἱ τοὺς μὲν φεύγοντας ἐπιδιώκουσι καὶ δάκνουσι, καὶ διέσπασαν ἔστιν οὗς καταλαβόντες, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιόντας καὶ μαχομένους φοβοῦνται καὶ ἀναχωροῦσι, τελευτῶντες δὲ σαίνουσιν, ἐπειδὰν
- 18 συνήθεις γένωνται. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι ἐκπεπληγμένοι αὐτοὺς καὶ αἰεὶ ποτε φεύγοντες ἐκκλίνουσιν,<sup>2</sup> οὐδέποτε ἐναντίον βλέποντες. καὶ γὰρ δὴ, ὥσπερ οἱ πυκτεύειν εἰδότες, ἐὰν μὲν προλάβωσι τὸν ἀνταγωνιστὴν, οὐ παίονται τὴν ἀρχήν, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἀπέβησαν<sup>3</sup> αὐτοὶ καταβαλόντες· ἐὰν δὲ ὑποχωρῶσι<sup>4</sup> φοβούμενοι, τότε ἰσχυροτάτας πληγὰς λαμβάνουσιν· οὕτως ἐὰν μὲν τις τοὺς πόνους δέχεται καταφρονῶν καὶ πλησιάζῃ προθύμως, οὐ πᾶν ἰσχύουσι πρὸς αὐτόν· ἐὰν δὲ ἀφιστῇται καὶ ἀναχωρῇ, τῷ
- 19 παντὶ μείζους καὶ σφοδρότεροι δοκοῦσι. τοῦτο δ' ἂν ἴδοις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρὸς γιγνόμενον· ἐὰν μὲν σφόδρα ἐπιβῇς, ἔσβεσας τὸ πῦρ· ἐὰν δὲ ὑποπτεύων καὶ δεδοικώς, σφόδρα ἐκαύθῃς· ὥσπερ ἐνίστε παίζοντες οἱ παῖδες τῇ γλῶττι τὸ πῦρ σβεννύουσιν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν οἱ ἀνταγωνισταὶ σχεδὸν ὁμοιοὶ εἰσι τοῖς παμμάχοις, παίοντές τε καὶ ἄγχοντες καὶ διασπῶντες καὶ ἀποκτινύντες ἐνίστε.

<sup>1</sup> εὐρήσει by Arnim but before δειλοῦς.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκκλίνουσιν Wytttenbach: κρίνουσιν.

<sup>3</sup> ἀπέβησαν Reiske: ἐπέβησαν.

## THE EIGHTH DISCOURSE, ON VIRTUE

“Of course,” he continued, “these antagonists do seem terrible and invincible to all cravens; but if you treat them with contempt and meet them boldly, you will find them cowardly and unable to master strong men, in this greatly resembling dogs, which pursue and bite people who run away from them, while some they seize and tear to pieces, but fear and slink away from men who face them and show fight, and in the end wag their tails when they come to know them. Most people, however, are in mortal terror of these antagonists, always avoiding them by flight and never looking them in the face. And indeed, just as skilful boxers, if they anticipate their opponents, are not hit at all, but often actually end by winning the bout themselves, but if, on the contrary, they give ground through fear, they receive the heaviest blows; in the same way, if we accept our hardships in a spirit of contempt for them and approach them cheerfully, they avail very little against us; but if we hang back and give way, they appear altogether greater and more severe. You can see that the same thing applies to fire also: if you attack it most vigorously, you put it out; but if with caution and fear, you get badly burned, just as children do when in sport they sometimes try to put out a fire with their tongues. The adversaries of this class are a good deal like the pancratiasts,<sup>1</sup> who strike, choke, rend, and occasionally kill.

<sup>1</sup> They engaged in a rough-and-tumble contest, a combination of boxing and wrestling.

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<sup>4</sup> ἀποχωρῶσι Geel: ἀποχωρῶσι.

- 20 Ἐτέρα δὲ δεινότερα μάχη καὶ ἀγών ἐστὶν οὐ μικρός, ἀλλὰ πολὺν τούτου μείζων καὶ ἐπικινδυνότερος, ὁ πρὸς τὴν ἡδονήν,<sup>1</sup> οὐχ οἷαν Ὀμηρός φησιν,

αὐθις δὲ δριμεῖα μάχη παρὰ νηυσὶν ἐτύχθη.  
ὀξέσι δὴ πελέκεσσι καὶ ἀξίναις ἐμάχοντο  
καὶ ξίφεσιν μεγάλοισι.

- 21 οὐχ οὗτος ὁ τρόπος τῆς μάχης· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀντικρυς βιάζεσθαι τὴν ἡδονήν, ἀλλ' ἐξαπατᾶν καὶ γοητεύειν δεινοῖς φαρμάκοις, ὥσπερ Ὀμηρός φησι τὴν Κίρκην τοὺς τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ἐταίρους καταφαρμάξαι, καῖπειτα τοὺς μὲν σὺς αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ λύκους γενέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλ' ἅττα θηρία. τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τὸ χρῆμα τῆς ἡδονῆς, οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἐπιβουλευούσης, ἀλλὰ πάντα τρόπον, διὰ τε τῆς ὄψεως καὶ ἀκοῆς ἢ ὁσφρήσεως ἢ γεύσεως ἢ ἀφῆς, ἔτι δὲ σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς καὶ ἀφροδισίοις διαφθεῖραι πειρωμένης, ὁμοίως μὲν ἐγρη-  
22 γορότας, ὁμοίως δὲ κοιμωμένους. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὥσπερ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἔστι<sup>2</sup> φυλακὰς καταστήσαντας καθεύδειν, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα δὴ πάντων τότε ἐπιτίθεται, τὰ μὲν αὐτῷ τῷ ὕπνῳ μαραίνουσα καὶ δουλουμένη, τὰ δὲ ἐπιπέμπουσα ὀνειράτα πανοῦργα καὶ ἐπίβουλα, ἀναμιμνήσκοντα αὐτῆς.
- 23 Ὁ μὲν οὖν πόνος διὰ τῆς ἀφῆς ἐπιγίγνεται ὥς τὸ<sup>3</sup> πολὺ καὶ ταύτῃ πρόσσεισιν, ἡ δὲ ἡδονή

<sup>1</sup> After ἡδονήν the MSS. have οὐκ ἀντικρυς βιαζομένην, ἀλλ' ἐξαπατῶσαν καὶ γοητεύουσαν δεινοῖς φαρμάκοις, "not using open force but deceiving and enchanting with baleful drugs"; bracketed as an interpretation by Gael.

## THE EIGHTH DISCOURSE, ON VIRTUE

"But there is another battle more terrible and a struggle not slight but much greater than this and fraught with greater danger, I mean the fight against pleasure. Nor is it like that battle which Homer speaks of when he says,<sup>1</sup>

Fiercely then around the ships  
The struggle was renewed.  
With halberds and with trenchant battle-axe  
They fought, with mighty sword and two-edged  
spear.

No, it is no such kind of battle, for pleasure uses no open force but deceives and casts a spell with baneful drugs, just as Homer says Circe<sup>2</sup> drugged the comrades of Odysseus, and some forthwith became swine, some wolves, and some other kinds of beasts. Yes, such is this thing pleasure, that hatches no single plot but all kinds of plots, and aims to undo men through sight, sound, smell, taste, and touch, with food too, and drink and carnal lust, tempting the waking and the sleeping alike. For it is not possible to set guards and then lie down to sleep as in ordinary warfare, since it is just then of all times that she makes her attack, at one time weakening and enslaving the soul by means of sleep itself, at another, sending mischievous and insidious dreams that suggest her.

"Now work is carried on by means of touch for the most part and proceeds in that way, but pleasure

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 15. 696, 711 f.

<sup>2</sup> A sorceress on the island of Aenea, who entertained Odysseus and his companions.

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<sup>2</sup>  $\xi\sigma\tau\iota$  Reiske:  $\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\alpha\iota$ .

<sup>3</sup>  $\tau\delta$  added by Reiske.

- κατὰ πᾶσαν αἰσθησιν ὁπόσας ἄνθρωπος αἰσθή-  
σεις ἔχει, καὶ δεῖ τοῖς μὲν πόνοις ἀπαντᾶν καὶ  
συμπλέκεσθαι, τὴν δὲ ἡδονὴν φεύγειν ὡς πορ-  
ρωτάτῳ καὶ μηδὲν ὅλως ἄλλο<sup>1</sup> ἢ τὰναγκαῖα  
21 ὁμιλεῖν. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὁ κράτιστος ἀνὴρ κράτιστος  
δὴ<sup>2</sup> σχεδόν, ὃς ἂν δύνηται πλεῖστον ἀποφεύγειν  
τὰς ἡδονάς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔστιν ἡδονῇ συνόντα ἢ καὶ  
πειρώμενον συνεχῶς μὴ οὐ πάντως ἁλῶναι. ὅταν  
οὖν κρατήσῃ καὶ περιγένηται τῆς ψυχῆς τοῖς  
φαρμάκοις, γίγνεται τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη τὸ τῆς Κίρκης·  
πλήξασα ῥαδίως τῇ ῥάβδῳ εἰς συφεόν τινα  
25 ἐλαύνει καὶ καθείργνυσι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπ'  
ἐκείνου ἤδη ὁ ἄνθρωπος διατελεῖ σὺς ὦν ἢ λύκος·  
γίγνονται δὲ καὶ ὄφεις ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ποικίλοι καὶ  
ὀλέθριοι καὶ ἄλλ' ἅττα ἐρπετὰ καὶ θεραπεύουσιν  
ἐκείνην αἰεὶ περὶ τὰς θύρας ὄντες καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦντες  
μὲν τῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ λατρεύοντες ἐκείνη, μυρίους δὲ  
26 ἄλλως<sup>3</sup> πόνους ἔχοντες. ἢ γὰρ ἡδονὴ κράτησασα  
αὐτῶν καὶ παραλαβοῦσα τοῖς πόνοις παραδίδωσι  
τοῖς ἐχθίστοις καὶ χαλεπωτάτοις.

Τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐμοὶ καρτεροῦντι καὶ  
παραβαλλομένῳ πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ πόνον οὐδεὶς  
προσέχει τῶν ἀθλίων ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς  
27 πηδῶσι καὶ τρέχουσι καὶ χορεύουσιν. οὐδὲ  
γὰρ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐώρων ἀγωνιζόμενον καὶ πο-  
νοῦντα, οὐδὲ ἔμελεν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ἴσως  
ἀθλητάς τινας ἐθαύμαζον, Ζήτην καὶ Κάλαϊν

<sup>1</sup> ἄλλο added by Capps.

<sup>2</sup> δὴ Capps: δέ, Wilamowitz would delete κράτιστος δέ.

<sup>3</sup> ἄλλως Imperius: ἄλλους.

## THE EIGHTH DISCOURSE, ON VIRTUE

assails a man through each and every sense that he has; and while he must face and grapple with work, to pleasure he must give the widest berth possible and have none but unavoidable dealings with her. And herein the strongest man is indeed strongest, one might almost say, who can keep the farthest away from pleasures; for it is impossible to dwell with pleasure or even to dally with her for any length of time without being completely enslaved. Hence when she gets the mastery and overpowers the soul by her charms, the rest of Circe's sorcery at once follows. With a stroke of her wand pleasure coolly drives her victim into a sort of sty and pens him up, and now from that time forth the man goes on living as a pig or a wolf. Pleasure also brings divers and deadly vipers into being, and other crawling things that attend constantly upon her as they lie about her doors, and though yearning for pleasure and serving her, they yet suffer a thousand hardships all in vain. For pleasure, after overpowering and taking possession of her victims, delivers them over to hardships, the most hateful and most difficult to endure.

"This is the contest which I steadfastly maintain,<sup>1</sup> and in which I risk my life against pleasure and hardship, yet not a single wretched mortal gives heed to me, but only to the jumpers and runners and dancers. Neither, indeed, did men have eyes for the struggles and labours of Heracles or have any interest in them, but perhaps even then they were admiring certain athletes such as Zetes,<sup>2</sup> Calaïs,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Plato (*Republic* 556 B) speaks of people who are ἀρόνους . . . and μαλακοὺς . . . καρτερεῖν πρὸς ἡδονάς—"lazy and weak to hold out against pleasures."

<sup>2</sup> Son of Boreas, took part in the Argonautic expedition.



- καὶ Πηλέα καὶ ἄλλους τοιούτους δρομέας τινὰς  
καὶ παλαιστὰς· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ κάλλει, τοὺς  
δὲ ἐπὶ πλούτῳ ἐθαύμαζον, καθάπερ Ἰάσονα καὶ  
28 Κινύραν· περὶ δὲ τοῦ Πέλοπος ἔλεγον ὅτι καὶ  
τὸν ὦμον ἐλεφάντινον ἔχοι, ὥσπερ τι ὄφελος  
ἀνθρώπου χρυσὴν χεῖρα ἢ ἐλεφαντίνην ἔχοντος  
ἢ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀδάμαντος ἢ σμαράγδου· τὴν δὲ  
ψυχὴν οὐκ ἐγίγνωσκον αὐτοῦ ὁποῖαν τινὰ εἶχεν.  
τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα πονοῦντα μὲν καὶ ἀγωνιζόμενον  
ἠλέουν, καὶ ἔφασαν αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων ἀθλιώτατον·  
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἄθλους ἐκάλουν τοὺς πόνους αὐτοῦ  
καὶ τὰ ἔργα, ὡς τὸν ἐπίπονον βίον ἄθλιον ὄντα·  
ἀποθαιόντα δὲ πάντων μάλιστα τιμῶσι καὶ  
θεὸν νομίζουσι καὶ φασιν Ἡβῇ συνοικεῖν, καὶ  
τούτῳ πάντες εὐχονται, ὅπως αὐτοὶ μὴ ἔσονται  
ἄθλιοι, τῷ πλεῖστα ἀθλήσαντι.
- 29 Τὸν δὲ Εὐρυσθέα οἴονται κρατεῖν τούτου καὶ  
ἐπιτάττειν, ὃν οὐδενὸς ἄξιον νενομίκασιν, οὐδὲ  
εὐξάτο οὐδὲ ἔθυσεν οὐδέποτε οὐδεὶς Εὐρυσθεῖ.  
πλὴν ὃ γε Ἡρακλῆς περιήει τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ  
τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπασαν, οὐδὲν ὦν τούτοις ὅμοιος  
30 τοῖς ἀθληταῖς· ποῦ γὰρ ἂν ἡδυνήθη προελθεῖν  
σάρκας τοσαύτας ἔχων ἢ τοσούτων κρεῶν δεό-  
μενος ἢ βαθὺν οὕτως ὕπνον καθεύδων; ἀλλ'  
ἄγρυπνος καὶ λεπτός, ὥσπερ οἱ λέοντες, ὅξυ  
βλέπων, ὅξυ ἀκούων, οὔτε χειμῶνος οὔτε καύ-  
ματος φροντίζων, οὐδὲν δεόμενος στρωμάτων ἢ

<sup>1</sup> Father of Achilles by Thetis.

<sup>2</sup> Leader of the Argonautic expedition.

<sup>3</sup> Son of Apollo and king of Cyprus. His wealth and long life bestowed on him by Apollo were proverbial.

## THE EIGHTH DISCOURSE, ON VIRTUE

Peleus,<sup>1</sup> and other like runners and wrestlers; and some they would admire for their beauty and others for their wealth, as, for example, Jason<sup>2</sup> and Cinyras.<sup>3</sup> About Pelops, too, the story ran that he had an ivory shoulder, as if there were any use in a man having a golden or ivory hand or eyes of diamond or malachite; but the kind of soul he had men did not notice. As for Heracles, they pitied him while he toiled and struggled and called him the most 'trouble-ridden,' or wretched, of men; indeed, this is why they gave the name 'troubles,' or tasks, to his labours and works, as though a laborious life were a trouble-ridden, or wretched<sup>4</sup> life; but now that he is dead they honour him beyond all others, deify him, and say he has Hebe<sup>5</sup> to wife, and all pray to him that they may not themselves be wretched—to him who in his labours suffered wretchedness exceedingly great.

"They have an idea, too, that Eurystheus<sup>6</sup> had him in his power and ordered him about, Eurystheus, whom they considered a worthless fellow and to whom no one ever prayed or sacrificed. Heracles, however, roved over all Europe and Asia, though he did not look at all like any of these athletes; for where could he have penetrated, had he carried so much flesh or required so much meat or sunk into such depths of sleep? No, he was as alert and lean like a lion, keen of eye and ear, recking naught of cold or heat, having no use for bed,

<sup>1</sup> Dio is playing upon the etymological connection between *athlos* meaning "contest," "toil," "trouble," and *athlios* meaning "trouble," "struggling," "miserable."

<sup>2</sup> Jason, the personification of youth.

<sup>3</sup> King of Mycenae who imposed the Twelve Labours upon Heracles.

- χλανίδων ἢ ταπήτων, ἀλλὰ δέρμα ἀμπεχόμενος  
 31 ρυπαρόν, λιμοῦ πνέων, τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς βοηθῶν, τοὺς  
 κακοὺς κολάζων. καὶ Διομήδην δὲ τὸν Θρᾷκα, ὅτι  
 ποικίλην εἶχεν ἐσθῆτα καὶ καθῆστο ἐπὶ θρόνου  
 πίνων δι' ἡμέρας καὶ τρυφῶν, καὶ τοὺς ξένους  
 ἡδίκηει καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' αὐτῷ, πολλὴν ἵππον τρέφων,  
 τῷ ῥοπάλῳ παίων διήραξεν ὥσπερ πίθον παλαιόν.  
 καὶ τὸν Γηρυόνην, πλείστους βοῦς ἔχοντα καὶ  
 τῶν πρὸς ἐσπέρας ἀπάντων πλουσιώτατον ὄντα  
 καὶ ὑπερῆφανώτατον, αὐτόν τε ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τοὺς  
 32 ἀδελφούς καὶ τὰς βοῦς ἀπήλασε. τὸν δὲ Βού-  
 σιριν εὐρῶν πάνυ ἐπιμελῶς ἀθλοῦντα καὶ δι'  
 ὅλης ἡμέρας ἐσθίουντα καὶ φρονοῦντα μέγιστον  
 ἐπὶ πάλῃ, διέρρηξεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καταβαλὼν  
 ὥσπερ τοὺς θυλάκους τοὺς σφόδρα γέμοντας.  
 καὶ τῆς Ἀμαζόνος ἔλυσε τὴν ζώνην, θρυπτο-  
 μένης αὐτῷ καὶ νομιζούσης ὅτι τῷ κάλλει κρα-  
 τήσει, συγγενόμενός τε καὶ δείξας ὅτι οὐκ ἂν  
 ποτε ἡττηθείη κάλλους οὐδ' ἂν μείνειε χάριν  
 γυναικὸς πόρρω τῶν αὐτοῦ κτημάτων οὐδέποτε.  
 33 τὸν δὲ Προμηθεά, σοφιστὴν τινα, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν,  
 καταλαβὼν ὑπὸ δόξης ἀπολλύμενον, νῦν<sup>1</sup> μὲν  
 οἰδοῦντος αὐτῷ καὶ αὔξοντος τοῦ ἥπατος ὁπότε  
 ἐπαινοῖτο, πάλιν δὲ φθίνοντος ὁπότε ψέγοιεν

<sup>1</sup> καὶ before νῦν deleted by Arnim.

<sup>1</sup> He possessed wild mares who fed on human flesh. They were captured by Heracles as one of his twelve labours.

<sup>2</sup> A monster with three heads or, according to another version, with three bodies joined together. He was king of Spain.

<sup>3</sup> A king of Egypt who is said to have sacrificed all strangers who visited his country.

## THE EIGHTH DISCOURSE, ON VIRTUE

shawl, or rug, with an air of hunger about him, as he succoured the good and punished the bad. And because Diomede,<sup>1</sup> the Thracian, wore such fine raiment and sat upon a throne drinking the livelong day in high revel, and treated strangers unrighteously as well as his own subjects, and kept a large stable, Heracles smote him with his club and smashed him as if he had been an old jar. Then Geryones,<sup>2</sup> who had ever so many cattle and was the richest of all western lords and the most arrogant, he also killed along with his brothers and drove his cattle away. And when he found Busiris<sup>3</sup> very diligently training, eating the whole day long, and exceeding proud of his wrestling, Heracles burst him open like an over-filled bag by dashing him to the ground. He loosed the girdle of the Amazon,<sup>4</sup> who tried to coquet with him and thought to win by means of her beauty. For he both consorted with her and made her understand that he could never be overcome by beauty and would never tarry far away from his own possessions for a woman's sake. And Prometheus,<sup>5</sup> whom I take to have been a sort of sophist, he found being destroyed by popular opinion; for his liver swelled and grew whenever he was praised and shrivelled again when he was censured. So he took pity on

<sup>4</sup> Hippolyte, queen of the Amazons, the fetching of whose girdle was one of the labours imposed upon Heracles. To obtain it he seduced her; but see Index.

<sup>5</sup> A Titan who stole fire from heaven and gave it to men, in punishment for which he was chained by Zeus to a rock on Mt. Caucasus, where his liver was consumed every day by an eagle but grew again at night. Heracles is said to have slain the eagle and released Prometheus. Dio treats the eagle of the myth as allegorically representing δόξα or popular opinion.

αὐτόν, ἐλεήσας καὶ φοβήσας . . .<sup>1</sup> ἔπαυσε τοῦ τύφου καὶ τῆς φιλονικίας· καὶ οὕτως ὥχεται ὑγιᾶ ποιήσας.

- 34 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔπραττεν οὐδὲν Εὐρυσθεὶ χαρίζομενος. τὰ δὲ μῆλα τὰ<sup>2</sup> χρυσᾶ ἃ ἐκόμισε λαβὼν ἔδωκεν ἐκείνῳ, τὰ τῶν Ἑσπερίδων· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔδειτο, ἄλλ' ἐκέλευσε κλάειν ἔχοντα· μηδὲν γὰρ ὄφελος εἶναι ἀνθρώπῳ χρυσῶν μήλων· μηδὲ γὰρ ταῖς Ἑσπερίσι γενέσθαι. πέρας δέ, ἐπεὶ βραδύτερος ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἀσθενέστερος αὐτοῦ, φοβούμενος μὴ οὐ δύνηται ζῆν ὁμοίως, ἔπειτα οἶμαι νόσου τινὸς καταλαβούσης, κάλλιστα ἀνθρώπων ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτόν, πυρὰν νήσας ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ ξύλων ὥς ξηροτάτων καὶ δείξας ὅτι
- 35 οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου<sup>3</sup> ἐφρόντιζε τοῦ πυρετοῦ. πρότερον δέ, ἵνα μὴ δοκῇ σεμνὰ μόνον<sup>4</sup> καὶ μεγάλα ἔργα διαπράττεσθαι, τὴν κόπρον ἀπελθὼν τὴν κειμένην παρ' Αὐγέα, πολὺ τι χρῆμα πολλῶν ἐτῶν, ἐκείνην ἐξεφόρει καὶ ἐκάθαιρεν. ἡγεῖτο γὰρ οὐχ ἥττον αὐτῷ διαμαχητέον εἶναι καὶ πολεμητέον πρὸς τὴν δόξαν ἢ τὰ θηρία καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς κακούργους.
- 36 Ταῦτα δὲ λέγοντος τοῦ Διογένους, περίσταντο πολλοὶ καὶ πάνυ ἡδέως ἡκροῶντο τῶν λόγων.

<sup>1</sup> Wilamowitz, followed by Arnim and Bude, assumes a lacuna after φοβήσας. Cohoon suggests φρενέσας, "Taught him wisdom."

<sup>2</sup> τὰ χρυσᾶ ἃ Emperius: ἃ χρύσεα.

<sup>3</sup> λόγου added by Cohoon.

<sup>4</sup> μόνον added by Reiske.

## THE EIGHTH DISCOURSE, ON VIRTUE

him, frightened . . . , and thus relieved him of his vanity and inordinate ambition; and straightway he departed after making him whole.

"Now in all those exploits he was not doing a favour to Eurystheus at all. And as to the golden apples that he got and brought back—I mean those of the Hesperides—he did give them to him, since he had no use for them himself, but told him to keep them and go hang; for he explained that apples of gold are of no use to a man, nor had the Hesperides,<sup>1</sup> either, found them to be. Then, finally, when he was growing ever slower and weaker, from fear that he would not be able to live as before, and besides, I suppose, because he was attacked by some disease, he made the best provision that was humanly possible for himself, for he reared a pyre of the very driest wood in the courtyard and showed that he minded the fiery heat precious little. But before that, to avoid creating the opinion that he did only impressive and mighty deeds, he went and removed and cleaned away the dung in the Augean stables,<sup>2</sup> that immense accumulation of many years. For he considered that he ought to fight stubbornly and war against opinion<sup>3</sup> as much as against wild beasts and wicked men."

While Diogenes thus spoke, many stood about and listened to his words with great pleasure. Then,

<sup>1</sup> Guardians of the golden apples which Heracles had to obtain as one of his labours.

<sup>2</sup> Augeas had a herd of three thousand oxen whose stalls were not cleaned out for thirty years. Heracles had to clean out these stalls in one day as one of his labours.

<sup>3</sup> Opinion here means the "false opinion of the crowd," as in the reference to Prometheus above.

## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

ἐννοήσας δὲ οἶμαι τὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, τοὺς μὲν λόγους ἀφήκε, χαμαὶ δὲ καθεζόμενος ἐποίει τι τῶν ἀδόξων. εὐθὺς οὖν οἱ πολλοὶ κατεφρόνουν αὐτοῦ καὶ μαίνεσθαι ἔφασαν, καὶ πάλιν ἐθορύβουν σοφισταί, καθάπερ ἐν τέλματι βάτραχοι τὸν ὕδρον οὐχ ὀρώντες.

## THE EIGHTH DISCOURSE, ON VIRTUE

possibly with this thought of Heracles<sup>1</sup> in his mind, he ceased speaking and, squatting on the ground, performed an indecent act, whereat the crowd straightway scorned him and called him crazy, and again the sophists raised their din, like frogs in a pond when they do not see the water-snake.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, to his cleaning the Augean stables.





## THE NINTH OR ISTHMIAN DISCOURSE

In the ninth Discourse, as in the eighth, we find Diogenes attending the Isthmian games, and in both Discourses there is the same reference to the importance of the great public gatherings for Diogenes' purpose, the same references to physicians and to dogs. These similarities have led to the inference that the two Discourses were prepared at about the same time; but while in the eighth Discourse we are given the subject-matter of his teaching, in this one it is rather his method of teaching that is shown.

## 9. ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ Η ΙΣΘΜΙΚΟΣ

- 1 Ἴσθμίων ὄντων κατέβη Διογένης εἰς τὸν Ἴσθμόν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐν Κορίνθῳ διατρίβων. παρ-  
ετύγχανε δὲ ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν οὐχ ὥνπερ οἱ  
πολλοὶ ἔνεκα, βουλόμενοι θεάσασθαι τοὺς ἀθλη-  
τὰς καὶ ἵνα ἐμπλησθῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπισκοπῶν οἶμαι  
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὴν ἄνοιαν αὐτῶν. ἦδει  
γὰρ ὅτι φανερώτατοί εἰσιν ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς καὶ  
ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν· ἐν δὲ πολέμῳ καὶ στρατοπέδῳ  
λανθάνουσι μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ κινδυνεύειν καὶ φο-  
2 βεῖσθαι. καὶ μέντοι ἐνόμιζε τούτους εὐιατοτέ-  
ρους εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ τὰ νοσήματα τοῦ σώματος,  
ὅταν ἔκδηλα ᾖ, ῥᾶον θεραπεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν  
ιατρῶν ἢ μέχρι ὑποστέλλεται· τοὺς μέντοι  
ἀμελουμένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις  
διατριβαῖς τάχιστα ἀπόλλυσθαι. διὰ ταῦτα  
3 παρέβαλλεν εἰς τὰς πανηγύρεις. ἔλεγε δὲ ἐπι-  
σκώπτων, ὅτε<sup>1</sup> ἐπιπλήττοιο τὸ τοῦ κυνός·<sup>2</sup> τοὺς  
γὰρ κύνας ἔπεσθαι μὲν εἰς τὰς πανηγύρεις,  
μηδένα δὲ ἀδικεῖν τῶν ἐκεῖ γιγνομένων, ὑλακτεῖν  
δὲ καὶ μάχεσθαι τοῖς κακούργοις καὶ λησταῖς,<sup>3</sup>  
καὶ ὅταν οἱ ἄνθρωποι μεθυσθέντες καθεύδωσιν,  
αὐτοὺς ἐγρηγορότας φύλάττειν.

<sup>1</sup> ὅτε Emperius and Schwartz: ὅτι.

<sup>2</sup> After κυνός the MSS. have διὰ τὴν χαλεπότητα καὶ τὸ  
λοιδορεῖσθαι κύνα αὐτὸν ἀπεκάλουν. "On account of his harsh-

## THE NINTH DISCOURSE : DIOGENES OR THE ISTHMIAN DISCOURSE

WHEN the Isthmian games were in progress, Diogenes, who probably was sojourning at Corinth, went down to the Isthmus. He did not attend the great public gatherings, however, with the same motives as the majority, who wished to see the athletes and to gormandize. No, I warrant he came as an observer of mankind and of men's folly. He knew that men show their real character most clearly at public festivals and large gatherings, while in war and in camp it is more concealed owing to the presence of peril and fear. Moreover, he thought they were more easily healed here (for bodily diseases are more readily treated by the physician when they are plain to be seen than while the trouble remains hidden), but that those who are neglected when engaged in such pursuits most speedily perish. Therefore he used to attend the public gatherings. And he would jestingly remark when taxed for his currish manners, "Well, dogs follow along to the festivals, but they do no wrong to any of those attending; they bark and attack rogues and thieves, and when their masters are in a drunken sleep, they stay awake and guard them."

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ness and abusive language they called him a cur." Deleted by Arnim.

<sup>3</sup> *λησταῖς* Emperius: *κακίστοις*.

- 4 Ὡς δὲ ἐφάνη ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει, Κορινθίων μὲν οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ προσεῖχε τὸν νοῦν, ὅτι πολλάκις αὐτὸν ἐώρων ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ περὶ τὸ Κράνειον. οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι οὓς ἂν αἰεὶ<sup>1</sup> βλέπωσι καὶ οἷς νομίζουσιν εἶναι ὅποτε βούλονται προσελθεῖν, τούτων οὐ πάνυ φροντίζουσιν· οὓς δ' ἂν διὰ χρόνου ἴδωσιν ἢ μηδεπώποτε ἐωρακότες, πρὸς ἐκείνους τρέπονται. ὅθεν ἥκιστα ὠφελοῦντο ὑπὸ τοῦ Διογένους Κορίνθιοι, καθάπερ εἰ<sup>2</sup> νοσοῦντες ἐπιδημοῦντος ἱατροῦ μὴ προσήεσαν ἀλλ' ἐνόμιζον ἱκανὸν εἶναι καὶ τὸ ὁρᾶν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει.
- 5 Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οἱ μακρόθεν μάλιστα προσήεσαν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωνίας τε καὶ Σικελίας καὶ Ἰταλίας ὅσοι παρήσαν καὶ τῶν ἐκ Λιβύης τινὲς καὶ τῶν ἐκ Μασσαλίας καὶ ἀπὸ Βορυσθένους, οὗτοι δὲ πάντες ἰδεῖν βουλόμενοι μᾶλλον αὐτὸν καὶ<sup>3</sup> βραχὺ τι ἀκοῦσαι λέγοντος, ὥς ἔχοιεν
- 6 ἀπαγγέλλειν ἐτέροις ἢ βελτίους γενέσθαι. ἐδόκει γὰρ ἱκανὸς εἶναι λοιδορῆσαι καὶ τοῖς ἐρωτῶσιν ἀποκρίνασθαι πρὸς ἔπος. ὥσπερ οὖν τοῦ Ποντικοῦ μέλιτος γεύεσθαι ἐπιχειροῦσιν οἱ ἄπειροι, γευσάμενοι δὲ παραχρῆμα ἐξέπτυσαν δυσχεράναντες, ὅτι πικρὸν ἐστὶ καὶ ἀηδές, οὕτως καὶ τοῦ Διογένους ἀποπειρᾶσθαι μὲν ἠθέλον διὰ πολυπραγμοσύνην, ἐλεγχόμενοι δὲ ἀπεστρέφοντο
- 7 καὶ ἔφευγον. καὶ ἄλλων μὲν ἠδοντο λοιδορου-

<sup>1</sup> αἰεὶ Jacobs: αὐτοί.

<sup>2</sup> εἰ Schwartz: οἱ.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ . . . λέγοντος occurs in the MSS. after γενέσθαι: moved by Emperius.

<sup>1</sup> See note on p. 378.

## THE NINTH OR ISTHMIAN DISCOURSE

No Corinthian, however, paid any attention to him when he appeared at the gathering, because they often saw him in the city and around the Craneion.<sup>1</sup> For men do not pay much attention to those whom they are constantly seeing and whom they think they can approach whenever they wish, but they turn to those whom they only see at intervals or have never seen before. So the Corinthians derived the least profit from Diogenes, precisely as if sick people would not consult a physician resident in their midst but thought the bare sight of him in the city sufficient.

As regards other persons, it was those from a distance who visited him chiefly, all who came to the festival from Ionia, Sicily, and Italy, and some of those who came from Libya, Massilia,<sup>2</sup> and Borysthenes,<sup>3</sup> and the motive of all those was to see and hear him speak for even a short time so as to have something to tell others rather than to get improvement for themselves. For he had the reputation of having a sharp tongue and being instantly ready with an answer for his interrogators. Accordingly, just as those who know nothing of the Pontic honey<sup>4</sup> try a taste of it and then quickly spit it out in disgust because it is bitter and unpleasant in taste, so people in their idle curiosity wished to make trial of Diogenes, but on being put to confusion by him would turn on their heels and flee. They were amused, of course,

<sup>2</sup> The modern Marseilles.

<sup>3</sup> The most important Greek city north of the Euxine or Black Sea. It was situated at the confluence of the Borysthenes and Dnieper (Dnieper and Bog) rivers.

<sup>4</sup> Borysthenes is a river in Pontus. Pliny (*Natural History* 21, c. 13) speaks of most poisonous honey produced in Pontus.

μένων, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐφοβοῦντο καὶ ἀνεχώρουν. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἔσκωπτέ τε καὶ ἔπαιζεν,<sup>1</sup> ὥσπερ εἰώθει ἐνίοτε, ὑπερφυῶς ἔχαιρον, ἀνατειναμένου δὲ καὶ σπουδάσαντος οὐχ ὑπέμενον τὴν παρρησίαν· καθάπερ οἶμαι τὰ παιδιά προσπαίζοντα ἡδεταὶ τοῖς γενναίοις κυσίν, ἐπειδὴν δὲ χαλεπήνῃ καὶ ὑλάξῃ μείζον, ἐξεπλάγῃ καὶ τῷ δέει τέθνηκε.

Καὶ τότε ἐκεῖνος ἐποίει ταυτά, οὐδὲν μεταστρεφόμενος οὐδὲ φροντίζων εἴτε ἐπαινοίῃ τις αὐτὸν εἴτε καὶ ψέγοι τῶν παρόντων, οὐδὲ εἰ τῶν πλουσίων τε καὶ ἐνδόξων ἢ στρατηγὸς ἢ δυνάστης διαλέγοιτο προσελθὼν ἢ τῶν πάνυ  
8 φαύλων τε καὶ πενήτων· ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν τοιούτων ληρούντων ἐνίοτε κατεφρόνει, τοὺς δὲ σεμνοὺς εἶναι βουλομένους καὶ μέγα φρονούντας ἐφ' αὐτοῖς διὰ πλοῦτον ἢ γένος ἢ<sup>2</sup> ἄλλην τινὰ δύναμιν, τούτους μάλιστα ἐπῆξε καὶ ἐκόλαζε πάντα τρόπον. τινὲς μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ἐθαύμαζον ὡς σοφώτατον πάντων, τισὶ δὲ μαίνεσθαι ἐδόκει, πολλοὶ δὲ κατεφρόνουν ὡς πτωχοῦ τε καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀξίου, τινὲς δ' ἐλοιδόρουν, οἱ δὲ προπη-  
9 λακίζειν ἐπεχείρουν, ὅστ' αὖ ριπτοῦντες πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν ὥσπερ τοῖς κυσίν, οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦ τρίβωνος ἤπτοντο προσιόντες, πολλοὶ δὲ οὐκ εἶων ἀλλ' ἡγανάκτουν, καθάπερ Ὀμηρὸς φησι τὸν Ὀδυσσεῆα προσπαίζειν τοὺς μνηστῆρας· κακῆκῖνον πρὸς ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐνεγκεῖν τὴν ἀκολασίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ὕβριν, ὃ δὲ ὅμοιος ἦν ἐν ἅπαντι· τῷ ὄντι γὰρ ἐώκει βασιλεῖ καὶ δεσπότῃ, πτωχοῦ στολὴν ἔχοντι, κάπειτα ἐν ἀνδραπόδοις τε καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἔπαιζεν Stobaeus 3. 13. 37: ἔπαιεν.

<sup>2</sup> ἢ Arnim: καί.

## THE NINTH OR ISTHMIAN DISCOURSE

when others were railed at, but on their own account they were afraid and so would withdraw out of his way. Again, when he jested and joked, as was his wont at times, they were pleased beyond measure; but when he warmed up and became serious, they could not stand his frankness. The situation was the same, I fancy, as when children delight to play with well-bred dogs but are terrified and scared to death when they show anger and bark more loudly.

At these meetings also he held to the same line of conduct, not changing his ways nor caring whether anyone of his audience commended or criticized him; no, not even if it was some wealthy and prominent person such as a general or ruler who approached and conversed with him, or some very humble and poor individual. When such people talked nonsense, he usually scorned them merely, but those that assumed airs and prided themselves on their wealth or family or some other distinction he would make the especial object of his attack and castigate thoroughly. Some admired him, therefore, as the wisest man in the world, to others he seemed crazy, many scorned him as beggar and a poor good-for-nothing, some jeered at him, others tried to insult him grossly by throwing bones at his feet as they would to dogs, yet others would approach him and pluck at his cloak, but many could not tolerate him and were indignant. It was just like the way in which Homer says the suitors made sport of Odysseus; he too endured their riotous conduct and insolence for a few days, and Diogenes was like him in every respect. For he really resembled a king and lord who in the guise of a beggar moved among his



δούλοις αὐτοῦ στρεφόμενῳ τρυφῶσι καὶ ἀγνοοῦσιν ὅστις ἐστί, καὶ ῥαδίως φέρουντι μεθύοντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ μαινομένους ὑπὸ ἀγνοίας καὶ ἀμαθίας.

- 10 "Ὅλως<sup>1</sup> δὲ οἷ τε ἀθλοθέται τῶν Ἰσθμίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι ἔντιμοι καὶ δυνατοὶ σφόδρα ἠποροῦντο καὶ συνεστέλλοντο κατ' ἐκείνον ὅποτε γένοιτο, καὶ πάντες οὗτοι σιγῇ παρήεσαν ὑποβλέποντες αὐτόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐστεφανώσατο τῆς πίτυος, πέμψαντες οἱ Κορίνθιοι τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τινὰς ἐκέλευον ἀποθέσθαι τὸν στέφανον καὶ μηδὲν
- 11 παράνομον ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἤρετο αὐτοὺς διὰ τί παράνομόν ἐστιν αὐτὸν ἐστεφανώσθαι τῆς πίτυος, ἄλλους δὲ οὐ παράνομον. εἶπεν οὖν τις αὐτῶν, "Ὅτι οὐ νενίκηκας, ὦ Διόγενες. ὁ δέ, Πολλοὺς γε, εἶπεν, ἀνταγωνιστὰς καὶ μεγάλους, οὐχ οἷα ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ νῦν ἐνταῦθα
- 12 παλαίοντα καὶ δισκεύοντα καὶ τρέχοντα, τῷ παντὶ δὲ χαλεπωτέρους, πενίαν καὶ φυγὴν καὶ ἀδοξίαν, ἔτι δὲ ὀργὴν τε καὶ λύπην καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ φόβον καὶ τὸ πάντων ἀμαχώτατον θηρίον,<sup>2</sup> ὕπουλον καὶ μαλθακόν, ἡδονήν ἢ οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὔτε τῶν βαρβάρων ἀξιοῖ μάχεσθαι καὶ περιεῖναι τῇ ψυχῇ κρατήσας, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἡττηνται καὶ ἀπειρήκασιν πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον, Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Σύροι καὶ Μακεδόνες καὶ
- 13 Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πλην ἐμοῦ. πότερον οὖν ὑμῖν ἄξιός δοκῶ τῆς πίτυος, ἢ λαβόντες αὐτὴν δώσετε τῷ πλείστων κρεῶν γέμοντι; ταῦτα οὖν ἀπαγγέλλετε τοῖς πέμψασιν καὶ ὅτι

<sup>1</sup> ὅλως Herwerden: ὅμως.

<sup>2</sup> Before *θηρίον* the MSS. have *ἢ καὶ δυσμαχώτατον*, which Emperius brackets.

## THE NINTH OR ISTHMIAN DISCOURSE

slaves and menials while they caroused in ignorance of his identity, and yet was patient with them, drunken as they were and crazed by reason of ignorance and stupidity.

Generally the managers of the Isthmian games and other honourable and influential men were sorely troubled and held themselves aloof whenever they came his way, and passed on, all of them, in silence and with scowling glances. But when he went so far as to put the crown of pine<sup>1</sup> upon his head, the Corinthians sent some of their servants to bid him lay aside the crown and do nothing unlawful. He, however, asked them why it was unlawful for him to wear the crown of pine and not so for others. Whereupon one of them said, "Because you have won no victory, Diogenes." To which he replied, "Many and mighty antagonists have I vanquished, not like these slaves who are now wrestling here, hurling the discus and running, but more difficult in every way—I mean poverty, exile, and disrepute; yes, and anger, pain, desire, fear, and the most redoubtable beast of all, treacherous and cowardly, I mean pleasure, which no Greek or barbarian can claim he fights and conquers by the strength of his soul, but all alike have succumbed to her and have failed in this contest—Persians, Medes, Syrians, Macedonians, Athenians, Lacedaemonians—all, that is, save myself. Is it I, then, think you, that am worthy of the pine, or will you take and bestow it upon the one who is stuffed with the most meat? Take this answer, then, to those who sent you and say that it is they who break the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Discourse 8. 16: page 385, note 4.

αὐτοὶ παρανομοῦσιν· οὐ γὰρ νικήσαντες οὐδένα ἀγῶνα περιέρχονται στεφάνους ἔχοντες· καὶ ὅτι ἐνδοξότερα πεποίηκα<sup>1</sup> τὰ Ἰσθμια κατακρατήσας αὐτὸς τὸν στέφανον, καὶ ὅτι οὐ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ ταῖς αἰξὶ δηλαδὴ περιμάχητον αὐτὸν εἶναι δεῖ.

- 14 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἰδὼν τινα ἐκ τοῦ σταδίου βαδίζοντα μετὰ πολλοῦ πλήθους καὶ μηδὲ ἐπιβαίνοντα τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ ὑψηλὸν φερόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου, τοὺς δὲ τινὰς ἐπακολουθοῦντας καὶ βοῶντας, ἄλλους δὲ πηδῶντας ὑπὸ χαρᾶς καὶ τὰς χεῖρας αἶροντας πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιβάλλοντας αὐτῷ στεφάνους καὶ ταινίας, ὅτε ἐδυνήθη προσελθεῖν, ἤρετο τίς ἐστίν ὁ θόρυβος
- 15 ὁ περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τί συνέβη. ὁ δὲ ἔφη, Νικῶμεν, Διόγενες, τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ στάδιον. Τοῦτο δὲ τί ἐστίν; εἶπεν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ φρονιμώτερος γέγονας οὐδὲ μικρόν, ὅτι ἔφθασας τοὺς συντρέχοντας, οὐδὲ σωφρονέστερος νῦν ἢ πρότερον οὐδὲ δειλὸς ἦτον, οὐδ' ἔλαττον ἀλγεῖς οὐδ' ἐλαττόνων δεήσῃ τὸ
- 16 λοιπὸν οὐδὲ ἀλυπότερον βιώσῃ. Μὰ Δία, εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ταχύτατός εἰμι πάντων. Ἄλλ' οὐ τῶν λαγῶν, ἔφη ὁ Διογένης, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐλάφων· καίτοι ταῦτα τὰ θηρία, πάντων τάχιστα, ἐστὶ<sup>2</sup> καὶ δειλότατα, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοὺς κύνας καὶ τοὺς αἰετοὺς φοβεῖται, καὶ ζῆ βίον ἄθλιον. οὐκ οἶσθα, ἔφη, ὅτι τὸ τάχος δειλίας σημεῖον ἐστίν; τοῖς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ζώοις συμβέβηκε ταχίστοις τε εἶναι
- 17 καὶ ἀνανδροτάτοις. ὁ γοῦν Ἡρακλῆς διὰ τὸ

<sup>1</sup> πεποίηκα Emperius: πεποίηκε.

## THE NINTH OR ISTHMIAN DISCOURSE

law; for they go about wearing crowns and yet have won in no contest; and add that I have lent a greater lustre to the Isthmian games by having myself taken the crown, which ought to be a thing for goats, forsooth, to fight over, not for men."

And on a later occasion when he saw a person leaving the race-track surrounded by a great mob and not even walking on the earth, but being carried shoulder high by the throng, with some following after and shouting, others leaping for joy and lifting their hands towards heaven, and still others throwing garlands and ribbons upon him, he asked, when he was able to get near, what was the meaning of the tumult about him, and what had happened. The victor replied, "I have won the two hundred yards dash for men, Diogenes." "And what does that amount to?" he inquired; "for you certainly have not become one whit more intelligent for having outstripped your competitors, nor more temperate now than you were, nor less cowardly, nor are you less discontented, nor will your wants be less in the future or your life freer from grief and pain." "No, by heavens," said he, "but I am the fastest on foot of all the Greeks." "But not faster than rabbits," said Diogenes, "nor deer; and yet these animals, the swiftest of all, are also the most cowardly. They are afraid of men and dogs and eagles and lead a wretched life. Do you not know," he added, "that speed is a mark of cowardice? It is in the order of things that the swiftest animals are likewise the most timid. Heracles, for instance,

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<sup>2</sup> *τάχιστα, ἐστὶ* Capps: *ἐστὶ τάχιστα*. Emperius proposed *κάκιστα* for *τάχιστα*. Wilamowitz deletes *τάχιστα* καί.

βραδύτερος<sup>1</sup> εἶναι πολλῶν καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι κατὰ πόδας αἰρεῖν τοὺς κακούργους,<sup>2</sup> διὰ τοῦτο ἐφόρει τόξα καὶ τούτοις ἐχρήτο ἐπὶ τοῦς φεύγοντας. καὶ ὅς, Ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, ἔφη, ταχὺν ὄντα φησὶν ὁ ποιητὴς ἀνδρειότατον εἶναι. Καὶ πῶς, ἔφη, οἶσθα ὅτι ταχὺς ἦν ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς; τὸν μὲν γὰρ Ἑκτορα ἐλεῖν οὐκ ἐδύνατο κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην διώκων.

- 18 Οὐκ αἰσχύνη, ἔφη, ἐπὶ πράγματι σεμνυνόμενος ἐν ᾧ τῶν φαυλοτάτων θηρίων χείρων πέφυκας; οἶμαι γὰρ σε μηδὲ ἀλώπεκα δύνασθαι φθάσαι. πόσον δέ τι καὶ ἐφθασας; Παρ' ὀλίγον, εἶπεν, ὦ Διόγεες. τοῦτο γάρ τοι καὶ τὸ θαυμαστὸν ἐγένετο τῆς νίκης. Ὡστε, ἔφη, παρ' ἐν βῆμα εὐδαίμων γέγονας. Ἀπαντες γὰρ οἱ κράτιστοι ἦμεν οἱ τρέχοντες. Οἱ δὲ κόρυδοι πόσῳ τινὶ θᾶπτον ὑμῶν διέρχονται τὸ στάδιον; Πτηνοὶ γὰρ
- 19 εἰσιν, εἶπεν. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Διογένης, εἴπερ τὸ ταχύτατον εἶναι κράτιστόν ἐστι, πολὺ βέλτιον κόρυδον εἶναι σχεδὸν ἢ ἄνθρωπον· ὥστε τὰς ἀηδόνας οὐδέν τι δεῖ οἰκτίρειν οὐδὲ τοὺς ἔποπας, ὅτι ὄρνιθες ἐγένοντο ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ μύθου λέλεκται. Ἀλλ' ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἄνθρωπος ὢν ἀνθρώπων ταχύτατός εἰμι. Τί δέ; οὐχὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς μύρμηξιν, εἶπεν, εἰκὸς ἄλλον ἄλλου ταχύτερον εἶναι; μὴ οὖν θαυμάζουσιν αὐτόν; ἢ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι γελοῖον εἶναι εἴ τις ἐθαύμαζε μύρμηκα

<sup>1</sup> βραδύτερος Emperius: βραδύτατος.

<sup>2</sup> κακούργους Pflugk: στρατηγούς.

<sup>1</sup> Achilles, desiring to avenge the death of his friend Patroclus, whom Hector had slain, pursued him three times

## THE NINTH OR ISTHMIAN DISCOURSE

on account of being slower than many and unable to catch evil-doers by running, used to carry a bow and arrows and to employ them against those who ran from him." "But," was the reply, "the poet states that Achilles, who was very swift-footed, was, nevertheless, very brave." "And how," exclaimed Diogenes, "do you know that Achilles was swift-footed? For he was unable to overtake Hector although he pursued him all day.<sup>1</sup>

"Are you not ashamed," he continued, "to take pride in an accomplishment in which you are naturally outclassed by the meanest beasts? I do not believe that you can outstrip even a fox. And by how much did you beat the man after all?" "By just a little, Diogenes," said he; "for you know that is what made the victory so marvellous." "So," replied Diogenes, "you are fortunate by just one stride." "Yes, for all of us who ran were first-rate runners." "How much more quickly, however, does a crested lark get over the course than you?" "Ah, but it has wings," he said. "Well," replied Diogenes, "if the swiftest thing is the best, it is much better, perhaps, to be a lark than to be a man. So then we need not pity the nightingale<sup>2</sup> or the hoopoe<sup>3</sup> because they were changed from human beings into birds according to the myth." "But," replied he, "I, a man, am the fleetest of men." "What of it? Is it not probable that among ants too," Diogenes rejoined, "one is swifter than another? Yet they do not admire it, do they? Or would it not seem absurd to you if one admired

around the walls of Troy but was unable to overtake him. See Homer, *Iliad* 22. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Procne, wife of Tereus, was turned into a nightingale.

<sup>3</sup> Tereus was turned into a hoopoe. See Index.

- 20 ἐπὶ τάχει ; τί δέ ; εἰ χωλοὶ πάντες ἦσαν οἱ τρέχοντες, ἐχρῆν σε μέγα φρονεῖν ὅτι χωλὸς <sup>1</sup> ἔφθης ;

Τοιαῦτα δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον διαλεγόμενος πολλοὺς ἐποίησε τῶν παρόντων καταφρονῆσαι τοῦ πράγματος κακείνου αὐτὸν λυπούμενον  
21 ἀπελθεῖν καὶ πολὺ ταπεινότερον. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ μικρὸν παρείχε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὅποτε ἴδοι τινὰ μάτην ἐπαιρόμενον καὶ διὰ πρᾶγμα οὐδενὸς ἄξιον ἔξω τοῦ φρονεῖν, συστείλας ἐπὶ βραχὺ καὶ ἀφελὼν μικρόν τι τῆς ἀνοίας, ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ πεφυσημένα καὶ οἰδοῦντα νύξαντες ἢ στίξαντες.<sup>2</sup>

- 22 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ θεασάμενος ἵππους ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δεδεμένους, ἔπειτα μαχομένους τε καὶ λακτίζοντας αὐτούς, καὶ πολὺν ὄχλον περιστῶτας καὶ θεωμένους, ἕως καμῶν ὁ ἕτερος ἔφυγεν ἀπορρήξας, προσελθὼν ἐστεφάνωσε τὸν μένοντα καὶ ἀνεκήρυττεν ὡς Ἰσθμιονίκην, ὅτι λακτίζων ἐνίκησεν. ἐπὶ τούτῳ γέλως καὶ θόρυβος ἦν ἀπάντων, καὶ τὸν Διογένη πολλοὶ ἐθαύμαζον καὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν κατεγέλων, καὶ τινες ἀπελθεῖν φασιν οὐκ ἰδόντας αὐτούς,—ὅσοι κακῶς ἐσκήνουν ἢ καὶ τούτου ἠπόρουν.

<sup>1</sup> οὐ before χωλὸς deleted by Arnim. Emperius proposed δ for οὐ.

<sup>2</sup> For στίξαντες some MSS. have στήσαντες or σείσαντες.

## THE NINTH OR ISTHMIAN DISCOURSE

an ant for its speed? Then again, if all the runners had been lame, would it have been right for you to take on airs because, being lame yourself, you had outstripped lame men? "

As he spoke to the man in this vein, he made the business of foot-racing seem cheap in the eyes of many of the bystanders and caused the winner himself to go away sorrowing and much mecker. And this was no small service which he rendered to mankind whenever he discovered anyone who was foolishly puffed up and lost to all reason on account of some worthless thing; for he would humble the man a little and relieve him of some small part of his folly, even as one pricks or punctures inflated and swollen parts.

On this occasion he saw two horses that were hitched together fall to fighting and kicking each other, with a large crowd standing by and looking on, until one of the animals, becoming exhausted, broke loose and ran off. Then Diogenes came up and placed a crown upon the head of the horse that had stood its ground and proclaimed it winner of an Isthmian prize, because it had "won in kicking." At this there was a general laugh and uproar, while many applauded Diogenes and derided the athletes. They say, too, that some persons actually left without witnessing their performances—those who had poor lodgings or none.





## THE TENTH DISCOURSE: DIOGENES OR ON SERVANTS

The tenth Discourse contains Cynic doctrine and belongs like the two preceding Discourses to Dio's period of exile. He could not consistently have praised the condition of being without property except when he was in exile and without property, and the callousness with which he refers to Oedipus' plight would have been out of keeping with his later life.

This Discourse has two parts. In the first it is shown to be better to be without a slave or any other piece of property if you do not know how to use it, and then the stronger statement is made that it is better to have no property at all. In the second part it is shown to be very dangerous and indeed harmful to consult a god when you do not know how to do so; while if you do know, it is unnecessary. To sum up: it is better to own no property and to consult no god.

## 10. ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ Η ΠΕΡΙ ΟΙΚΕΤΩΝ

- 1 Ἀπίων ποτε Διογένης ἐκ Κορίνθου Ἀθήναζε συνέβαλε κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐνὶ τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ ἤρετο ποῖ ἄπεισιν, οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπερωτῶσιν, ἐπιδεικνύμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ἀμελὲς εἰδέναι αὐτοῖς τὰ περὶ τῶν φίλων, ἔπειτα ἀκούσαντες μόνον ἀπηλλάγησαν· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ ἰατροὶ ἀνακρίνουσι τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ὅ τι μέλλουσι ποιεῖν ἕνεκα τοῦ συμβουλευσαι, καὶ τὰ μὲν κελεύουσι, τὰ δὲ ἀπαγορεύουσιν, οὕτως ἀνέκρινεν ὁ Διογένης τὸν ἀνθρωπον ὅ τι πράττοι.
- 2 καὶ ὃς ἔφη, ὦ Διόγενες, πορεύομαι εἰς Δελφοὺς τῷ θεῷ χρησόμενος. μέλλων δὲ διὰ Βοιωτῶν ἀπιέναι, ὁ γὰρ παῖς με ὁ μετ' ἐμοῦ πορευόμενος ἀπέδρα, νῦν ἐπὶ Κορίνθου ἄπειμι· ἴσως γὰρ ἂν εὗροιμι ἐκεῖ<sup>1</sup> τὸν παῖδα. καὶ ὁ Διογένης εἶπεν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, σπουδάσας, Ἐπειτα, καταγέλαστε, ἐπιχειρεῖς θεῷ χρῆσθαι, οὐ δυνάμενος ἀνδραπόδῳ χρήσασθαι; ἢ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι τοῦτο ἐκείνου ἡττον χαλεπὸν καὶ ἐλάττονα ἔχειν κίνδυνον τοῖς οὐ δυναμένοις χρήσασθαι ὀρθῶς; τί δὲ καὶ βουλόμενος, εἶπε, ζητεῖς τὸν παῖδα; ἢ οὐκ ἦν πονηρός;

<sup>1</sup> ἐκεῖ Emperius: καί.

## THE TENTH DISCOURSE : DIOGENES OR ON SERVANTS

ONCE when Diogenes was leaving Corinth for Athens, he met an acquaintance on the road and asked whither he was going; not, however, as most persons ask such questions and thereby make a show of interest in their friends' affairs, yet have no sooner heard than off they go; no, but just as physicians ask the sick what they are planning to do, with the idea of giving them counsel and recommending what they should do and what they should avoid, so for the same purpose Diogenes asked the man what he was doing. And the latter replied, "I am on my way to Delphi, Diogenes, to make use of<sup>1</sup> the oracle, but when I was about to pass through Boeotia, my slave, who was with me, ran away, and so I am now bound for Corinth, for perhaps I may find the boy there." At this Diogenes replied with that characteristic earnestness of his, "And so, you ridiculous fellow, are you attempting to make use of the god when you are incapable of using a slave? Or does not the latter strike you as less difficult and dangerous than the former for those who are incapable of using things<sup>2</sup> properly? Besides, what is your object in hunting for the boy? Was he not a bad slave?" "Yes,

<sup>1</sup> The Greeks said "make use of" a god or oracle in the sense of "consult."

<sup>2</sup> The equivocation arising from the double meaning of the verb ("use" = treat, "use" = consult) motivates the discussion; see especially § 17 ff.

3 Πάντων γε, ἔφη, μάλιστα· μηδὲν γὰρ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἀδικούμενος, πρὸς δὲ καὶ γενόμενος<sup>1</sup> . . . ἡγείτο πονηρόν· εἰ γὰρ ἀγαθὸν ἡγείτο, οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἀπέλιπεν. Ἴσως, ὦ Διόγετες, κακὸς αὐτὸς ὢν.

Ἐπειτα ἐκεῖνος μὲν, ἔφη, σὲ πονηρὸν ἡγούμενος ἔφυγεν, ἵνα μὴ βλάπτηται ὑπὸ σοῦ, σὺ δὲ ἐκεῖνον πονηρὸν εἶναι λέγων ζητεῖς, δῆλον<sup>2</sup> ὅτι  
4 βλάπτεσθαι<sup>3</sup> ὑπ' αὐτοῦ βουλόμενος; ἢ οὐχ οἱ κακοὶ ἄνθρωποι βλαβεροὶ εἰσι τοῖς ἔχουσι καὶ τοῖς χρωμένοις, εἴαν τε Φρύγες ὥσιν εἴαν τε Ἀθηναῖοι, εἴαν τε ἐλεύθεροι εἴαν τε δοῦλοι; καίτοι κύνα μὲν οὐδεὶς κακὸν ἡγούμενος ζητεῖ ἀποδράντα, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκβύλλουσιν, εἴαν ἐπανεέλθῃ· ἀνθρώπου δὲ πονηροῦ ἀπαλλαγέντες οὐκ ἀγαπῶσιν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ πράγματα ἔχουσι καὶ τοῖς ξένοις ἐπιστέλλοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑποδημοῦντες καὶ χρήματα ἀναλίσκοντες, ὅπως λάβωσιν αὐτόν.<sup>4</sup>  
5 καὶ πότερον οἶει πλείους ὑπὸ κυνῶν βλαβῆναι πονηρῶν ἢ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων; ὑπὸ μὲν γε κυνῶν φαύλων ἕνα τὸν Ἀκταίωνά φασιν ἀπολέσθαι καὶ τούτων μανέντων· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπων φαύλων οὐδὲ εἰπεῖν ἔστιν ὅσοι ἀπολώλασι καὶ ἰδιῶται καὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ πόλεις ὅλαι, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ οἰκετῶν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν καὶ δορυφόρων, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ φίλων τινῶν καλουμένων, οἱ δέ· τινες  
6 καὶ ὑπὸ υἱέων καὶ ἀδελφῶν καὶ γυναικῶν. ἄρα οὖν οὐ μέγα κέρδος, ὅτῳ ἂν συμβῇ ἀπαλλαγῆναι

<sup>1</sup> The lacuna was noted by Casaubon. The omitted words obviously mentioned a kindness done to the slave and the first part of Diogenes' retort, As showing the line of thought Capps suggests: ἀκόλουθός μου ἀπέδρα. Ἴσως γὰρ σὲ δεσπότην.

## THE TENTH DISCOURSE: ON SERVANTS

he certainly was," replied the latter, "for although I had done him no wrong and, what is more, had made him [my body-servant, he ran away." "Perhaps] he thought [you were] a bad [master], for if he had thought you were a good one, he would never have left you." "Perhaps, Diogenes, it was because he was bad himself."

"And so," continued Diogenes, "because he thought you were bad, he ran off to avoid injury by you, while you are searching for him although you say he is bad, evidently with the desire to be injured by him! Is it not true that bad men are injurious to those who own them or to those who use them, whether they be Phrygians or Athenians, bond or free? And yet no one hunts for a run-away dog that he thinks is no good; nay, some even kick such a dog out if he comes back; but when people are rid of a bad man they are not satisfied, but go to a lot of trouble by sending word to their friends, making trips themselves, and spending money to get the fellow back again. Now do you believe that more have been hurt by bad dogs than by bad men? To be sure we hear that one man, Actaeon, was slain by worthless dogs, and mad ones at that; but it is not even possible to say how many private individuals, kings, and whole cities have been destroyed by bad men, some by servants, some by soldiers and bodyguards, others by so-called friends, and yet others by sons and brothers and wives. Is it not, therefore, a great gain when one happens to be rid of a bad man?

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<sup>2</sup> δῆλον Dindorf: ἔδηλον.

<sup>3</sup> βλάπτεσθαι Dindorf: βλάπτει καί.

<sup>4</sup> αὐτόν Geel: αὐτούς.

κακοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τοῦτον ζητεῖν τε καὶ ἐπιδιώκειν ; ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἀπαλλαγὸν νόσημα ἐζητεί καὶ ἐβούλετο ἀναλαβεῖν εἰς τὸ σῶμα ;

Καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἶπεν, Ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθῶς εἶπας, ὦ Διόγενες· ἀλλὰ χαλεπὸν ἐστὶν ἀδικηθέντα μὴ τιμωρήσασθαι. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ οὐδὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ παθὼν, ὡς ὀρᾷς, ἐτόλμησεν ἀπολιπεῖν με· ὃς ἔργον μὲν παρ' ἐμοὶ οὐδὲν ἔπραττεν ὅσα δοῦλοι ἐργάζονται, ἀργὸς δὲ ὢν ἔνδον ἐτρέφετο, οὐ-  
 7 δὲν ποιῶν ἢ ἐμοὶ ἀκολουθῶν. Ἐπειτα, ἔφη, οὐδὲν ἡδίκηεις αὐτὸν ἀργὸν ὄντα καὶ ἀμαθῆ τρέφων καὶ ποιῶν ὅτι κάκιστον ; ἢ γὰρ ἀργία καὶ τὸ σχολὴν ἄγειν ἀπόλλυσι πάντων μάλιστα τοὺς ἀνοήτους ἀνθρώπους. οὐκοῦν ὀρθῶς συνή-  
 κεν ὑπὸ σοῦ διαφθειρόμενος, καὶ ἀπέδρα δικαίως, ἵν' ἐργάζεται διήλον ὅτι καὶ μὴ σχολάζων τε καὶ καθεύδων καὶ ἐσθίων χείρων αἰεὶ γίγνεται. σὺ δὲ ἴσως οἶμι μικρὸν ἀδίκημα εἶναι, ὃς ἄνθρωπον ποιεῖ πονηρότερον· ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῦτον δεῖ πάντων μάλιστα φεύγειν ὡς ἔχθιστον καὶ ἐπιβουλότατον ;

Καὶ ὃς, Τί οὖν, ἔφη, ποιήσω ; οὐ γὰρ ἔστι  
 8 μοι ἄλλος οἰκέτης. Τί δέ, ἔφη, ποιήσεις ὅταν ἄλλα ὑποδήματα μὴ ἔχῃς, τὰ δὲ ὄντα ἐνοχλῇ καὶ διακόπτῃ τοὺς πόδας ; ἄρα οὐχ ὑπολυσά-  
 μενος ὅτι τάχιστα ἀνυπόδητος βαδίσεις ; ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτόματον λυθῇ, πάλιν ἐπιδεῖς τε καὶ σφίγγεις τὸν πόδα ; καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὥσπερ οἱ ἀνυπόδητοι ἐνίοτε ῥᾶον βαδίζουσι τῶν φαύλως ὑποδεδεμένων, οὕτως πολλοὶ χωρὶς οἰκετῶν ῥᾶον  
 ζῶσι καὶ ἀλυπότερον τῶν πολλοὺς οἰκέτας

## THE TENTH DISCOURSE: ON SERVANTS

Should one hunt and chase after him? That would be like hunting after a disease one had got rid of and trying to get it back into one's system again."

The man replied, "What you say is right enough, Diogenes, but it is hard for a man who has been wronged not to seek redress. That renegade suffered no wrong at my hands, as you see, and yet he dared to desert me. At my house he did none of the work that slaves perform, but was kept inside in idleness with nothing else to do but to accompany me." "Then were you doing him no wrong," Diogenes answered, "by keeping him in idleness and ignorance and making him as bad as could be? For idleness and lack of occupation are the best things in the world to ruin the foolish. Therefore he was right in deciding that you were his undoing, and he was justified in running off, evidently so as to get work and not become worse and worse all the time by loafing, sleeping, and eating. But you, perhaps, think that it is a trifling wrong when anyone makes another man worse. And yet is it not right to keep away from such a man above all as the deadliest and most treacherous of enemies?"

"What shall I do then?" he asked, "for I have no other domestic." "Well, what will you do," said he, "when you have no other shoes and those you have hurt and lacerate your feet? Will you not take them off as soon as you can and go barefoot? If, however, they fall off of themselves, do you tie them on again and pinch your feet? Why, sometimes barefooted persons get about more easily than those who are badly shod; and similarly, many live more comfortably and with less annoyance without domestics than those who have many. See what worries



- 9 ἐχόντων. οὐχ ὁρᾷς τοὺς πλουσίους, ὅποσα πράγματα ἔχουσιν, οἱ μὲν θεραπεύοντες τοὺς νοσοῦντας τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ δεόμενοι ἰατρῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παραμενούντων; καὶ γὰρ ὡς τὸ πολλὸν πέφυκεν ἀμελεῖν αὐτῶν τὰ ἀνδράποδα καὶ οὐ προσέχειν ἐν ταῖς νόσοις, τὸ μὲν τι ὑπὸ ἀκρατείας, τὸ δὲ ἡγούμενα, εἴ τι πᾶθαι, τοὺς δεσπότης ζημιώσεσθαι, οὐχ αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ μαστιγοῦντες ὅσημέραι, ἕτεροι δὲ δεσμεύοντες, ἄλλοι διώκοντες φεύγοντας. καὶ γάρ τοι οὔτε ἀποδημήσαι δύνανται ῥαδίως, ὅποταν δοκῇ αὐτοῖς,
- 10 οὔτε μένοντες σχολὴν ἄγουσι. τὸ δὲ πάντων γελοιότατον· ἐνίοτε ἀποροῦσι διακύνων μᾶλλον τῶν πενήτων τε καὶ οὐκ ἐχόντων οὐδένα οἰκέτην. καὶ ἔστι τὸ πρᾶγμα ὅμοιον τοῖς ἰούλοις· οἶμαι γάρ σε εἰδέναι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι μυρίους πόδας ἔχοντες βραδύτατοὶ εἰσι τῶν ἑρπετῶν. οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι τὸ σῶμα ἡ φύσις ἐκάστῳ ἐποίησεν ἱκανὸν εἶναι πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θεραπείαν; πόδας μὲν, ὥστε ἀπιέναι, χεῖρας δέ, ὥστε ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου σώματος ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὀφθαλμοὺς
- 11 δέ, ὥστε ὁρᾶν, ὠτα δέ, ὥστε ἀκούειν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις σύμμετρον ἐποίησε τὴν γαστέρα, καὶ οὐ δείται πλείονος τροφῆς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἢ δυνατός ἐστιν αὐτῷ πορίζειν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μέτρον ἐκάστῳ ἱκανώτατον καὶ ἄριστον καὶ ὑγιέστατον. ὥσπερ οὖν ἡ χεὶρ ἀσθενεστέρα ἐστὶν ἢ πλείονας δακτύλους ἔχουσα τῶν φύσει γιγνομένων, καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἄνθρωπος ἀνάπηρος καλεῖται τρόπον τινὰ ὃ ἂν ἔξωθεν προσφυῇ δάκτυλος περιττός, καὶ μὴδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις χρήσθαι δύνηται κατὰ τρόπον, οὕτως ὅταν πολλοὶ πόδες καὶ πολλαὶ χεῖρες καὶ πολλαὶ

## THE TENTH DISCOURSE: ON SERVANTS

the rich have. Some are taking care of their sick slaves and wanting doctors and nurses—for it is usually the way of slaves to neglect themselves and not be careful when sick, partly through lack of self-control, partly because they think that if anything befalls them, it will be their master's loss and not their own—other rich men inflict corporal punishment daily, others put fetters on them, while yet others are pursuing runaways. And so it goes; they can neither get away from home easily whenever they like nor have leisure if they stay at home. And the most absurd thing of all is that they are often worse off for help than are the poor who keep no servants. Their situation reminds one of the centipede—I think you know it—which has innumerable feet and yet it is the slowest of creeping things. Do you not know that nature has made each man's body to be sufficient to serve him?—feet so as to move about, hands to work with and to care for the rest of the body, eyes to see, and ears to hear. Besides, she has made his stomach of a size in keeping, so that man does not require more nourishment than he is able to provide for himself, but this amount represents what is quite adequate for each man and best and most wholesome. Just as a hand is all the weaker for having more fingers than belong there naturally, and such a man is called a sort of cripple when he has an extra finger on the outside and cannot use the other fingers properly; so when a man gets equipped with many additional feet, hands,

# DIO CHRYSOSTOM

- 14 ἀποδόσθαι αὐτόν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, εἴαν τις ἱμάτιον ἀποδῶ κίβδηλον ἢ σκεῦος ἢ κτήνος νοσοῦν τε καὶ ἄχρηστον, ἀνάγκη αὐτὸ ἀπολαμβάνειν, ὥστε οὐδὲν ἔσται σοι πλέον. εἰ δὲ καὶ δυνήσῃ ἐξαπατήσαι τινα κακείνους οὐκ αἰσθήσεται τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τῆς πονηρίας, τὸ ἀργύριον οὐ δέδοικας; ἴσως μὲν γὰρ ἄλλον ὠνήσῃ φανλότερον, εἴαν δριμυτέρου τύχης ἢ κατὰ σὲ τοῦ ἀποδιδομένου· τυχὸν δὲ εἰς ἄλλο τι χρήσῃ λαβὼν ἀφ' οὗ βλαβήσῃ. οὐ γὰρ δὴ αἰεὶ ποτε τὸ ἀργύριον ὠφελεῖ τοὺς κτησαμένους, ἀλλὰ πολλῶ πλείονας βλάβας καὶ πλείω κακὰ πεπόνθασιν ἄνθρωποι ὑπὸ ἀργυρίου ἢ ὑπὸ πενίας, ἄλλως τε
- 15 ἀνόητοι ὄντες. οὐκ ἐκείνο πρότερον κτήσασθαι σπουδάσεις ᾧ δυνήσῃ ὑπὸ παντὸς ὠφελεῖσθαι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ πράγμασι χρῆσθαι καλῶς, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τοῦ φρονῆσαι ζητήσεις ἀργύριον ἢ γῆν ἢ ἀνδράποδα ἢ ζεύγος ἢ πλοῖον ἢ οἰκίαν; οἷς σὺ δουλεύσεις καὶ λυπήσῃ δι' αὐτὰ καὶ πολλὰ πονήσεις μάτην καὶ διατελέσεις ἅπαντα τὸν βίον φροντίζων ἐκείνων, ὠνήσῃ δὲ οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ἀπ'
- 16 αὐτῶν. οὐχ ὁρᾷς τὰ θηρία ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ὄρνεα, ὅσῳ ζῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀλυπότερον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἡδίων, καὶ μᾶλλον ὑγιαίνει καὶ πλέον ἰσχύει καὶ ζῇ χρόνον ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ὅσον πλείστον δύναται, καίτοι οὔτε χεῖρας ἔχοντα οὔτε ἀνθρώπου διάνοιαν; ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀντὶ πάντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἄλλων κακῶν ὑπέρχει μέγιστον ἀγαθόν, ὅτι ἀκτῆμονά ἐστιν.

Ἀλλὰ δοκῶ μοι εἰσαίνειν, ὦ Διόγετες, τὸν οἰκέτην, εἴανπερ μὴ ἀπὸ τύχης ἐμπέσῃ μοι. Ναὶ μὰ Δία, εἶπεν ὁ Διογένης, ὥσπερ εἰ λέγοις ὅτι

## THE TENTH DISCOURSE: ON SERVANTS

Further, if a man sells a cloak or a utensil that is not what it purports to be, or an animal that is diseased and useless; he must take it back; so, by selling you will be none the better off. And even if you shall be able to deceive somebody and he shall not be aware of the slave's depravity, are you not afraid of the money? For perhaps you will buy another still worse slave if you chance upon a seller who is too shrewd for you. Or perhaps you will use the money received for something that will harm you. For by no means in every case does money help those who have gotten it; but men have suffered many more injuries and many more evils from money than from poverty, particularly when they lacked sense. Are you going to try to secure first, not that other thing, which will enable you to derive profit from everything and to order all your affairs well, but in preference to wisdom are you going to seek riches or lands or teams of horses or ships or houses? You will become their slave and will suffer through them and perform a great deal of useless labour, and will spend all your life worrying over them without getting any benefit whatsoever from them. Consider the beasts yonder and the birds, how much freer from trouble they live than men, and how much more happily also, how much healthier and stronger they are, and how each of them lives the longest life possible, although they have neither hands nor human intelligence. And yet, to counterbalance these and their other limitations, they have one very great blessing—they own no property."

"Well, Diogenes, I believe I shall let my servant go, that is, unless he happens to come my way."

"Well, I declare," exclaimed Diogenes, "that would

δάκνοντα ἢ λακτίζοντα ἵππον οὐκ ἂν ζητήσαιμι·  
ἐὰν μέντοι περιτύχω, προσέλθοιμ' αὖν, ὥστε  
δηχθῆναι ἢ λακτισθῆναι.

- 17 Ταῦτα μὲν ἔασον· ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ διὰ τί με  
χρησθαι οὐκ ἔās; Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀπαγορεύω σοι θεῷ  
χρησθαι, εἰ δύναισαι; οὐ τοῦτο ἔφην, ἀλλ' ὅτι  
χαλεπὸν ἐστί, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδύνατον, χρησθαι ἢ  
θεῷ ἢ ἀνθρώπῳ ἢ αὐτὸν αὐτῷ μὴ ἐπιστάμενον·  
τὸ δὲ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπίστασθαι πάντων  
βλαβερώτατον· ἢ ὅστις οὐκ ἔστιν ἔμπειρος  
ἵππων χρήσεως, δοκεῖ σοι οὗτος χρησθαι ἂν  
ἵπποις; Οὐκ ἔμοιγε. Εἰ δ' αὖ βιάζοιτο, κακὸν  
ἂν τι ἀπολαῦσαι πρότερον ἢ ἀγαθόν; Ἀληθῆ.  
18 Τί δέ; ὅστις ἀγνοεῖ χρήσιν κυνῶν, δυνατὸς ἂν  
εἴη χρησθαι; ἢ οὐ τό τιμι χρησθαι ὠφελεῖσθαι  
ἐστὶν ἀπ' ἐκείνου; Δοκεῖ μοι. Οὐδεὶς<sup>1</sup> ἄρα τῶν  
βλαπτομένων ἀπὸ τινος χρήται ἐκείνῳ ὕφ' οὗ  
βλάπτεται; Οὐ γάρ. Οὐκ οὖν καὶ ὁ κυσὶ πειρώ-  
μενος χρησθαι ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπίστασθαι ζημιώσεται  
ἀπ' αὐτῶν; Εἰκός γε. Οὐκ ἄρα οὐδὲ χρήσεται  
αὐτοῖς, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστι χρήσις ὅπου ζημία πρόσεστι.  
καὶ οὐ μόνον περὶ κυνῶν καὶ ἵππων ἔχει οὕτως,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ βοῶν καὶ ὀρέων,<sup>2</sup> καὶ ὁ μᾶλλον θαυμά-  
σαις αὖν, οὐδὲ ὄνῳ ἢ προβάτῳ χρησθαι πάρεστι  
19 τοῖς ἀπείροις. ἢ οὐκ οἶσθα τοὺς μὲν τινας  
ὠφελημένους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ βεβλαμμένους ἀπὸ τε  
προβατείας καὶ ὀνηλασίας; Ἐγωγε. Πότερον  
δι' ἄλλο τι ἢ διότι<sup>3</sup> ἀνάγκη τοὺς μὲν ἀπείρους  
ζημιοῦσθαι, τοὺς δὲ εἰδότας ὀνύνασθαι καὶ ἀπὸ

<sup>1</sup> οὐδεὶς Morel: οὐδὲν or οὐδὲ.

<sup>2</sup> ὀρέων Pierson: ὀρνέων.

<sup>3</sup> διότι Wilamowitz: δῆλον ὅτι.

## THE TENTH DISCOURSE: ON SERVANTS

be like your saying that you would not look for a horse that bites or kicks, but that if you came across him, you would go up to him for the fun of being bitten or kicked!"

"Enough of that! But why do you object to my making use of the god?" "What! I object to your making use of the god if you can! That is not what I was saying, but that it is difficult, nay rather impossible, to make use of god or man or one's own self if one does not know how. To make the attempt without knowing how is an extremely harmful thing. Or do you think that the man who is untrained in the use of horses could make use of them?" "I do not." "And that if, on the other hand, he should use force, he would get some harm from it rather than good?" "True." "Now then, will the man ignorant of the use of dogs be able to use them? Or does not the using of a thing imply deriving benefit from it?" "I think so." "No one, therefore, of those injured by a thing really uses the thing by which he is injured, does he?" "Certainly not." "If, therefore, a man attempts to use dogs without knowing how, will he not receive damage from them?" "Very likely." "He, therefore, will not be using them either, since use does not properly exist where damage results. And this is true not only in the case of dogs and horses but of oxen and mules also, and—what might surprise you more—not even the using of an ass or a sheep is a matter for inexperienced persons. Or do you not know that from the keeping of sheep and the driving of asses some derive benefit and others injury?" "I do." "Is it not simply because the inexperienced necessarily receive damage and those who

ὄνων καὶ ἀπὸ συῶν καὶ ἀπὸ χηνῶν καὶ ἀπὸ ἄλλου ζῴου παντός ; "Εοικε.

Τί δέ ; οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς σκεύεσιν ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος, ἀλλὰ κιθάρα χρήσαιτο ἂν ὁ ἄμουσος, ἢ ἐπιχειρῶν οὐκ ἂν εἴη καταγέλαστος πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ τὴν κιθάραν διαφθείρων καὶ ἀπορρηγνύς  
 20 τοὺς φθόγγους ; τί δέ ; εἴ τις αὐλοῖς οὐκ ὦν αὐλητικὸς ἐθέλοι χρήσθαι καὶ παριῶν εἰς τὰ θέατρα αὐλεῖν, οὐκ αὐτὸς τε δώσει δίκην βαλλόμενος καὶ τοὺς αὐλοὺς ἂν προσέτι συντρίψειεν ; ὃς δ' ἂν ἐπιχειρῇ πηδαλίῳ χρήσθαι οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος κυβερνᾶν, ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ ἂν τάχιστα ἀνατρέψας τὴν ναῦν αὐτόν τε ἀπολέσειεν καὶ τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας ; τί δέ ; ἢ δόρατος χρήσις ἢ ἰσπίδος συμφέρει τοῖς δειλοῖς καὶ ἀνεπιστήμοσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἀποβάλοιεν τῇ τοιαύτῃ πείρᾳ τῆς χρήσεως οὐ τὰ ὅπλα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτούς ;

Συγχωρῶ, ἔφη, ὦ Διόγενης· ἀλλὰ καταδύεις  
 21 τὸν ἥλιον περὶ πάντων ἐπερωτῶν. Καὶ πότερον ἄμεινον, εἶπεν, ἀκούοντα ὦν χρὴ καταδῦσαι τὸν ἥλιον ἢ βαδίζοντα μάτην ;

Ὅμοίως<sup>1</sup> δ' ἐπὶ πάντων σχεδὸν ὅσων ἄπεστιν ἐμπειρία τοῦ χρήσθαι, χαλεπὸν τὸ προθυμεῖσθαι, μείζω δὲ<sup>2</sup> τὴν βλάβην γενέσθαι εἰκὸς ἀπὸ τῶν μειζόνων. ἢ οὖν δοκεῖ σοι ὁμοία εἶναι ἢ ὄνου χρήσις τῇ ἵππου ; Πόθεν ; Τί δέ ; ἢ ἀνθρώπου τῇ θεοῦ ; Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ λέγειν ἄξιον, ἔφη, ὦ Διό-

<sup>1</sup> ὁμοίως Geel : ὅμως.

<sup>2</sup> δὲ Pflugk : γὰρ.

## THE TENTH DISCOURSE: ON SERVANTS

know benefit, whether it be a question of asses or swine or geese or any other creature?" "It appears so."

"Furthermore, can it be that, as regards the use of things, the same reasoning does not hold good, but that one who has no knowledge of music could use a lyre, or would he not be ridiculous for trying, not to speak of his accomplishing nothing and ruining the lyre and breaking the strings? Then again, if one who is not a flautist should wish to use the flute and appear in the theatres and play upon it, would he not be pelted as a punishment and be likely to smash his flute into the bargain? And if a man undertakes to handle a rudder without knowing how to steer, will he not assuredly capsize the boat in short order and cause the death of both himself and his fellow-passengers? Still further, does the use of spear or shield do any good when wielded by timid and inexperienced persons, or rather, would they not by such an attempt at use lose not only their weapons but their own lives as well?"

"I grant it, Diogenes," he replied; "but you are letting the sun go down with your interminable questions." "And is it not better," said he, "to let the sun go down if one is listening to useful words than to go on an idle journey?"

"And likewise in almost all cases where practical experience in 'using' is lacking, it is difficult to be zealous, and the damage is likely to be greater where the things concerned are greater. Do you, then, think that the 'use' of an ass is like the 'use' of a horse?" "Of course not." "Well, then, is the 'use' of a man like the 'use' of a god?" "But that question does not deserve an answer, Diogenes,"



- γενες. "Εστιν οὖν ὃς αὐτῷ<sup>1</sup> χρῆσθαι δύναται, οὐ  
 γιγνώσκων αὐτόν; Καὶ πῶς; εἶπεν. 'Ο γὰρ  
 ἄνθρωπον ἀγνοῶν ἀδύνατος ἀνθρώπῳ χρῆσθαι;  
 22 'Αδύνατος γάρ. 'Ο δὲ αὐτόν ἀγνοῶν οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι  
 αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι; Δοκεῖ μοι. "Ἦδη οὖν ἀκήκοας  
 τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς γράμμα τὸ Γνώθι σαυτόν; "Εγωγε.  
 Οὐκ οὖν δῆλον ὅτι ὁ θεὸς κέλεύει πᾶσιν ὥς οὐκ  
 εἰδόσιν αὐτούς; "Εοικεν. Εἰς ἄρα τῶν πάντων  
 καὶ σὺ εἴης ἄν; Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; Οὐκ ἄρα οὐδὲ σὺ  
 γιγνώσκεις σαυτόν; Οὐ μοι δοκῶ. Σεαυτὸν δὲ  
 ἀγνοῶν ἄνθρωπον ἀγνοεῖς, ἄνθρωπον δὲ οὐκ εἰδὼς  
 χρῆσθαι ἀνθρώπῳ οὐ δυνατὸς εἶ, ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ  
 χρῆσθαι ἀδύνατος ὢν θεῷ ἐπιχειρεῖς, ὃ τῷ παντὶ  
 μείζον καὶ χαλεπώτερον ἐκείνου ὁμολογοῦμεν  
 εἶναι.
- 23 Τί δέ; νομίζεις τὸν 'Απόλλωνα ἀττικίζειν ἢ  
 δωρίζειν; ἢ τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι διάλεκτον ἀνθρώπων  
 καὶ θεῶν; ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον διαφέρει ὥστε τὸν  
 ποταμὸν τὸν ἐν Τροίᾳ Σκάμανδρον παρ' ἐκείνοις  
 Ξάνθον καλεῖσθαι, καὶ τὴν κύμινδιν τὸ ὄρνεον  
 χαλκίδα, καὶ τόπον τινὰ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, ὃν οἱ  
 Τρῶες ἐκάλουν Βατίειαν,<sup>2</sup> τοὺς θεοὺς Σῆμα  
 Μυρίνης ὀνομάζειν. ὅθεν δὴ καὶ ἀσαφῆ τὰ τῶν  
 χρησμῶν ἐστίν καὶ πολλοὺς ἤδη ἐξηπάτηκεν.
- 24 Ομήρῳ μὲν οὖν ἀσφαλὲς ἦν ἴσως πορεύεσθαι

<sup>1</sup> οὖν ὃς αὐτῷ Arnim: οὖν ὑπὸ.

<sup>2</sup> Emperius: βατίαν or βάτειαν.

<sup>1</sup> The first of the three inscriptions known to have been inscribed on the temple of Apollo at Delphi.

<sup>2</sup> See Homer, *Iliad* 20. 74, and compare the Eleventh Discourse, § 23.

## THE TENTH DISCOURSE: ON SERVANTS

said he. "Is there anyone, then, who can make use of himself who does not know himself?" "How could he?" replied the other. "Because the one who does not understand man is unable to 'use' man?" "Yes, because he cannot." "So he who does not understand himself would not be able to make use of himself, would he?" "I believe not." "Have you ever heard of the inscription at Delphi: 'Know thyself'?"<sup>1</sup> "I have." "Is it not plain that the god gives this command to all, in the belief that they do not know themselves?" "It would seem so." "You, therefore, would be included in the 'all'?" "Certainly." "So then you also do not know yourself?" "I believe not." "And not knowing yourself, you do not know man; and not knowing man, you are unable to 'use' man; and yet, although you are unable to 'use' a man, you are attempting to 'use' a god, an attempt which we agree is altogether the greater and more difficult of the two.

"Tell me, do you think Apollo speaks Attic or Doric? Or that men and gods have the same language? Yet the difference is so great that the Scamander river in Troy is called Xanthus<sup>2</sup> by the gods, and that the bird *kymindis* is called *chalkis*,<sup>3</sup> and that a certain spot outside the city which the Trojans called *Batieia* was called the *Sema Myrines*<sup>4</sup> by the gods. From this it naturally follows that the oracles are obscure and have already deceived many men. Now for Homer perhaps it was safe to go to Apollo

<sup>1</sup> See Homer, *Iliad* 14. 291. It is said to have been a black bird of prey, long and slender, which haunted the mountains. It has not been identified.

<sup>4</sup> "Tomb of Myrina." See Homer, *Iliad* 2. 813 f.

παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω εἰς Δελφούς, ἅτε διγλώττω καὶ<sup>1</sup> ἐπισταμένῳ τὰς φωνάς, εἴπερ ἀπάσας ἠπίστατο, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὀλίγ' ἅττα, ὥσπερ οἱ δύο ἢ τρία Περσικὰ εἰδότες ῥήματα ἢ Μηδικὰ ἢ Ἀσσύρια τοὺς ἀγνοοῦντας ἐξαπατῶσι.

- Σὺ δὲ οὐ δέδοικας μὴ ἄλλα τοῦ θεοῦ λέγοντος ἄλλα διανοηθῆς; ὥσπερ οὖν φασι Λαῖον ἐκεῖνον, τὸν γενόμενον Χρυσίππου ἐραστήν, ὃς ἀφικόμενος εἰς Δελφούς ἐπηρώτα τὸν θεὸν ὅπως αὐτῷ ἔσονται παῖδες. ἔχρησεν οὖν μὴ γεννᾶν ἢ ἐκτιθέναι  
 25 γεννήσαντα. οὕτω δὲ ἀνόητος ἦν ὁ Λαῖος ὥστε ἀμφοτέρα παρακοῦσαι τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ γὰρ ἐγέννησε καὶ οὐκ<sup>2</sup> ἔθρεψεν. ἔπειτα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπώλετο καὶ πᾶς ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ, διότι ἀδύνατος ὢν ἐπεχείρησε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι χρῆσθαι. μὴ γὰρ ταῦτα ἀκούσας τὸν Οἰδίποδα οὐκ ἂν ἐξέβηκεν, ὁ δὲ οἴκοι τραφεῖς οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Λαῖον,  
 26 ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι αὐτοῦ παῖς εἴη. καὶ τοίνυν τὰ περὶ Κροῖσου ἀκήκοας τὸν Λυδόν, ὃς ἡγούμενος πείθεσθαι τῷ νεῷ παντὸς μᾶλλον καὶ διαβὰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἄλυν, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπέβαλε, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν πέδαις ἐδέθη, καὶ ὀλίγου κατεκαύθη ζῶν. ἢ σὺ οἶει φρονιμώτερος εἶναι Κροῖσου, ἀνδρὸς οὕτω

<sup>1</sup> καὶ added by Emperius.

<sup>2</sup> οὐκ added by Geel. Bude adopts Schwartz' proposal, καὶ ἄλλος ἔθρεψεν.

<sup>1</sup> King of Thebes, the father by Jocasta of Oedipus, who unwittingly slew him, married Jocasta, and then blinded himself on learning the truth.

<sup>2</sup> A son of Lydus, the father of Croesus.

<sup>3</sup> The oracle can mean (1) not to beget; or if he did, to expose the infant; (2) not to beget, or if he did, not to expose the infant.

## THE TENTH DISCOURSE: ON SERVANTS

at Delphi, as being bilingual and understanding the dialects—if he really did understand them all and not just a few things, like persons who know two or three Persian, Median, or Assyrian words and thus fool the ignorant.

“But how about you? Have you no fear lest, when the god says one thing you may understand another? As, for instance, the story of the famous Laius,<sup>1</sup> the man who became the lover of Chrysis;<sup>2</sup> when he had gone to Delphi, he asked the god how he might have issue. The god bade him ‘not to beget, or, having begotten, to expose.’ And Laius was so foolish as to misunderstand both commands of the god,<sup>3</sup> for he begot a son and did not rear him. Afterwards both he and all his house were destroyed, all because he had undertaken to ‘make use of’ Apollo when he lacked the ability. For if he had not received that oracle, he would not have exposed Oedipus, and the latter, having been reared at home, would not have slain Laius, for he would have known that he was his son. Then you have heard the story about Croesus,<sup>4</sup> the Lydian, who, imagining that he was most faithfully carrying out the behests of the god, crossed the river Halys,<sup>5</sup> lost his empire, was bound in chains himself, and barely escaped being burned alive. Or do you, pray, think that you are wiser than Croesus, a man

<sup>4</sup> King of Lydia, who having consulted the oracle at Delphi as to whether he should march against Persia, received the answer that if he did he would destroy a great empire. Herodotus (1. 53 ff.) quotes the oracle and tells the story.

<sup>5</sup> The most important river of Asia Minor, empties into the Euxine or Black Sea, near Sinope, and used to form the boundary between the Lydian empire and that of the Medes and Persians.

πλουσίῳ καὶ τοσούτων ἀνθρώπων ἄρχοντος καὶ  
 Σόλωνι συγγενομένου καὶ ἄλλοις παμπόλλοις  
 27 σοφισταῖς; τὸν δὲ Ὀρέστην καὶ αὐτὸν δῆπου  
 ὁρᾷς ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαις ἐγκαλοῦντα τῷ θεῷ καὶ  
 μεμφόμενον, ὅποτε μαίνοιτο, ὡς συμβουλευσάντος  
 ἐκείνου τὴν μητέρα ἀποκτεῖναι. καίτοι μὴ νόμιζε  
 τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα χαλεπὸν τι ἢ αἰσχρὸν προστάξει  
 τοῖς ἐρωτῶσιν αὐτόν. ἀλλ' ὅπερ εἶπον, χρήσθαι  
 τῷ θεῷ ἀδύνατοι ὄντες, ἔπειτα ἐπιχειροῦντες, οὐχ  
 αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἐκείνους αἰτιῶνται.

Σὺ οὖν, εἴαν μοι πεισθῇς, φυλάξῃ καὶ πρότερον  
 προθυμῇσιν γινῶναι σεαυτὸν, ἔπειτα φρονήσας, εἴαν  
 28 δοκῇ σοι, τότε ἤδη μαντεύσῃ. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαί  
 σε μηδὲν δεήσεισθαι μαντείας νοῦν ἔχοντα. καὶ  
 γὰρ δὴ ὅρα, εἴαν σε κελεύσῃ γράφειν καὶ ἀναγι-  
 γνῶσκειν ὀρθῶς μὴ γραμματικὸν ὄντα, οὐ δυνήσῃ  
 γράμματα δὲ εἰδῶς, καὶ μὴ τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύοντος  
 κατὰ τρόπον γράψῃς καὶ ἀναγνώσῃ. ὁμοίως δὲ  
 ἄλλο ὅτιοῦν πράττειν, εἴαν συμβουλευσῇ σοι μὴ  
 ἐπισταμένῳ, οὐχ οἷός τε ἔσει. καὶ ζῆν ὀρθῶς οὐ  
 δυνήσῃ μὴ ἐπιστάμενος, οὐδ' ἂν κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν  
 ἐκάστην τὸν Ἀπόλλω ἐνοχλῇς καὶ σοὶ μόνῳ  
 σχολάζῃ. νοῦν δὲ ἔχων γνώσῃ ἀπὸ σεαυτοῦ ὃ τί  
 σοι πρακτέον ἐστὶ καὶ ὅπως.

29 Ὁ δὲ ἔλαθέ με<sup>1</sup> περὶ τοῦ Οἰδίποδος εἰπεῖν, ὅτι  
 εἰς Δελφοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἦλθε μαντευσόμενος, τῷ δὲ  
 Τειρεσίᾳ συμβαλὼν μεγάλα κακὰ ἀπέλαυσε τῆς

<sup>1</sup> ἔλαθέ με Geel: ἔλαθεν.

<sup>1</sup> Son of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, who, having slain his mother for having slain his father, went mad and was pursued by the Furies. Dio has in mind such passages as Eur. *Orestes* 285 ff., *Iphigenia in Tauris* 77 ff.

## THE TENTH DISCOURSE: ON SERVANTS

of such wealth, who ruled over so many people and had met Solon and a great many other wise men? As for Orestes,<sup>1</sup> I presume you see him also in tragic performances inveighing against the god in his fits of madness, and accusing him as though he had counselled him to slay his mother. But do not imagine that Apollo ever ordered those that consult him to commit any dreadful or disgraceful act. It is as I said: although men are incapable of 'using' the god, they go ahead, try, and then blame him and not themselves.

"You, then, if you follow my advice, will take heed and aim first to know yourself; afterwards, having found wisdom, you will then, if it be your pleasure, consult the oracle. For I am persuaded that you will have no need of consulting oracles if you have intelligence. Why just consider! If the god bids you to read and write correctly when you have no knowledge of letters, you will not be able to do so; but if you know your letters, you will read and write well enough, even without any command from the god. In the same way, if he advises you to do anything else when you do not know how, you will not be in a condition to obey. You will not be able to live properly, either, if you do not know how, even though you importune Apollo day after day and he gives you all his time. But if possessed of intelligence, you will know of yourself what you ought to do and how to go about it.

"There is one thing, however, that I forgot to say about Oedipus: He did not go to Delphi to consult the oracle but fell in with Teiresias<sup>2</sup> and suffered

<sup>2</sup> A Theban and one of the most famous soothsayers of antiquity.

ἐκείνου μαντικῆς διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἄγνοϊαν. ἔγνω γὰρ ὅτι τῇ μητρὶ συνεγένετο καὶ παῖδες εἰσιν αὐτῷ ἕξ ἐκείνης· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, δέον ἴσως κρύπτειν τοῦτο ἢ ποιῆσαι νόμιμον τοῖς Θηβαίοις, πρῶτον μὲν πᾶσιν ἐποίησε φανερόν, ἔπειτα ἡγανάκει καὶ ἐβόα μεγάλη, ὅτι τῶν αὐτῶν πατήρ ἐστι καὶ ἀδελφὸς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς γυναικὸς  
 30 ἀνὴρ καὶ υἱός. οἱ δὲ ἠλεκτρονόες οὐκ ἀγανακτοῦσιν ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐδὲ οἱ κύνες οὐδὲ τῶν ὄνων οὐδεῖς, οὐδὲ οἱ Πέρσαι, καίτοι δοκοῦσι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἄριστοι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐτύφλωσεν αὐτόν· ἔπειτα ἡλᾶτο τετυφλωμένος, ὥσπερ οὐ δυνάμενος βλέπων πλανᾶσθαι.

Καὶ ὃς ἀκούσας ἔφη, Σὺ μὲν, ὦ Διόγενης, ἀναισθητότατον ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀποφαίνεις τὸν Οἰδίπουν· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληγες οἴονται οὐκ εὖτυχῇ μὲν γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον, συνετὸν δὲ πάντων μάλιστα· μόνον γοῦν αὐτὸν λῦσαι τὸ αἵνιγμα τῆς  
 31 Σφίγγος. καὶ ὁ Διογένης γελάσας, Μὴ γάρ, ἔφη, ἐκεῖνος ἔλυσε τὸ αἵνιγμα; οὐκ ἀκήκοας ὅτι ἄνθρωπον αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε γινῶναι ἢ Σφίγξ; ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπον μὲν ὃ ἐστὶν οὔτε εἶπεν οὔτε ἔγνω· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου λέγων ᾤετο λέγειν τὸ ἐρωτώμενον· ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἐστι Σωκράτης, ὁ δὲ μηδὲν εἶποι πλέον τοῦ ὀνόματος, ὅτι Σωκράτης. ἐγὼ δὲ ἡκουσά του λέγοντος ὅτι  
 32 ἢ Σφίγξ ἢ ἀμαθία ἐστίν· ταύτην οὖν καὶ πρό-

<sup>1</sup> A she-monster who took up her position on a rock near Thebes and propounded the following riddle to all who passed by: What walks on four legs in the morning, on two at noon, and on three in the evening? She threw from the

## THE TENTH DISCOURSE: ON SERVANTS

great calamities from that seer's divination on account of his own ignorance. For he knew that he had consorted with his own mother and that he had children by her; and subsequently, when perhaps he should have concealed this or made it legal in Thebes, in the first place he let everybody know the fact and then became greatly wrought up, lifted up his voice and complained that he was father and brother at once of the same children, and husband and son of the same woman. But domestic fowls do not object to such relationships, nor dogs, nor any ass, nor do the Persians, although they pass for the aristocracy of Asia. And in addition to all this, Oedipus blinded himself and then wandered about blind, as though he could not wander while still keeping his sight."

The other on hearing this replied, "You, Diogenes, make Oedipus out to be the greatest dullard in the world; but the Greeks believe that, though he was not a fortunate man, he was the most sagacious of all men. At any rate they say that he alone solved the Sphinx's <sup>1</sup> riddle." At this Diogenes broke into a laugh and said, "He solve the Sphinx's riddle! Have you not heard that the Sphinx prompted him to give the answer 'man'? As to the meaning of 'man,' however, he neither expressed himself nor knew, but when he said the word 'man' he thought he was answering the question. It was just as if one were asked, 'What is Socrates?' and should give no other answer than the word 'Socrates.' I have heard someone say that the Sphinx stands for stupidity; that this, accordingly, proved the ruin

rock all who could not answer it; but when Oedipus gave the right answer, she leaped down from it herself.



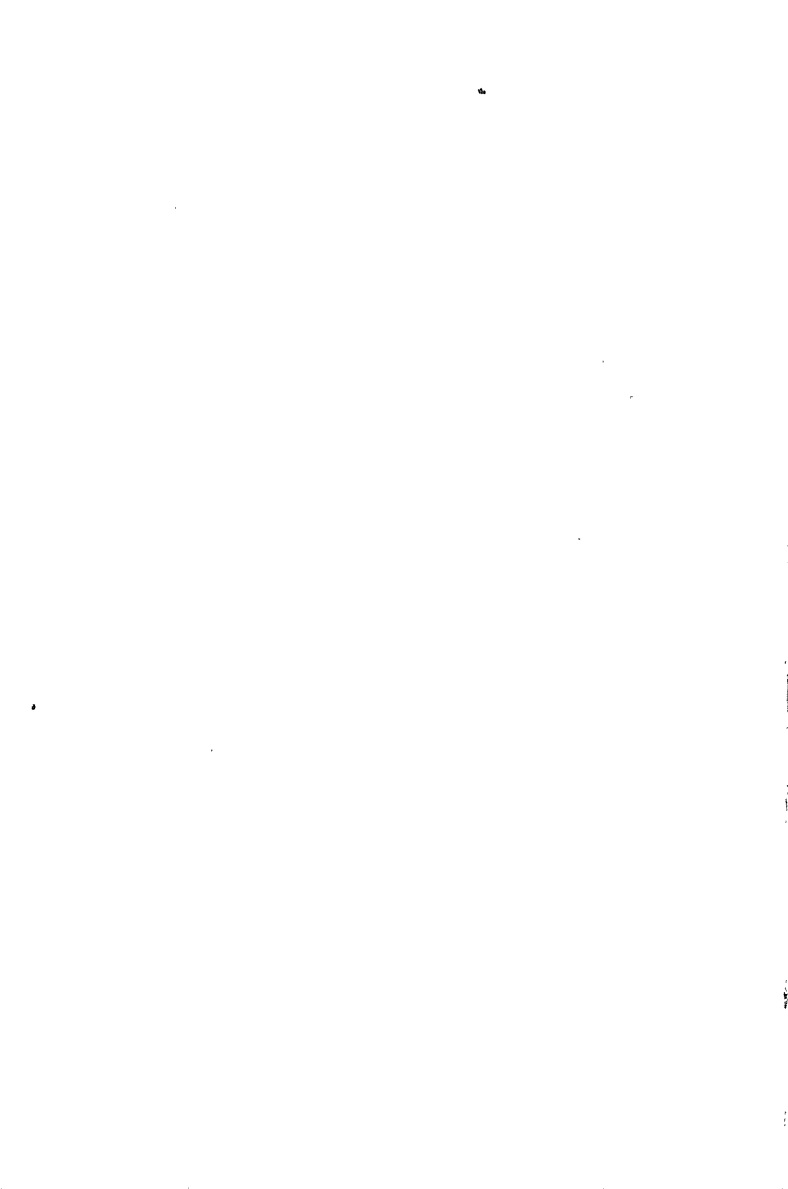
## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

τερον διαφθείραι τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς καὶ νῦν, οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἐῷσαν εἶδέναι, ἅτε ἀνθρώπων ἀμαθεστάτους· τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄλλους μᾶλλον τι αἰσθάνεσθαι τῆς αὐτῶν ἀνοίας, τὸν δὲ Οἰδίποδα, σοφώτατον ἡγησάμενον αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ διαπεφευγέναι τὴν Σφίγγα καὶ πείσαντα τοὺς ἄλλους Θηβαίους τοῦτο, κάκιστα ἀπολέσθαι. ὅσοι γὰρ ἂν ἀμαθεῖς ὄντες πεισθῶσι σοφοὶ εἶναι, οὗτοι πολὺ εἰσιν ἀθλιώτεροι τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων· καὶ ἔστι τοιοῦτον τὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν γένος.

## THE TENTH DISCOURSE: ON SERVANTS

of the Boeotians in the past just as it does now,<sup>1</sup> their stupidity preventing their knowing anything, such utter dullards they are; and that while the others had an inkling of their ignorance, Oedipus, who thought that he was very wise and had escaped the Sphinx, and who had made the other Thebans believe all this, perished most miserably. For any man who in spite of his ignorance deludes himself with the belief that he is wise is in a much sorrier plight than anyone else. And such is the tribe of sophists."

<sup>1</sup> The stupidity of the Boeotians was proverbial.



## THE ELEVENTH DISCOURSE MAINTAINING THAT TROY WAS NOT CAPTURED

The eleventh Discourse is interesting to us because it contains a great deal of the criticism of Homer from Plato's time down; and because it seems to be so evidently just a "stunt" to show what could be done to disprove what everyone believed to be a fact, some would assign it to the period before Dio's exile when he was a sophist. If this view is accepted, then the hostility Dio shows to the sophists is simply a pretence to make his auditors forget that he is a sophist himself, though he is at that very time performing one of the sophists' most characteristic acts. Others feel that in view of the self-assurance and the skill with which he presents his speech belongs to Dio's riper years and that he had some serious purpose in delivering it.

## 11. ΤΡΩΙΚΟΣ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ ΙΑΙΟΝ ΜΗ ΑΛΩΝΑΙ

- 1 Οἶδα μὲν ἔγωγε σχεδὸν ὅτι διδάσκειν μὲν ἀνθρώπους ἅπαντας χαλεπὸν ἐστίν, ἐξαπατᾶν δὲ ῥάδιον. καὶ μαυθάνουσι μὲν μόγεις, εἴαν τι καὶ μάθωσι, παρ' ὀλίγων τῶν εἰδόντων, ἐξαπατῶνται δὲ τάχιστα ὑπὸ πολλῶν τῶν οὐκ εἰδόντων, καὶ οὐ μόνον γε ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑφ' αὐτῶν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀληθὲς πικρὸν ἐστὶ καὶ ἀηδὲς τοῖς ἀνοήτοις, τὸ δὲ ψεῦδος γλυκὺ καὶ  
2 προσηνές. ὥσπερ οἶμαι καὶ τοῖς νοσοῦσι τὰ ὄμματα τὸ μὲν φῶς ἀνιαρὸν ὄραν, τὸ δὲ σκότος ἄλυπον καὶ φίλον, οὐκ ἔων βλέπειν. ἢ πῶς ἂν ἴσχυε τὰ ψεύδη πολλάκις πλέον<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἀληθῶν, εἰ μὴ δι' ἡδονὴν ἐνίκα;

Χαλεποῦ δέ, ὡς ἔφην, ὄντος τοῦ διδάσκειν, τῷ πάντῃ χαλεπώτερον τὸ μεταδιδάσκειν, ἄλλως τε ὅταν πολὺν τινες χρόνον ᾧσι τὰ ψευδῆ ἀκηκοότες καὶ μὴ μόνον αὐτοὶ ἐξηπατημένοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ πάπποι καὶ σχεδὸν πάντες  
3 οἱ πρότερον. οὐ γάρ ἐστι ῥάδιον τούτων ἀφελ-  
έσθαι τὴν δόξαν, οὐδ' ἂν πάνυ τις ἐξελέγχη. καθάπερ οἶμαι τῶν τὰ ὑποβολιμαῖα παιδάρια θρεψάντων χαλεπὸν ὕστερον ἀφελέσθαι τὰ ληθῆ

<sup>1</sup> πλέον added by Emperius.

## THE ELEVENTH DISCOURSE MAINTAINING THAT TROY WAS NOT CAPTURED

I AM almost certain that while all men are hard to teach, they are easy to deceive. They learn with difficulty—if they do learn anything—from the few that know, but they are deceived only too readily by the many who do not know, and not only by others but by themselves as well. For the truth is bitter and unpleasant to the unthinking, while falsehood is sweet and pleasant. They are, I fancy, like men with sore eyes—they find the light painful, while the darkness, which permits them to see nothing, is restful and agreeable. Else how would falsehood often prove mightier than the truth, if it did not win its victories through pleasure?

But though, as I have said, it is hard for men to learn, it is immensely more difficult for them to unlearn and learn over again, especially when they have been listening to falsehood for a long time, and not only they themselves, but their fathers, their grandfathers, and, generally speaking, all former generations have been deceived. For it is no easy matter to disabuse these of their opinion, no matter how clearly you show it to be wrong. I presume it is the same as when people have brought up supposititious children: it is hard to get these away from them afterwards when you tell them the truth,

λέγοντα, ἃ γε ἐν ἀρχῇ εἴ τις αὐτοῖς ἔφρασεν, οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἀνείλυντο. οὕτω δὲ τοῦτο ἰσχυρόν ἐστιν, ὥστε πολλοὶ τὰ κακὰ μᾶλλον προσποιοῦνται καὶ ὁμολογοῦσι καθ' αὐτῶν, ἂν ὥσι πεπεισμένοι πρότερον, ἢ τὰγαθὰ μετὰ χρόνον ἀκούοντες.

- 4 Οὐκ ἂν οὖν θαυμάσαιμι καὶ ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες Ἰλιεῖς, εἰ μέλλοιτε<sup>1</sup> πιστότερον ἡγήσασθαι Ὅμηρον τὰ χαλεπώτατα ψευδόμενον καθ' ὑμῶν ἢ ἐμὲ τάληθῇ λέγοντα, κακκύνον μὲν ὑπολαβεῖν θεῖον ἄνδρα καὶ σοφόν, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας εὐθύς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὰ ἔπη διδάσκειν οὐθὲν ἄλλο ἢ κατὰρας ἔχοντα κατὰ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ταύτας οὐκ ἀληθεῖς, ἐμοῦ δὲ μὴ ἀνέχοισθε τὰ ὄντα καὶ γενόμενα λέγοντος, ὅτι πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον Ὀμήρου
- 5 γέγονα. καίτοι φασὶ μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν χρόνον τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ κριτὴν<sup>2</sup> ἄριστον εἶναι, ὃ τι δ' ἂν ἀκούωσι μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον, διὰ τοῦτο ἄπιστον νομίζουσιν. εἰ μὲν οὖν παρ' Ἀργείοις ἐτόλμων ἀντιλέγειν Ὀμήρῳ καὶ τὴν ποίησιν αὐτοῦ δεικνύναι ψευδῇ περὶ τὰ μέγιστα, τυχὸν ἂν εἰκότως ἤχθοντό μοι καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐξέβαλλον, εἰ τὴν παρ' ἐκείνων δόξαν ἐφαινόμην ἀφανίζων καὶ καθαιρῶν· ὑμᾶς δὲ δίκαιόν ἐστί μοι χάριν εἰδέναι καὶ ἀκροᾶσθαι προθύμως· ὑπὲρ γὰρ τῶν ὑμετέρων προγόνων ἐσπούδακα.

- 6 Προλέγω δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι τοὺς λόγους τούτους

<sup>1</sup> μέλλοιτε added by Cohoon.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

but if you had told them in the beginning, they would not have undertaken to rear them. So strong is this tendency that many prefer to claim bad children and to acknowledge them, to their own disadvantage, as their own, if they have originally believed them to be so, rather than good children of whom they learn long afterward.

Therefore, I should not be surprised at you, men of Ilium, if you were going to put greater faith in Homer, notwithstanding his most grievous misstatements against you, than in my present statement of the truth, and hold him to be a wise and inspired man, and to teach your children his epic from their very earliest years, though he has nothing but denunciation for your city, and untruthful at that, but should refuse to listen to me when I tell the facts as they occurred, just because I was born many years later than Homer. And yet most people say that time is the very best judge of things, but whenever they hear anything after a long lapse of time, they consider it incredible for that very reason. Now if I had the hardihood to contradict Homer before the Argives and to show the error in his poetry regarding the most important things, perhaps it would be natural for them to be angry at me and drive me from their city if they saw that I was dispelling and destroying the reputation which their city has derived from that source. You, on the other hand, should be grateful and hear me gladly, for I have been zealous in defence of your ancestors.

I wish to say at the outset that this discourse

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<sup>2</sup> The loss of something before *καί* is probable, and Wilamowitz proposed *μάγρυρα*. Reiske deleted *καί*. The words sound like an iambic quotation.



ἀνάγκη καὶ παρ' ἑτέροις ῥηθῆναι καὶ πολλοὺς  
 πυθέσθαι· τούτων δὲ οἱ μὲν τινες οὐ συνήσουσιν,  
 οἱ δὲ προσποιήσονται καταφρονεῖν, οὐ κατα-  
 φρονούντες αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ τινες ἐπιχειρήσουσιν  
 ἐξελέγχειν, μάλιστα δὲ οἶμαι τοὺς κακοδαίμονας  
 σοφιστάς. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπίσταμαι σαφῶς ὅτι οὐδὲ  
 ὑμῖν πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἔσονται. οἱ γὰρ πλείστοι τῶν  
 ἀνθρώπων οὕτως ἄγαν εἰσὶν ὑπὸ δόξης διεφθαρ-  
 μένοι τὰς ψυχὰς ὥστε μᾶλλον ἐπιθυμοῦσι περι-  
 βόητοι εἶναι ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀτυχήμασιν ἢ  
 7 μηδὲν κακὸν ἔχοντες ἀγνοεῖσθαι. αὐτοὺς γὰρ  
 οἶμαι τοὺς Ἀργεῖους μὴ ἂν ἐθέλειν ἄλλως  
 γεγενῆσθαι τὰ περὶ τὸν Θυέστην καὶ τὸν Ἀτρέα  
 καὶ τοὺς Πελοπίδας, ἀλλ' ἄχθεσθαι σφόδρα, εἰάν  
 τις ἐξελέγχῃ τοὺς μύθους τῶν τραγωδῶν λέγων  
 ὅτι οὔτε Θυέστης ἐμοίχευσε τὴν τοῦ Ἀτρέως οὔτε  
 ἐκείνος ἀπέκτεινε τοὺς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ παῖδας οὐδὲ<sup>1</sup>  
 κατακόψας εἰστίασε τὸν Θυέστην οὔτε Ὀρέστης  
 αὐτόχειρ ἐγένετο τῆς μητρός. ἅπαντα ταῦτα εἰ  
 λέγοι τις, χαλεπῶς ἂν φέροιεν ὥς λοιδορούμενοι.  
 8 τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶν Θηβαίους οἶμαι παθεῖν, εἴ  
 τις τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀτυχήματα ψευδῇ ἀποφαίνοι,  
 ὥς οὔτε τὸν πατέρα Οἰδίπουν ἀποκτείναντα οὔτε  
 τῇ μητρὶ συγγενόμενον οὔθ' ἑαυτὸν τυφλώσαντα  
 οὔτε τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀπο-  
 θανόντας ὑπ' ἀλλήλων, οὔθ' ὥς ἡ Σφίγξ ἀφικο-  
 μένη κατεσθίει τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον  
 ἡδονταὶ ἀκούοντες καὶ τὴν Σφίγγα ἐπιπεμφθεῖσαν  
 αὐτοῖς διὰ χόλον Ἥρας καὶ τὸν Λαῖον ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 9 υἱέος ἀναιρεθέντα καὶ τὸν Οἰδίπουν ταῦτα ποιή-  
 σαντα καὶ παθόντα τυφλὸν ἀλᾶσθαι, καὶ πρότερον

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

must be delivered before other audiences also, and that many will hear about it, of whom some will not comprehend it, while others will pretend to treat it lightly though they really do not, and yet others will attempt to refute its arguments, especially, I suppose, the miserable sophists. I know quite well that it will not please you, I suppose, either. For most men are so completely corrupted at heart by opinion that they would rather be notorious for the greatest calamities than suffer no ill and be unknown. Even the Argives, I believe, would not wish that the events told of Thyestes, Atreus, and the house of Pelops had happened otherwise, but would be greatly displeased if anyone disproved the myths set forth in the tragic poets by asserting that Thyestes did not defile the wife of Atreus and that the latter did not slay his brother's sons nor cut them up and then serve their remains as a feast for Thyestes, or that Orestes did not kill his own mother. Should any man make any such assertions, they would feel aggrieved on the ground that they were being insulted. I believe, too, that the feelings of the Thebans would be exactly the same, should anyone assert that there was no truth in their tales of woe and insist that Oedipus did not kill his father or wed his mother or blind himself, or that his sons did not die before the walls, each by the other's hand, or that the Sphinx did not come and devour the children of the city. Nay, on the contrary, they are delighted to hear that the Sphinx was sent to molest them because of Hera's anger, that Laïus was slain by his son and that Oedipus, after what he did and suffered, wandered in blindness, and that

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<sup>1</sup> οὐδὲ Emperius : οὐτε.

- ἄλλου βασιλέως αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πόλεως οἰκιστοῦ, Ἀμφίονος, τοὺς παῖδας, ἀνθρώπων καλλίστους γενομένους, κατατοξευθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος· καὶ ταῦτα καὶ αὐλούντων καὶ ἀδόντων ἀνέχονται παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ τιθέασιν ἄθλα περὶ τούτων, ὃς ἂν οἰκτρότατα εἴπῃ περὶ αὐτῶν ἢ αὐλήσῃ· τὸν δὲ εἰπόντα ὥς οὐ
- 10 γέγονεν οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἐκβάλλουσιν. εἰς τοῦτο μανίας οἱ πολλοὶ ἐληλύθασιν καὶ οὕτω πάνυ ὁ τῦφος αὐτῶν κεκράτηκεν. ἐπιθυμοῦσι γὰρ ὥς πλείστον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι λόγον· ὁποῖον δέ τινα, οὐθὲν μέλει αὐτοῖς. ὅλως δὲ πάσχειν μὲν οὐ θέλousι τὰ δεινὰ διὰ δειλίαν, φοβούμενοι τοὺς τε θανάτους καὶ τὰς ἀλγηδύνας, ὥς δὲ παθόντες μνημονεύεσθαι περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦνται.
- 11 Ἐγὼ δὲ οὐθ' ὑμῖν χαριζόμενος οὐθ' Ὀμήρῳ διαφερόμενος οὐδὲ τῆς δόξης φθονῶν ἐκείνῳ, πειράσομαι δεικνύειν ὅσα μοι δοκεῖ ψευδῇ εἰρηκέναι περὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε πραγμάτων, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ποθεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ποιήσεως ἐλέγχων, τῷ τε ἀληθεῖ βοηθῶν καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν Ἀθηναίων, ὅπως μὴ δοκῇ ἀδίκως διαφθεῖραι τὴν αὐτῆς πόλιν μηδὲ ἐναντία βούλεσθαι τῷ αὐτῆς πατρί, οὐχ ἡττον δὲ διὰ τὴν Ἥραν καὶ τὴν
- 12 Ἀφροδίτην. δεινὸν γὰρ τὴν μὲν τῷ Διὶ συνοῦσαν μὴ νομίσαι<sup>1</sup> κριτὴν ἱκανὸν τοῦ αὐτῆς εἶδους, εἰ

<sup>1</sup> Possibly Δία or, with Reiske, αὐτὸν should be inserted after νομίσαι.

<sup>1</sup> Amphion had seven sons and seven daughters by his wife Niobe. They were all slain by Apollo and Artemis because Niobe, on account of the number of her children,

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

the sons of an earlier king, Amphion,<sup>1</sup> who founded the city, were slain by the arrows of Apollo and Artemis because they were the fairest among men. These are the themes that they can endure to hear interpreted by the flute or song in their theatres, and they offer prizes for the most pathetic interpretation of the story in words or in music; but the man who says that none of these things occurred they expel from their city. So far have the majority carried their folly, and so completely has their infatuation got the better of them. They want to be talked about as much as possible, but as to the nature of what is said, they care not a whit. Generally speaking, men are too cowardly to be willing to undergo severe suffering, since they fear death and pain, but they highly prize being mentioned as having so suffered.

But as for me, desiring neither to gain your favour nor to quarrel with Homer, much less to rob him of his fame, I shall try to show all the false statements I think he has made with regard to the events which happened here, and I shall use no other means of refuting him than his own poetry. In this I am simply defending the truth, and for Athena's sake especially, that she may not be thought to have destroyed her own city unjustly or to have set her will against her father's; but I speak no less in behalf of Hera and Aphrodite also. For it is passing strange that the consort of Zeus<sup>2</sup> did not consider him a competent judge of her beauty unless it had boasted of her superiority over their mother Leto who had only two.

<sup>2</sup> Hera, the wife of Zeus, Athena, and Aphrodite claimed at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis the golden apple inscribed "to the fairest."

μὴ ἀρέσαι καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰδῇ βουκόλων ἐνί, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ὑπὲρ κάλλους ἐρίζειν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ, πρεσβυτάτην φάσκουσιν εἶναι τῶν Κρόνου παίδων, ὡς αὐτὸς Ὀμηρος ἀπήγγειλε ποιήσας,

καὶ με πρεσβυτάτην τέκετο Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης,

- 13 ἔτι δὲ οὕτω χαλεπῶς διατεθῆναι πρὸς τὸν Πάριν, αὐτὴν ἐπιτρέψασαν τὴν κρίσιν· καίτοι οὐδὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὃς ἂν ἐπιτρέψῃ δίκαιαν, ἐχθρὸν ἡγείται τὸν διαιτητὴν, ἐὰν μὴ δικάσῃ καθ' ἑαυτόν· τὴν δέ γε Ἀφροδίτην οὕτως αἰσχροῦ καὶ ἄδικου καὶ ἀσύμφορον δοῦναι δωρεάν, καὶ μηδένα ποιήσασθαι λόγον μήτε τῆς Ἑλένης ἀδελφῆς οὔσης μήτε τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ προκρίναντος αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ χαρίζεσθαι τοιοῦτον γάμον δι' ὃν αὐτὸς τε ἐμελλεν ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ πόλις.
- 14 ἔτι δὲ οὐκ ἄξιον οἶμαι παριδεῖν οὐδὲ τὸ τῆς Ἑλένης, ἥ τοῦ Διὸς λεγομένη θυγάτηρ διὰ μὲν τὴν ἄδικον φήμην περιβόητος ἐπ' αἰσχύνην γέγονε, διὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτῆς ἰσχὺν θεὸς ἐνομίσθη παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. ἀλλ' ὅμως ὑπὲρ τηλικούτων ὄντος τοῦ λόγου τινὲς τῶν σοφιστῶν ἀσεβεῖν με φήσουσιν Ὀμήρῳ ἀντιλέγοντα καὶ ἐπιχειρήσουσι διαβάλλειν πρὸς τὰ δύσσηνα μεράκια, ὧν ἐμοὶ ἐλάττων λόγος ἐστὶν ἢ πιθήκων.

<sup>1</sup> Paris, a shepherd on Mt. Ida near Troy, being made judge, awarded it to Aphrodite, who had promised him the fairest woman as wife.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* 4. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Both were daughters of Zeus.

<sup>4</sup> The translation tries to reproduce the apparently in-

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

should be pleasing to one of the shepherds of Ida<sup>1</sup> also, and that she had any contest at all with Aphrodite for the prize of beauty, she who asserted that she was the eldest of the children of Cronus, as Homer himself has expressed it in the verse,

“Me as the eldest child hath Cronus the crafty begotten.”<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, it is strange that she became so bitterly disposed towards Paris when she herself had entrusted the judgment to him; and yet, even in human affairs, the man who refers a dispute to arbitration does not regard the arbitrator as an enemy when the decision is not in his favour. It is strange also that Aphrodite should have bestowed a gift so scandalous, so fraught with evil and injustice, and that she was so regardless both of Helen, her own sister,<sup>3</sup> and of Paris, who had decided in her favour, but rewarded the latter with such a marriage that he was destined through it to ruin himself, his parents, and his city. Furthermore, the position of Helen, in my judgment, should not be ignored either; for she, the reputed daughter of Zeus, has become through unjust report a byword for disgrace, and yet has been held as a deity among the Greeks on account of her grace.<sup>4</sup> Yet, though such very serious matters are involved in the present discussion, some of the sophists will declare that I am guilty of impiety in gainsaying Homer and will seek to slander me to their wretched disciples, for whom I care less than for so many monkeys.

tentional play on the similarity of sound in *αλοχύνη* and *λοχύν*. The latter word means rather ‘power’ or ‘might.’

- 15 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν φασι τὸν Ὀμηρον ὑπὸ πενίας τε καὶ ἀπορίας προσαιτεῖν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι· τὸν δὲ τοιοῦτον ἀδύνατον ἡγοῦνται ψεύσασθαι πρὸς χάριν τῶν διδόντων, οὐδ' ἂν τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγειν ὅποια ἔμελλεν ἐκείνοις καθ' ἡδονὴν ἔσσεσθαι· τοὺς δὲ νῦν πτωχοὺς οὐδέν φασιν ὑγιᾶς λέγειν, οὐδὲ μάρτυρα οὐδεῖς ἂν ἐκείνων οὐδένα ποιήσαιτο ὑπὲρ οὐδενός, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐπαίνους τοὺς
- 16 παρ' αὐτῶν ἀποδέχονται ὡς ἀληθεῖς. ἴσασι γὰρ ὅτι πάντα θωπεύοντες ὑπ' ἀνάγκης λέγουσιν. ἔπειτα δὲ εἰρήκασιν τοὺς μὲν ὡς πτωχῷ, τοὺς δὲ ὡς μαινομένῳ ἀπάρχεσθαι, καὶ μᾶλλον οἶονται τοὺς τότε καταγινῶναι αὐτοῦ μανίαν τᾷληθῇ λέγοντος ἢ ψευδομένου. οὐ μὴν ὅσον γε ἐπὶ τούτοις ψέγω Ὀμηρον· κωλύει γὰρ οὐθὲν ἄνδρα σοφὸν πτωχεύειν οὐδὲ μαίνεσθαι δοκεῖν· ἀλλ' ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων δόξαν, ἣν ἔχουσι περὶ Ὀμήρου καὶ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων, εἰκός ἐστι μῆθὲν ὑγιᾶς εἶναι τῶν εἰρημένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.
- 17 Οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τόδε νομίζουσιν, οὐκ εἶναι ἐν τῇ Ὀμήρου φύσει τὸ ψεῦδος οὐδὲ ἀποδέχεσθαι αὐτὸν τοιοῦτον· πλεῖστα γοῦν τὸν Ὀδυσσεᾶ πεποίηκε ψευδόμενον, ὃν μάλιστα ἐπῆνει, τὸν δὲ Αὐτόλυκον καὶ ἐπιорκεῖν φησι, καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ δεδόσθαι. περὶ δὲ θεῶν πάντες, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ὁμολογοῦσι μῆθὲν ἀληθὲς λέγειν Ὀμηρον καὶ οἱ πάντες ἐπαινοῦντες αὐτόν, καὶ τοιαύτας ἀπολογίας πειρῶνται πορίζειν, ὅτι οὐ φρονῶν ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν, ἀλλ' αἰνιττόμενος καὶ μετα-

<sup>1</sup> Son of Hermes and nephew of Odysseus and notorious for his thefts. See Horace, *Odes*, I, 394 f.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

In the first place, they say that Homer being constrained by dire poverty, went begging throughout Greece, and yet they think such a man was unable to lie to please those whose dole he received and that he would not have recited the sort of stories that were likely to please them. Beggars of the present time, however, tell nothing but lies, we are told, and nobody would accept the evidence of any of them on any matter whatsoever or receive their praise as sincere. For every one knows that they are compelled to cajole in all they say. It has been said, further, that some gave of their bounty to Homer the beggar, and others to Homer the madman, and it is believed that the people of his day held him for a madman when he told the truth rather than when he distorted it. Now on this score I certainly have no criticism to bring against Homer; for there is nothing to prevent a wise man from going begging or pretending to be mad; but I do say that, according to the opinion those men entertain of Homer and his kind, there is probably nothing trustworthy in what he said.

And, further, they do not think that falsehood was foreign to the character of Homer or that he made no use of it. Odysseus, at any rate, whom he praised most highly, he has represented as telling numerous falsehoods. He says, too, that Autolycus<sup>1</sup> actually perjured himself and that he learned this from Hermes.<sup>2</sup> And as regards the gods, practically every man, including his warmest admirers, admits that Homer does not speak a word of truth, and they seek to offer such excuses as this, that at such times he is not speaking his real mind but is using

<sup>2</sup> The god of thieves.



- 18 φέρων. τί οὖν κωλύει καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν οὕτως εἰρηκέναι; ὅστις γὰρ περὶ θεῶν οὐ φανερώς τάληθῇ φησιν, ἀλλὰ τὸναντίον οὕτως ὥστε τὰ ψευδῇ μᾶλλον ὑπολαμβάνειν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, καὶ ταῦτα μηδὲν ὠφελούμενος, πῶς ἂν περὶ γε ἀνθρώπων ὁκνήσειεν ὅτιοῦν ψεῦδος εἰπεῖν; καὶ ὅτι μὲν πεποίηκεν ἀλγούντας τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ στένοντας καὶ τιτρωσκομένους καὶ ἀποθνήσκοντας σχεδόν, ἔτι δὲ μοιχείας καὶ δεσμὰ καὶ διεγγυήσεις θεῶν οὐ λέγω, πρότερον εἰρημένα πολλοῖς. οὐδὲ γὰρ βούλομαι κατηγορεῖν Ὀμήρου, μόνον δὲ ἐπιδείξαι τάληθές ὡς γέγονεν· ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ ἀπολογήσομαι περὶ αὐτοῦ
- 19 τὰ ἐμοὶ δοκοῦντα. ὅτι δὲ τὸ ψεῦδος οὐκ ὥκνει πάντων μάλιστα οὐδὲ αἰσχρὸν ἐνόμιζε, τοῦτο λέγω.<sup>1</sup> πότερον δὲ ὀρθῶς ἢ μὴ παρίημι νῦν σκοπεῖν.

Ἄφελς οὖν ὅσα δοκεῖ δεινὰ πεποιηκέναι περὶ θεῶν καὶ οὐ πρόποντα ἐκείνοις,<sup>2</sup> τοσοῦτό φημι μόνον, ὅτι λόγους οὐκ ὥκνει τῶν θεῶν ἀπαγγέλλειν, οὓς φησιν αὐτοὺς διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, καὶ οὐ μόνον γε τοὺς ἐν κοινῷ γενομένους καὶ παρατυγχανόντων ἀπάντων τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ

20 οὓς ἰδίᾳ τινὲς διαλέγονται ἀλλήλοις, οἶον ὁ Ζεὺς τεθυμωμένος τῇ Ἥρᾳ διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην καὶ τὴν

<sup>1</sup> λέγω Reiske: λέγων.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκείνοις Reiske: ἐκείνῳ.

<sup>1</sup> Dio is here referring to the allegorical interpretations of Homer.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, *Iliad* 5. 335 f., where Diomedes wounds Aphrodite so that she bleeds and is in pain, and *ibid.* 855 f.,

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

riddles and figures of speech.<sup>1</sup> Then what is to prevent him having spoken in the same way of men also? For when a man does not frankly tell the truth about the gods, but, on the contrary, puts the matter in such a way that his readers get the wrong idea of them and without any advantage to himself either, why would he hesitate to utter any falsehood whatsoever regarding men? That he has represented the gods as suffering pain, groaning, being wounded, and almost dying;<sup>2</sup> that he tells of their amours withal, of their durance vile, of their giving bonds<sup>3</sup>—on these matters I do not dwell; many others have already done that. For I have no desire to impeach Homer, but only to show how the truth stands. For indeed I shall even tell in his defence what I think to be the facts. But this I do assert, that he made the freest possible use of falsehood and considered it no shame. Whether he was right in this or not, I forbear to consider now.

Omitting, then, what he has pictured concerning the gods in his poems that is shocking and unbecoming to them, I say merely this, that he did not hesitate to repeat conversations of the gods, which he says they held with one another, not only those held in open court when all the other deities were present, but also those which some had privately with one another, as, for instance, when Zeus was angered at Hera for deceiving him and bringing on the defeat

where he wounds Ares, who bellowed aloud and afterwards told Zeus that if he had not run away he would have lived bereft of strength.

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, *Odyssey* 8. 313 f., where Ares and Aphrodite are caught in fetters by Hephaestus, who refuses to accept any pledge from Ares to pay a penalty until Poseidon guarantees that it will be paid.

- ἦτταν τῶν Τρώων, καὶ πρότερον Ἦρα πρὸς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, παρακαλοῦσα φαρμάξαι τὸν πατέρα καὶ δοῦναι τὸ φίλτρον αὐτῇ, τὸν κεστὸν ἱμάντα, ὡς εἰκὸς ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ τοῦτο ἀξιούσα. οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰκὸς ἄλλον τινα εἰδέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς διαφερομένων καὶ λοιδορούντων ἐνίοτε ἀλλήλους. καίτοι μὲν<sup>1</sup> Ὀδυσσεά πεποίηκεν ἐπανορθούμενον τὸ τοιοῦτο, μὴ δόξῃ ἀλαζῶν διηγούμενος τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς γενομένους ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λόγους. ἔφη γὰρ ἀκοῦσαι τῆς Καλυψοῦς, ἐκείνην δὲ παρά του πυθέσθαι· περὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον εἶρηκεν ὅτι πύθοιτο
- 21 παρὰ θεοῦ τινος. οὕτω πάνυ κατεφρόνει τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ οὐθὲν αὐτῷ ἔμελεν, εἰ δόξει μηθὲν λέγειν ἀληθές. οὐ γὰρ δὴ πείσειν γε ἐνόμιζέ τινα ὡς ἐπίσταιτο τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς γενομένους λόγους.<sup>2</sup> διηγεῖται δὲ καὶ τὴν συνουσίαν τὴν τοῦ Διὸς πρὸς τὴν Ἦραν ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ γενομένην καὶ τοὺς λόγους οὓς εἶπε πρὸ τῆς συνουσίας, ὡς αὐτὸς ἑωρακώς τε καὶ ἀκηκοώς, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἐκώλυσεν, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ νέφος ὃ περιεκάλυψεν ὁ Ζεὺς τοῦ μὴ φανερὸς γενέσθαι.
- 22 Τούτοις δὲ ἐπέθηκε τὸν κολοφῶνα σχεδόν· ἵνα

<sup>1</sup> καίτοι μὲν Reiske: καὶ τὸν οὐ καὶ τὸν μὲν.

<sup>2</sup> After λόγους the MSS. have ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ which Wendland deletes. After λόγους the MSS. have ἔφη γὰρ ἀκοῦσαι ἅπαντα καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἔπεισε,—“For he said he had heard everything and persuaded the majority.” This Wilamowitz brackets, following Rhodomann. But the corruption is not explained by these omissions, and Dio may very well, as Capps suggests, have written ἀφ’ αὐτοῦ λόγους. εἰ γὰρ ἔφη ἀκοῦσαι ἅπαντα, καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἔπεισ’ ἄν,—“For he did not imagine that he would convince anybody that he knew of

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

of the Trojans,<sup>1</sup> or that previous conversation which she had with Aphrodite, in which she urged her to drug her father<sup>2</sup> and lend her the love charm, to wit, the embroidered girdle<sup>3</sup>—a request which she presumably made in secret. For it is unlikely even in human affairs that any outsider knows of those occasional scenes where husbands and wives fall out and abuse one another. Yet Homer has a passage in which Odysseus puts this matter properly so as not to seem a mere impostor, namely, where he tells of the debates which the gods held concerning him. For he says that he heard these debates from Calypso and that she had learned of them from someone else;<sup>4</sup> but about himself Homer has made no such claim of having received his information from some god. Such utter contempt did Homer show for men, and not a whit did he care if all his statements were regarded as false. For of course he did not imagine that he would convince anyone that he knew [of his own knowledge about] the debates among the gods. He tells also of the dalliance of Zeus and Hera that occurred on Mount Ida, and what words Zeus spoke before the meeting, as though he had personally seen and heard, and apparently no obstacle was presented by the cloud in which Zeus had wrapped himself to escape being seen.<sup>5</sup>

And to all this Homer has just about added the

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 15. 1-77.

<sup>2</sup> Aphrodite's father, Zeus.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad*. 14. 153-223.

<sup>4</sup> *Odyssey* 5. 137 f.; 7. 263 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Iliad* 14. 342 f.

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his own knowledge about the debates which had taken place among the gods. For if he had stated that he had it all on hearsay, he would have persuaded even the majority."

- γὰρ μὴ ἀπορῶμεν ὅπως ξυνίει τῶν θεῶν, οὕτως διαλέγεται ἡμῖν σχεδὸν ὡς ἔμπειρος τῆς τῶν θεῶν γλώττης, καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ ἐστὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ οὐδὲ τὰ αὐτὰ ὀνόματα ἐφ' ἐκάστω λέγουσιν ἅπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς. ἐνδείκνυται δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ ὀρνέου τινός, ὃ φησι τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς χαλκίδα καλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους κύμινδιν, καὶ ἐπὶ τόπου τινός πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, ὃν τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους Βατίειαν ὀνομάζειν, τοὺς δὲ θεοὺς Σῆμα
- 23 Μυρίνης. περὶ δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φράσας ἡμῖν ὅτι οὐ Σκάμανδρος, ἀλλὰ Ξάνθος<sup>1</sup> λέγοιτο παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς, αὐτὸς οὕτως ἤδη ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ὀνομάζει, ὡς οὐ μόνον ἐξὸν αὐτῷ τὰς ἄλλας γλώττας μιγνύειν τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν αἰολίζειν, ποτὲ δὲ δωρίζειν, ποτὲ δὲ ἰάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαστὶ<sup>2</sup> διαλέγεσθαι. ταῦτα δέ μοι εἴρηται, ὥσπερ δὴ ἔφην, οὐ κατηγορίας ἕνεκεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀνδρειότατος ἀνθρώπων ἦν πρὸς τὸ ψεῦδος Ὀμηρος καὶ οὐθὲν ἥττον ἐθάρρει καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο ἐπὶ τῷ ψεύδεσθαι ἢ
- 24 τῷ τᾷληθῇ λέγειν.<sup>3</sup> οὕτω γὰρ σκοποῦσιν οὐδὲν

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. have Σκάμανδρος and Ξάνθος interchanged. Corrected by Rhodomann.

<sup>2</sup> διαστὶ Rhodomann: ἰαστὶ.

<sup>3</sup> After λέγειν the MSS. contain the following which Rhodomann bracket. . . . . a recension of the passage contained in §§ . . . . . γὰρ σκοποῦσι πάνυ σμικρὰ καὶ ὀλίγον ἄξια φαίνεται, ἃ ἐγὼ φημι αὐτὸν ἐψεύσθαι. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ἀνθρώπινα ψεύσματα καὶ λίαν πιθανὰ πρὸς θέαν καὶ ἀμήχανον φύσιν. πέρας δὴ ἐπιτέθεικεν ὥσπερ γὰρ τοῖς βαρβάροις διαλέγονται οἱ δίγλωττοι καλούμενοι καὶ ἐρμηνεύοντες αὐτοῖς τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν, οὕτως Ὀμηρος ἡμῖν διαλέγεται, τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐρμηνεύων, ὥσπερ ἐπιστάμενος τὴν θέαν διάλεκτον· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ ἐστὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ οὐδὲ τὰ αὐτὰ παρὰ τε ἡμῖν καὶ παρ' ἐκείνους ὀνόματα, ἔπειτα ἐξηγούμενος περὶ τινων, ὅπως οἱ θεοὶ νομίζουσιν, αἶον ὅτι τὴν χαλκίδα κύμινδιν οἱ θεοὶ καλοῦσι, τόπον

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

finishing touch. For, not to keep us in doubt as to how he came to understand the gods, he talks to us almost as though he were acquainted with their language, tells us that it was not the same as ours, and that they do not apply the same names to the various things as we do. He draws attention to this in the case of a bird, which he says the gods call *chalkis* and men *kymindis*, and in the case of a place before Troy which men call *Batieia*, but the gods call the *Sema Myrines*.<sup>1</sup> And after telling us that the river is called not Scamander but Xanthus by the gods, Homer himself proceeds to call it by this latter name in his verses, as though it were his privilege not only to mix the various dialectic forms of the Greeks freely, using now an Aeolic, now a Dorian, and now an Ionic form, but to employ even the Zeus dialect in the bargain. I have spoken in this way just as I have said, not by way of criticism, but because Homer was the boldest liar in existence and showed no less assurance and pride in his lying than in telling the truth. Thus regarded, none of

<sup>1</sup> That is, the Tomb of Myrine. Compare with the Tenth Discourse, § 23.

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“Thus considered, the lies of which I accuse him seem very insignificant and unimportant. In reality they are lies natural to man and very effective in representing the divine and infinite. Homer adds the finishing touch. For just as those called bilinguists, who interpret to foreigners what we say, converse with them, so Homer does with us, interpreting to us what the gods say just as if he understood their language. He says in the first place that it is not the same as ours and that the names in use with us and with them are not the same. Then in the course of his explanation of certain things he tells what the usage of the gods is; for example, that they call the *chalkis* the *kymindis* and a

ἔτι φαίνεται παράδοξον οὐδὲ ἄπιστον τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δεικνυμένων, ἀλλὰ σμικρὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπεια ψεύσματα πρὸς θεία καὶ μεγάλα.

Ἐπιχειρήσας γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον εἰπεῖν τὸν γενόμενον τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς πρὸς τοὺς Τρῶας, οὐκ εὐθὺς ἤρξατο ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀλλ' ὅθεν ἔτυχεν· ὁ ποιοῦσι πάντες οἱ ψευδόμενοι σχεδόν, ἐμπλέκοντες καὶ περιπλέκοντες καὶ οὐθὲν βουλόμενοι λέγειν ἐφεξῆς· ἦττον γὰρ κατὰδηλοί εἰσιν· εἰ δὲ  
 25 μὴ, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πράγματος ἐξελέγχονται. τοῦτο δὲ ἰδεῖν ἔστι καὶ ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις<sup>1</sup> γιγνόμενον οἷ<sup>2</sup> μετὰ τέχνης ψεύδονται. οἱ δὲ βουλόμενοι τὰ γενόμενα ἐπιδείξαι, ὡς ξυνέβη ἕκαστον, οὕτως ἀπαγγέλλουσι, τὸ πρῶτον πρῶτον καὶ τὸ δεύτερον δεύτερον καὶ τᾶλλα ἐφεξῆς ὁμοίως. ἐν μὲν τοῦτο αἴτιον τοῦ μὴ κατὰ φύσιν ἄρξασθαι τῆς ποιήσεως· ἕτερον δέ, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ τέλος μάλιστα ἐπεβούλευσεν ἀφανίσαι καὶ ποιῆ-

δέ τινα πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, Βατίειαν ὀνομαζόμενον, Σῆμα Μυρίνης· τὸ δὲ μῶλυ εἰπὼν ὅπως οἱ θεοὶ λέγουσιν, οὐκέτι προστίθῃσι τὸ παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὄνομα· καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν εἰπὼν ὅτι οὐ Σκάμανδρος ἀλλὰ Ξάνθος ὀνομάζοιτο παρ' αὐτοῖς, οὕτως ἤδη ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι χρῆται, ὡς ἐξὺν αὐτῷ, μὴ μόνον τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων φωνὰς μιγνύνειν, μηδὲ τοῖς σφόδρα ἀρχαίοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς δαιμονίοις χρῆσθαι ὀνόμασι, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν αἰολίζοντα ποτὲ δὲ δωρίζοντα πάλιν δὲ ἰάζοντα διαλέγεσθαι, καθάπερ οἶμαι θετταλίζοντα ἢ κρητίζοντα, οἷον εἰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκάλει λιμένα, Θετταλῶν ἀκούσας. ταῦτα δέ μοι εἴρηται, ὥσπερ ἤδη ἔφην, οὐ κατηγορίας ἔνεκεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀνδρείοτατος ἦν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὸ ψεῦδος Ὅμηρος καὶ οὐχ ἦττον ἐθάρρει καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο ἐπὶ τῷ ψεύδεσθαι ἢ τῷ τᾶληθῇ λέγειν.

<sup>1</sup> ἐν ἄλλοις Capps: ἄλλως. Perhaps we should read ἄλλουθι . . . οὗ . . . "in other places where."

<sup>2</sup> οἷ is changed to οὖ by Emperius and later editors.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

my statements seems strange and incredible any longer; nay, they appear as but insignificant human falsehoods in comparison with great superhuman ones.

For when Homer undertook to describe the war between the Achaeans and the Trojans, he did not start at the very beginning, but at *hæthazard*: and this is the regular way with *æthazard*: all who distort the truth; they entangle the story and make it involved and refuse to tell anything in sequence, thus escaping detection more readily. Otherwise they are convicted by the very subject-matter. This is just what may be seen happening in courts of justice and in the case of others who lie skilfully; whereas those who wish to present each fact as it really occurred do so by reporting the first thing first, the second next, and so on in like order. This is one reason why Homer did not begin his poem in the natural way. Another is that he planned especially to do away with its beginning and its end as far as possible and to create the

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certain place named *Batieia*, outside the city *Sema Myrines*. When he says that the gods speak of *moly*, he fails to add the name current among men; and after explaining that the river is not called the Scamander but the Xanthus by them, he at once proceeds to use the term in his verses as though he were *æthazard* only to mix the dialects of the Greeks but even to use the names current among the gods in addition to the very archaic ones, now conversing in the Aeolic dialect, now in the Doric, and again the Ionic, just as he might have used the Thessalian or the Cretan dialect and called the *agora* the *limen* after hearing the word among the Thessalians. I have made these remarks, as I have already said, not by way of accusation, but because Homer was the world's boldest liar and showed no less assurance and pride in his lying than in telling the truth."



- 26 *σαι τὴν ἐναντίαν δόξαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. ὅθεν οὔτε τὴν ἀρχὴν οὔτε τὸ τέλος ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος, οὐδὲ ὑπέσχετο ὑπὲρ τούτων οὐδὲν ἔρειν, ἀλλ' εἴ που καὶ μέμνηται, παρέργως καὶ βραχέως, καὶ δῆλός ἐστιν ἐπιταράττων· οὐ γὰρ ἐθάρρει πρὸς αὐτὰ οὐδὲ ἐδύνατο ἔρειν ἐτοίμως. συμβαίνει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς ψευδομένοις ὡς τὸ πολὺ γε, ἀλλὰ μὲν τινα λέγειν τοῦ πράγματος καὶ διατρίβειν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ὃ δ' ἂν<sup>1</sup> μάλιστα κρύψαι θέλωσιν, οὐ προτιθέμενοι λέγουσιν οὐδὲ προσέχοντι τῷ ἀκροατῇ, οὐδ' ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> χώρα τιθέντες, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν λάθοι<sup>3</sup> μάλιστα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὅτι αἰσχύνεσθαι ποιεῖ τὸ ψεῦδος καὶ ἀποκνεῖν προσιέναι πρὸς αὐτό, ἀλλως τε ὅταν ἢ περὶ τῶν*
- 27 *μεγίστων. ὅθεν οὐδὲ τῇ φωνῇ μέγα λέγουσιν οἱ ψευδόμενοι ὅταν ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἔλθωσιν· οἱ δὲ τινες αὐτῶν βατταρίζουσι καὶ ἀσαφῶς λέγουσιν· οἱ δὲ οὐχ ὡς αὐτοῖ τι εἰδότες, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐτέρων ἀκούσαντες. ὃς δ' ἂν ἀληθὲς λέγῃ τι, θαρρῶν καὶ οὐδὲν ὑποστελλόμενος λέγει. οὔτε οὖν τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῆς Ἑλένης Ὅμηρος εἴρηκεν ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος οὐδὲ παρρησίαν ἄγων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς οὔτε περὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως τῆς πόλεως. καίτοι γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, ἀνδρειότατος ὢν ὑποκατεκλίνετο καὶ ἡττᾶτο ὅτι ἦδει τὰναντία λέγων τοῖς οἷσι καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτὸ τοῦ πράγματος ψευδόμενος.*
- 28 *\*Ἡ πόθεν μᾶλλον ἄρξασθαι ἔπρεπεν ἢ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀδικήματος καὶ τῆς ὕβρεως τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, δι' ἣν συνέστη ὁ πόλεμος, ἐπειδὴ*

<sup>1</sup> ὃ δ' ἂν Emperius : ὅταν.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῦ Reiske : αὐτῇ.

<sup>3</sup> λάθοι Wilamowitz : λάθοιεν.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

very opposite impression concerning them.<sup>1</sup> That is why he did not dare to tell either the beginning or the end in a straightforward way and did not bind himself to say anything about them, but if he does make mention of them anywhere, it is incidental and brief, and he is evidently trying to confuse. For he was ill at ease with respect to these parts and unable to speak freely. The following device, too, is usually employed by those who wish to deceive: They mention some parts of the story and dwell upon them, but what they are particularly anxious to conceal they do not bring out clearly or when their auditor is paying attention, nor do they put it in its proper place, but where it may best escape notice. They do this, not only for the reason just mentioned, but also because lying makes them ashamed and reluctant to go on with it, especially when it is about the most important matters. And so liars do not speak aloud when they come to this part. Some of them falter and speak indistinctly, others as if they themselves did not know but spoke from hearsay. He, however, who speaks the truth, does so without fear or reserve. Now Homer was not straightforward or frank when telling of the abduction of Helen or the fall of Troy. Nay, with all that boldness which I have said he had, he nevertheless flinched and weakened because he knew he was telling the reverse of the truth and falsifying the essential part of his subject.

Or at what point of the story might Homer have more properly begun than with Paris' wanton crime itself, which caused the war, since all the readers

<sup>1</sup> viz., that the end is the beginning and the beginning the end.

συνωργίζοντο ἂν<sup>1</sup> πάντες οἱ τῇ ποιήσει ἐντυγ-  
 χάνοντες καὶ συνεφιλονίκουν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τέλους  
 καὶ μηδεὶς ἡλέει τοὺς Τρῶας ἐφ' οἷς ἔπασχον;  
 οὕτω γὰρ εὐνούστερον καὶ προθυμότερον ἔξειν  
 29 ἔμελλε τὸν ἀκροατὴν. εἰ δ' αὖ ἐβούλετο τὰ  
 μέγιστα καὶ φοβερώτατα εἰπεῖν καὶ πάθη παν-  
 τοδαπὰ καὶ συμφοράς, ἔτι δὲ ὃ πάντων μάλιστα  
 ἕκαστος ἐπύθει ἀκοῦσαι, τί μείζον ἢ δεινότερον  
 εἶχεν εἰπεῖν τῆς ἀλώσεως; οὔτε ἀνθρώπους πλεί-  
 οους ἀποθυήσκοντας οὐδὲ οἰκτρότερον τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ  
 τοὺς βωμοὺς τῶν θεῶν καταφεύγοντας, τοὺς δὲ  
 ἀμυνομένους ὑμῆρ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν,  
 οὔτε γυναῖκας ἢ παρθένους ἄλλοσε ἀγομένας  
 βασιλίδας ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ τε καὶ αἰσχύνῃ, τὰς μὲν  
 ἀνδρῶν, τὰς δὲ πατέρων, τὰς δὲ ἀδελφῶν ἀπο-  
 σπωμένας, τὰς δὲ τινὰς αὐτῶν τῶν ἀγαλμάτων,  
 ὀρώσας μὲν τοὺς φιλτάτους ἀνδρας ἐν φόνῳ  
 κειμένους καὶ μὴ δυναμένους ἀσπάσασθαι μηδὲ  
 καθελεῖν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ὀρώσας δὲ τὰ νήπια  
 30 βρέφη πρὸς τῇ γῇ παιόμενα ὠμῶς, οὔτε ἱερὰ  
 πορθούμενα θεῶν οὔτε χρημάτων πλῆθος ἀρ-  
 παζόμενον οὔτε κατ' ἄκρας ὄλην ἐμπιμπραμένην  
 τὴν<sup>2</sup> πόλιν οὔτε μείζονα βοὴν ἢ κτύπον χαλκοῦ  
 τε καὶ πυρὸς τῶν μὲν φθειρομένων, τῶν δὲ  
 ῥιπτουμένων· ἃ τὸν Πρίαμον πεποίηκε λέγοντα  
 ἐπ' ὀλίγον ὥς ἐσόμενα, ἃ τυχὸν<sup>3</sup> αὐτῷ ὥς γιγνώ-  
 μενα διελθεῖν ὅπως ἐβούλετο καὶ μεθ' ὅσου

<sup>1</sup> συνωργίζοντο ἂν Reiske: οὖν ὠργίζοντο.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps τινὰ should be read instead of τὴν.

<sup>3</sup> ἃ τυχὸν corrupt. καίτοι ἐξὸν conj. Arnim, ταῦτα ἦν τυχὸν Capps, ὑπάρχον Emperius, τυχὸν οὐκ ἦν Schwartz, ἐξὸν Selden, ἀλλ' ἦν αὐτὰ Cohoon.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

of his poem would then have joined in indignation and would have been eager for the outcome, and no one would have pitied the sufferings of the Trojans? For by so doing Homer would have been assured of a more sympathetic and interested audience. If, on the other hand, he wished to describe the greatest and most terrible things, all forms of suffering and calamity, and, further, to tell what everybody was yearning above all things to hear, what greater or more awe-inspiring subject could he have chosen than the capture of the city? He could not have found an event in which a greater number of people met their death or where with greater pathos men fled to the altars of their gods or fought to save their children and wives, where royal matrons and maidens were dragged away to slavery and disgrace in foreign parts, some torn from their husbands, some from their fathers, others from their brothers, and some even from the holy images, while they beheld their beloved husbands weltering in their blood and yet were unable to embrace them or to close their eyes, and beheld their helpless babes dashed cruelly to earth. Think, too, of the desecration of the sanctuaries of the gods, the plundering of stores of wealth, the whole city burnt to the very ground by the flames, the mighty cries of men, the clash of bronze, the roar of the flames as some were perishing in them and others were being hurled upon them. These things Homer makes Priam speak of as soon to come to pass,<sup>1</sup> though he could perhaps<sup>2</sup> have related them as actual events in any way that pleased him and with all that horror with which he was accustomed to de-

<sup>1</sup> See *Iliad* 24. 239 f.

<sup>2</sup> See critical note.

τᾶλλα<sup>1</sup> εἰώθει δείματος, ἐκπλήττων τε καὶ αὔξων τὰ μικρότατα.

- 31 Εἰ δέ γε ἤθελεν ἀνδρῶν ἐπισήμων εἰπεῖν θάνατον, πῶς ἀπέλιπε τὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως καὶ τὸν τοῦ Μέμνονος καὶ Ἀντιλόχου καὶ Αἴαντος καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου; πῶς δὲ τὴν Ἀμαζόνων στρατείαν καὶ τὴν μάχην ἐκείνην τὴν λεγομένην τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως καὶ τῆς Ἀμαζόνος
- 32 γενέσθαι καλὴν οὕτως καὶ παράδοξον; ὁπότε τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτῷ πεποίηκε μαχόμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ λέγειν τι θαυμαστόν, ἔτι δὲ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου καὶ τοῦ Σκαμάνδρου μάχην καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τροπὰς τε καὶ ἥττας καὶ τραύματα, ἐπιθυμῶν ὃ τι εἴποι μέγα καὶ θαυμαστόν ὑπὸ ἀπορίας πραγμάτων, τοσούτων
- 33 ἔτι καὶ τηλικούτων ἀπολειπομένων.<sup>2</sup> ἀνάγκη οὖν ἐκ τούτων ὁμολογεῖν ἢ ἀγνώμονα Ὅμηρον καὶ φαῦλον κριτὴν τῶν πραγμάτων, ὥστε τὰ ἐλάττω καὶ ταπεινότερα αἰρεῖσθαι καταλιπόντα ἄλλοις τὰ μέγιστα τε καὶ σπουδαιότατα, ἢ μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτόν, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἰσχυρίζεσθαι τὰ ψευδῆ, ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἐπιδεικνύναι τὴν ποιήσιν ἃ ἐβούλετο κρύψαι ὅπως γέγονεν.
- 34 Οὕτως γὰρ καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν Ἰθάκην καὶ τὸν θάνατον τῶν μνηστήρων αὐτὸς λέγει, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα τῶν ψευσμάτων οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν εἰπεῖν, τὰ περὶ τὴν Σκύλλαν καὶ τὸν

<sup>1</sup> τᾶλλα Casaubon: τάχα.

<sup>2</sup> After ἀπολειπομένων the MSS. have ἔστι δὲ τοιαῦτα τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πριάμου,—"The following is the sort of thing Priam said," followed by Homer *Iliad* 22. 60-68. These words Rhodomann brackets as a scholion on the words ἃ τὸν Πρίαμον πεποίηκε λέγοντα in § 30.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

scribe other slaughters, thrilling the listener and magnifying the smallest details.

If it was his wish to tell of the death of illustrious men, how is it that he omitted the slaying of Achilles, Memnon, Antilochus, Ajax, and of Paris himself? Why did he not mention the expedition of the Amazons and that battle between Achilles and the Amazon,<sup>1</sup> which is said to have been so splendid and so strange? Yet he represented the river as fighting with Achilles<sup>2</sup> just for the sake of telling a marvellous tale, and also the battle between Hephaestus and the Scamander,<sup>3</sup> and the mutual discomfitures, defeats, and woundings of the other gods,<sup>4</sup> desiring something great and wonderful to say because he was at a loss for facts, though so many important facts were still left untouched. So from what has been said it must be acknowledged that Homer was either unintelligent and a bad judge of the facts, so that he selected the more unimportant and trivial things and left to others the greatest and most impressive, or else that he was unable, as I have said,<sup>5</sup> to bolster up his falsehoods and show his poetic genius in handling those incidents whose actual nature it was his purpose to conceal.

We find this in the *Odyssey* also. For he tells of events in Ithaca and of the death of the suitors in his own person, but has not ventured to mention the greatest of his falsehoods—the story of Scylla, of

<sup>1</sup> Penthesilea, slain by Achilles, who mourned over her.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* 21. 211–341.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad* 21. 342–382.

<sup>4</sup> *Iliad* 21. 385 f.

<sup>5</sup> See § 11, where Dio says that he will prove from Homer's own poetry that he is lying.

Κύκλωπα καὶ τὰ φάρμακα τῆς Κίρκης, ἔτι δὲ τὴν εἰς "Αἶδου κατὰβασιν τοῦ "Οδυσσέως, ἀλλὰ τὸν "Οδυσσέα ἐποίησε διηγούμενον τοῖς περὶ τὸν "Αλκίνοον· ἐκεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Τροίας διεξιόντα τὸν Δημόδοκον  
 35 ἐν ᾧδῃ δι' ὀλίγων ἐπῶν. δοκεῖ δέ μοι μηδὲ προθέσθαι ταῦτα τὴν ἀρχήν, ἅτε οὐ γενόμενα, προϊούσης δὲ τῆς ποιήσεως, ἐπεὶ ἑώρα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ῥαδίως πάντα πειθομένους, καταφρονήσας αὐτῶν καὶ ἅμα χαριζόμενος τοῖς "Ελλήσι καὶ τοῖς "Ατρεΐδαις πάντα συγχέαι καὶ μεταστῆσαι τὰ πράγματα εἰς τὸνναντίον. λέγει δὲ ἀρχόμενος,

μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληϊάδεω "Αχιλλῆος  
 οὖλομένην, ἣ μυρὶ "Αχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκε,  
 πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς "Αἶδι προΐρψεν  
 ἡρώων· αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐλώρια τεύχε κύνεσσιν  
 οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι· Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή.

36 ἐνταῦθά φησι περὶ μόνης ἐρεῖν τῆς τοῦ "Αχιλλέως μῆνιδος καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ τὸν ὄλεθρον τῶν "Αχαιῶν, ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἔπαθον καὶ πολλοὶ ἀπώλοντο καὶ ἄταφοι ἔμειναν, ὡς ταῦτα μέγιστα τῶν γενομένων καὶ ἄξια τῆς ποιήσεως, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Διὸς βουλήν ἐν τούτοις φησὶ τελεσθῆναι, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ συνέβη· τὴν δὲ ὕστερον μεταβολὴν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τὸν τοῦ "Εκτορος θάνατον, ἃ ἔμελλε χαριεῖσθαι, οὐχ<sup>1</sup> ὑπεχόμενος, οὐδὲ ὅτι ὕστερον ἑάλω τὸ "Ἴλιον· ἴσως γὰρ οὐκ

<sup>1</sup> οὐχ added by Selden.

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey* 9-12.

<sup>2</sup> *Odyssey* 8. 500ff.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

the Cyclops, the magic charms of Circe, and further, the descent of Odysseus into the lower world. These he makes Odysseus narrate to Alcinous and his court,<sup>1</sup> and there too he has Demodocus recount the story of the horse and the capture of Troy in a song of only a few lines.<sup>2</sup> As it seems to me, he had made no provision for these incidents at all inasmuch as they never occurred; but as his poem grew, and he saw that men would readily believe anything, he showed his contempt for them and his desire withal to humour the Greeks and the Atreidae, by throwing everything into confusion and reversing the outcome.<sup>3</sup> At the beginning he says,

“ O Goddess! sing the wrath of Peleus’ son,  
Achilles; sing the deadly wrath that brought  
Woes numberless upon the Greeks, and swept  
To Hades many a valiant soul, and gave  
Their limbs a prey to dogs and birds of air,  
For so had Jove appointed.”<sup>4</sup>

In these verses he says that he will sing of the wrath of Achilles alone, and the hardships and destruction of the Achaeans, that their sufferings were many and terrible, that many perished and remained unburied, as though these were the chief incidents and worthy of poetic treatment, and that therein the purpose of Zeus was accomplished; all of which did indeed come to pass. But the subsequent shift of events, including the death of Hector, which was likely to please his hearers, he did not have in his original plan, nor the final capture of Ilium. For per-

<sup>3</sup> Dio maintains that the Trojans, not the Greeks, were victorious in the war. See § 118 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Iliad* 1. 1 ff.



ἦν πω βεβουλευμένος ἀναστρέφειν ἅπαντα.  
 37 ἔπειτα βουλόμενος τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν τῶν κακῶν,  
 ἀφείς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην περὶ  
 Χρύσου φλυαρεῖ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου θυγατρὸς.

Ἐγὼ οὖν ὥς ἐπυθόμην παρὰ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ  
 ἱερέων ἑνὸς εὖ μάλα γέροντος<sup>1</sup> ἐν τῇ Ὀνούφι,<sup>2</sup>  
 ἄλλα τε πολλὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καταγελῶντος ὥς  
 οὐθὲν εἰδότες ἀληθὲς περὶ τῶν πλείστων, καὶ  
 μάλιστα δὴ<sup>3</sup> τεκμηρίῳ τούτῳ χρωμένου ὅτι  
 Τροίαν τέ εἰσι πεπεισμένοι ὥς ἀλοῦσαν ὑπὸ  
 Ἀγαμέμνονος καὶ ὅτι Ἑλένη συνοικοῦσα Με-  
 νελάῳ ἡράσθη Ἀλεξάνδρου· καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως  
 ἄγαν πεπεισμένοι εἰσὶν ὑφ' ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἑξαπα-  
 τηθέντες ὥστε καὶ ὁμόσαι ἕκαστος.

38 Ἐφη δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν πρότερον ἱστορίαν γε-  
 γραφθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, τὴν μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, τὴν  
 δ' ἐν στήλαις τισί, τὰ δὲ μνημονεύεσθαι μόνον  
 ὑπ' ὀλίγων, τῶν στηλῶν διαφθαρεισῶν, πολλὰ  
 δὲ καὶ ἀπιστεῖσθαι τῶν ἐν ταῖς στήλαις γεγραμ-  
 μένων διὰ τὴν ἀμαθίαν τε καὶ ἀμέλειαν τῶν  
 ἐπιγιγνομένων· εἶναι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς νεωτά-  
 τοις τὰ περὶ τὴν Τροίαν· τὸν γὰρ Μενέλαον  
 ἀφικέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦς καὶ διηγῆσασθαι ἅπαντα  
 ὥς ἐγένετο.

39 Δεομένου δέ μου διηγῆσασθαι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον  
 οὐκ ἐβούλετο, λέγων ὅτι ἀλαζόνες εἰσὶν οἱ Ἑλ-  
 ληνες καὶ ἀμαθέστατοι ὄντες πολυμαθεστάτους

<sup>1</sup> γέροντος Arnim: λέγοντος. <sup>2</sup> τῇ Ὀνούφι Morel: τῷ ὄνυχι.

<sup>3</sup> δὴ Emperius: δὲ.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

haps he had not yet planned to turn everything upside down, but later, when he wishes to state the cause of the sufferings, he drops Paris and Helen, and babbles about Chryses<sup>1</sup> and that man's daughter.

I, therefore, shall give the account as I learned it from a certain very aged priest in Onuphis,<sup>2</sup> who often made merry over the Greeks as a people, claiming that they really knew nothing about most things, and using as his chief illustration of this, the fact that they believed that Troy was taken by Agamemnon and that Helen fell in love with Paris while she was living with Menelaus; and they were so thoroughly convinced of this, he said, being completely deceived by one man, that everybody actually swore to its truth.

My informant told me that all the history of earlier times was recorded in Egypt, in part in the temples, in part upon certain columns, and that some things were remembered by a few only as the columns had been destroyed, while much that had been inscribed on the columns was disbelieved on account of the ignorance and indifference of later generations. He added that these stories about Troy were included in their more recent records, since Menelaus had come to visit them and described everything just as it had occurred.

When I asked him to give this account, he hesitated at first, remarking that the Greeks are vainglorious, and that in spite of their dense ignorance they

<sup>1</sup> Priest of Apollo whose daughter was taken prisoner by Achilles and in the end was given to Agamemnon, who refused to give her up for a ransom. Then Apollo sent a plague among the Greeks. See *Iliad* I. 11 f.

<sup>2</sup> City in Egypt whose location is uncertain.

- ἑαυτοὺς νομίζουσι· τούτου δὲ μὴθὲν εἶναι νόσημα  
 χαλεπώτερον μῆτε ἐνὶ μῆτε πολλοῖς ἢ ὅταν τις  
 ἀμαθὴς ὢν σοφώτατον ἑαυτὸν νομίζῃ· τοὺς γὰρ  
 τοιοῦτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων μηδέποτε δύνασθαι τῆς  
 40 ἀγνοίας ἀπολυθῆναι. οὕτως δέ, ἔφη, γελοίως  
 ἀπὸ τούτων διάκεισθε ὑμεῖς,<sup>1</sup> ὥστε ποιητὴν  
 ἕτερον Ὀμήρῳ πεισθέντα καὶ ταῦτα<sup>2</sup> πάντα  
 ποιήσαντα περὶ Ἑλένης, Στησίχορον ὡς οἶμαι,  
 τυφλωθῆναί φατε ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑλένης ὡς ψευδά-  
 μενον, αὖθις δὲ ἀναβλέψαι τὰναντία ποιήσαντα.  
 καὶ ταῦτα λέγοντες οὐδὲν ἡττον ἀληθῆ φασιν  
 41 εἶναι τὴν Ὀμήρου ποιήσιν. καὶ τὸν μὲν Στησί-  
 χορον ἐν τῇ ὕστερον ᾠδῇ λέγειν ὅτι τὸ παράπαν  
 οὐδὲ πλεύσειεν ἡ Ἑλένη οὐδαμῶσε· ἄλλοι δέ  
 τινες, ὡς ἀρπασθείη μὲν Ἑλένη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀλε-  
 ξάνδρου, δεῦρο δὲ παρ' ἡμᾶς εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀφί-  
 κοιτο· καὶ τοῦ πράγματος οὕτως ἀμφισβητου-  
 μένου καὶ πολλὴν ἀγνοίαν ἔχοντος, οὐδὲ οὕτως  
 42 ὑποπτεῦσαι δύνανται τὴν ἀπάτην. τούτου δὲ  
 αἴτιον ἔφη εἶναι ὅτι φιλήδονοί εἰσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες·  
 ἃ δ' ἂν ἀκούσωσιν ἡδέως τινὸς λέγοντος, ταῦτα καὶ  
 ἀληθῆ νομίζουσι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ποιηταῖς ἐπιτρέπου-  
 σιν ὅ τι ἂν θέλωσι ψεύδεσθαι καὶ φασιν ἐξεῖναι  
 αὐτοῖς, ὅμως δὲ πιστεύουσιν οἷς ἂν ἐκεῖνοι  
 λέγωσι καὶ μάρτυρας αὐτοὺς ἐπάγονται ἐνίοτε  
 περὶ ὧν ἀμφισβητοῦσι· παρὰ δὲ Αἰγυπτίοις μὴ  
 ἐξεῖναι μηδὲν<sup>3</sup> ἐμμέτρως λέγεσθαι μηδὲ εἶναι  
 ποιήσιν τὸ παράπαν· ἐπίστασθαι γὰρ ὅτι φάρ-  
 μακον τοῦτο ἡδονῆς ἐστὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀκοήν.  
 ὥσπερ οὖν οἱ διψῶντες οὐδὲν δέονται οἴνου, ἀλλ'

<sup>1</sup> διάκεισθε ὑμεῖς Morel: διακείσθαι ὑμᾶς.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

think they know everything. He maintained that no affliction more serious could befall either individual or community than when an ignoramus held himself to be most wise, since such men could never be freed from their ignorance. "And so ludicrous an effect have these men had upon you," he continued, "that you say of another poet—Stesichorus, I believe it is—who followed Homer's account and repeated these same stories about Helen, that he was struck blind by her as a liar and recovered his sight upon recanting.<sup>1</sup> And though you tell this tale, you none the less believe that Homer's account is true. You say, too, that Stesichorus in his palinode declared that Helen never sailed off to any place whatsoever, while certain others say that Helen *was* carried off by Paris but came to us here in Egypt. Yet with all this uncertainty and ignorance surrounding the matter you cannot even thus see through the deception." This, he claimed, was due to the Greek love of pleasure. Whatever they delight to hear from anyone's lips they at once consider to be true. They give their poets full licence to tell any untruth they wish, and they declare that this is the poets' privilege. Yet they trust them in everything they say and even quote them at times as witnesses in matters of dispute. Among the Egyptians, however, it is illegal to say anything in verse. Indeed they have no poetry at all, since they know this is but the charm with which pleasure lures the ear. "Therefore," said he, "just as the thirsty

<sup>1</sup> See note on p. 58.

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<sup>2</sup> ταῦτὰ Reiske: ταῦτα.

<sup>3</sup> μηδὲν Reiske: μηδὲ.

ἀπόχρη αὐτοῖς ὕδατος πιεῖν, οὕτως οἱ τὰ ληθῆ  
 εἰδέναι θέλοντες οὐδὲν δέονται μέτρων, ἄλλ'  
 43 ἔξαρκεῖ αὐτοῖς ἀπλῶς ἀκούσαι. ἡ δὲ ποίησις  
 ἀναπείθει τὰ ψευδῆ ἀκούειν ὥσπερ οἶνος πίνειν  
 μάτην.

Ὡς οὖν ἤκουσα παρ' ἐκείνου, πειράσομαι  
 εἰπεῖν, προστιθεὶς ἐξ ὧν ἐδόκει μοι ἀληθῆ τὰ  
 λεγόμενα. ἔφη γὰρ ἐν Σπάρτῃ γενέσθαι Τυν-  
 δάρεω σοφὸν ἄνδρα καὶ βασιλέα μέγιστον, τούτου  
 δὲ καὶ Λήδας δύο θυγατέρας κατὰ ταὐτὸ ὥσπερ  
 ἡμεῖς ὀνομάζομεν, Κλυταιμῆστραν καὶ Ἑλένην,  
 καὶ δύο ἄρρενας παῖδας διδύμους καλοὺς καὶ  
 μεγάλους καὶ πολὺ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρίστους.  
 44 εἶναι δὲ τὴν Ἑλένην ἐπὶ κάλλει περιβόητον καὶ  
 πολλοὺς μνηστήρας αὐτῆς ἔτι σμικρᾶς παιδὸς  
 οὔσης γενέσθαι καὶ<sup>1</sup> ἄρπαγὴν ὑπὸ Θησέως  
 βασιλέως ὄντος Ἀθηνῶν. τοὺς οὖν ἀδελφοὺς  
 τῆς Ἑλένης εὐθέως ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν τοῦ Θησέως  
 χώραν καὶ πορθῆσαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ κομίσασθαι  
 τὴν ἀδελφὴν. τὰς μὲν οὖν ἄλλας γυναῖκας  
 ἀφίεναι λαβόντας· τὴν δὲ τοῦ Θησέως μητέρα  
 αἰχμάλωτον ἄγειν τιμωρουμένους αὐτόν.<sup>2</sup> εἶναι  
 γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀξιομάχους πρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα,  
 καὶ καταστρέψασθαι ῥαδίως ἂν εἰ ἐβούλοντο.

45 Εἶπον οὖν ὅτι καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ταῦτα λέγεται  
 καὶ προσέτι ὡς αὐτὸς ἑορακῶς εἶην ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ  
 ἐν τῷ ὀπισθοδόμῳ τοῦ νεὼ τῆς Ἥρας ὑπόμνημα  
 τῆς ἄρπαγῆς ἐκείνης ἐν τῇ ξυλίνῃ κιβωτῷ τῇ  
 ἀνατεθείσῃ ὑπὸ Κυψέλου, τοὺς Διοσκόρους ἔχον-

<sup>1</sup> καὶ Dindorf: δὴ.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτόν Rhodomann: αὐτήν.

<sup>1</sup> The Greek form of the name omits the letter *n*, but the familiar English form is retained by the translator.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

have no need of wine, but a drink of water suffices them, so too seekers after truth have no need of verse, but it is quite enough for them to hear the unadorned truth. Poetry, however, tempts them to listen to falsehood just as wine leads to over-drinking."

Now I shall endeavour to repeat what he told me, adding my reasons for thinking his words to be true. According to his account, Tyndareus, a wise man and a very great king, was born in Sparta. Then Leda and he had two daughters named just as we name them, Clytemnestra<sup>1</sup> and Helen, and two large handsome twin sons,<sup>2</sup> by far the best among the Greeks. Helen was famed for her beauty, and while yet but a little girl had many suitors and was carried off by Theseus, who was king of Athens. Whereupon her brothers straightway invaded Theseus' country, sacked the city, and recovered their sister. They freed all the women they had captured except the mother of Theseus,<sup>3</sup> whom they carried off a prisoner in retaliation; for they were a match for all Greece and could have subjugated it easily had they so wished.

I remarked that this was our account also and that, moreover, I had myself seen at Olympia in the rear chamber of the temple of Hera a memorial of that abduction upon the wooden chest dedicated by Cypselus.<sup>4</sup> It represents the Dioscuri<sup>5</sup> holding

<sup>2</sup> Castor and Pollux.

<sup>3</sup> Aethra.

<sup>4</sup> Tyrant of Corinth. When a child his mother hid him in a chest (*kypsele*) to save him from being murdered. Hence his name. In memory of this escape he dedicated a splendid chest of cedar wood at Olympia. Pausanias describes it in detail.

<sup>5</sup> Literally, "sons of Zeus," i.e. Castor and Pollux.

τας τὴν Ἑλένην ἐπιβεβηκυῖαν τῇ κεφαλῇ τῆς Αἴθρας καὶ τῆς κόμης ἔλκουσαν, καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπιγεγραμμένον ἀρχαίοις γράμμασι.

- 46 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ἔφη, φοβούμενος τοὺς Τυνδαρίδας ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων—ἠπίστατο γὰρ ὅτι ξένος ὢν καὶ ἐπηλυσ ἄρχοι τῶν Ἀργείων—ἐβούλετο προσλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς κηδεύσας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔγημε Κλυταιμῆστραν· τὴν δὲ Ἑλένην ἐμνήστευε μὲν τῷ ἀδελφῷ, οὐδεὶς δὲ ἔφασκε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιτρέψειν, καὶ γὰρ προσήκειν ἕκαστος αὐτῷ τοῦ γένους μᾶλλον ἢ Μενελάῳ, Πελοπίδῃ ὄντι. ἦκον δὲ καὶ ἔξωθεν πολλοὶ μνηστήρες διὰ τε τὴν δόξαν τὴν περὶ τοῦ κάλλους καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τοῦ πατρός.

- 47 Ἐδόκει οὖν μοι καὶ τοῦτο ἀληθὲς λέγειν, ὅπου τὴν Κλεισθένους θυγατέρα τοῦ Σικυωνίων τυράννου καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰταλίας τινὰ μνηστεύσαι φασιν· ἔτι δὲ Ἱπποδάμειαν τὴν Οἰνομάου Πέλοψ ἔγημεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀφικόμενος, Θησεὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ

- 48 Θερμώδοντος ποταμοῦ μίαν τῶν Ἀμαζόνων ὥς δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἔφη, καὶ τὴν Ἰὼ ἀφικέσθαι ἐκδοθεῖσαν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλὰ μὴ βοῦν γενομένην οὕτως οἰστρήσασαν ἐλθεῖν.

Οὕτως δὲ ἔθους ὄντος ἐκδιδόναι καὶ λαμβάνειν γυναῖκας παρ' ἀλλήλων καὶ τοὺς πλείστον

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<sup>1</sup> Agamemnon, who had so many suitors. She was finally married to Menelaus of Athens. Smindyrides of Sybaris was the suitor from Italy.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

Helen, who is standing upon Aethra's head pulling her hair, and there is also an inscription in ancient characters.

"Thereupon," so he continued, "Agamemnon, who feared the sons of Tyndareus—because he knew that, though he ruled the Argives, he was a stranger and a new comer sought to win them over by a marriage alliance and for that reason married Clytemnestra. Helen's hand he sought for his brother, but the Greeks to a man declared that they would not permit it, since each one of them held that she was more closely akin to himself in blood than to Menelaus, who was a descendant of Pelops. Many suitors came from outside Greece also because of Helen's reputation for beauty and the power of her brothers and father."

Now I thought that this last statement also was true, since the story goes that the daughter<sup>1</sup> of Cleisthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon, was wooed by a man from Italy, and that Pelops, who married Hippodameia, the daughter of Oenomaüs, came from Asia, and that Theseus married one of the Amazons<sup>2</sup> from the banks of the Thermodon<sup>3</sup> and, as that priest maintained, Io<sup>4</sup> came to Egypt as a betrothed bride and not as a heifer maddened by the gadfly.

"And," he added, "since the great houses were accustomed, as we have seen, to make distance no barrier in forming marriage alliances with one

<sup>1</sup> Theseus carried off Antiopé, queen of the Amazons, by whom he had a son.

<sup>2</sup> A river of Pontus, in the district of Themiscyra, the reputed home of the Amazons.

<sup>3</sup> Daughter of Inachus, king of Argos. According to the myth she was loved by Zeus, who changed her into a heifer on account of Hera's jealousy.



ἀπέχοντας τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις,<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀφικέσθαι κατὰ μνηστείαν ἔφη, πιστεύοντα τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πατρός, σχεδόν τι βασιλεύοντος τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης, καὶ οὐδὲ πολὺ τῆς Τροίας ἀπεχούσης, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν Πελοπιδῶν ἥδη δυναστευόντων ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ πολλῆς ἐπι-  
 49 μιξίας γενομένης. ἐλθόντα δὲ μετὰ πολλοῦ πλούτου καὶ παρασκευῆς ὥς ἐπὶ μνηστείαν καὶ διαφέροντα κάλλει, εἰς λόγους αὐτὸν καταστήναι Τυνδάρεώ τε καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς τῆς Ἑλένης, λέγοντα<sup>2</sup> περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Πριάμου καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῆς ἄλλης δυνάμεως, καὶ ὅτι αὐτοῦ γίγνοιτο ἡ βασιλεία· τὸν δὲ Μενέλεων ἰδιώτην ἔφη εἶναι· τοῖς γὰρ Ἀγαμέμνωνος παισίν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν προσήκειν· καὶ ὥς θεοφιλῆς εἴη καὶ ὥς ἡ Ἀφροδίτη αὐτῷ ὑπόσχοιτο τὸν ἄριστον γάμον τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις· αὐτὸς οὖν προκρίναι τὴν ἐκείνου θυγατέρα, ἐξὸν αὐτῷ λαβεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τινὰ εἰ βούλοιτο, εἴτε τοῦ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέως εἴτε  
 50 τοῦ Ἰνδῶν. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἔλεγεν αὐτὸς ἄρχειν ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Τροίας μέχρι Αἰθιοπίας· καὶ γὰρ Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλεύειν τὸν αὐτοῦ ἀνεψιὸν Μέμνονα, ἐκ Τιθωνοῦ ὄντα τοῦ Πριάμου ἀδελφοῦ. καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἔλεγεν ἐπαγωγὰ καὶ δῶρα ἐδίδου τῇ τε Λήδᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς προσήκουσιν ὅσα οὐδὲ ξύμπαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐδύναντο.

Ἔφη δὲ καὶ ξυγγενὴς εἶναι τῆς Ἑλένης καὶ αὐτός· ἀπὸ γὰρ Διὸς εἶναι τὸν Πριάμον, πυν-

<sup>1</sup> τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις Emperius : τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ before λέγοντα deleted by Reiske.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

another, it came to pass that Paris came as a suitor, trusting in the power of his father, who was the ruler of practically all Asia. Besides, Troy was not far distant, and what was especially important, the descendants<sup>1</sup> of Pelops were already in power in Greece and much intercourse between the two peoples had developed. So when he arrived with a great show of wealth and a great equipage for a mere wooing—and he was strikingly handsome too—he had an interview with Tyndareus and Helen's brothers, in which he dwelt upon Priam's empire, the extent of his resources, and his power in general, and added that he was next in succession. Menelaus, he declared, was but a private individual, since the royal prerogative descended to the children of Agamemnon, not to him. He urged that he himself enjoyed the favour of the gods and that Aphrodite had promised him the most brilliant marriage in the world.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, he had chosen Tyndareus' daughter, though he might have taken someone from Asia had he desired, whether an Egyptian or an Indian princess. As for himself, he said that he was king of all other peoples from Troy to Ethiopia, for the Ethiopians were under the sway of his cousin, Memnon, who was the son of Tithonus, Priam's brother. Many other enticements did he mention and he offered to Leda and the rest of the family gifts such as all the Greeks together could not have matched.

“He urged also that he himself was of the same stock as Helen, since Priam was descended from

<sup>1</sup> Agamemnon and Menelaus.

<sup>2</sup> See note on p. 454.

θάνεσθαι δὲ κακείνους καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῶν  
 Διὸς ὄντας. τῷ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνονι καὶ τῷ Μενελάῳ  
 μὴ προσήκειν ὀνειδίζειν αὐτῷ τὴν πατρίδα· καὶ  
 γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἶναι Φρύγας ἀπὸ Σιπύλου. πολὺ  
 δὴ κρεῖττον τοῖς βασιλεῦσι κηδεύειν τῆς Ἀσίας  
 ἢ τοῖς ἐκεῖθεν μετανάσταις. καὶ γὰρ Λαομέδοντα  
 Τελαμῶνι δοῦναι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα Ἡσιόνην·  
 ἔλθειν γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰς Τροίαν μνηστῆρα μετὰ  
 Ἡρακλέους, ἄγειν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα φίλον  
 51 ὄντα καὶ ξένον Λαομέδοντι. πρὸς οὖν ταῦτα ὁ  
 Τυνδάρεως ἐβουλεύετο μετὰ τῶν παίδων. καὶ  
 ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς σκοποῦσιν οὐ χεῖρον εἶναι προσ-  
 λαβεῖν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλέας. τὴν<sup>1</sup> μὲν  
 γὰρ Πελοπιδῶν οἰκίαν ἔχειν Κλυταιμῆστραν  
 συνοικοῦσαν Ἀγαμέμνονι· λοιπὸν δέ, εἰ Πριάμῳ  
 κηδεύσειαν,<sup>2</sup> καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ πραγμάτων κρατεῖν  
 καὶ μηδένα αὐτοὺς κωλύειν τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς  
 Εὐρώπης ἄρχειν ἀπάσης.

Πρὸς δὲ ταῦτα ἠγωνίζετο μὲν ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων,  
 52 ἡττᾶτο δὲ τοῖς δικαίοις. ἔφη γὰρ ὁ Τυνδάρεως  
 ἱκανὸν εἶναι αὐτῷ κηδεύσαντι· καὶ ἅμα ἐδίδασκεν  
 ὅτι οὐδὲ συμφέροι τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τυγχάνειν  
 τῶν ἴσων· οὕτω γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐπιβουλεύσειν·  
 οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἀτρεΐ Θυέστην εὖνουν γενέσθαι. μά-  
 λιστα δ' ἔπειθε λέγων ὅτι<sup>3</sup> οὐκ ἀνέξονται οἱ  
 ἄλλοι μνηστῆρες τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀποτυχόντες,  
 οὔτε Διομήδης οὔτε Ἀντίλοχος οὔτε Ἀχιλλεύς,  
 ἀλλὰ πολεμήσουσι· καὶ ὅτι κινδυνεύσει τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> τὴν Reiske: τῶν.

<sup>2</sup> κηδεύσειαν Aldine edition: κηδεύσειε.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτὸν before ὅτι deleted by Emperius.

<sup>1</sup> He seduced the wife of Atreus, his brother.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

Zeus and he had been told that she and her brothers were also his offspring; that it did not lie with Agamemnon and Menelaus to taunt him on his origin, for they themselves were Phrygians from Mount Sipylus; Tyndareus might much better ally his family with the ruling kings of Asia than with immigrants from that country. For Laomedon too had given his daughter, Hesione, to Telamon, who came with Heracles to Troy to sue for her hand, bringing the latter along also because he was the friend and ally of Laomedon. And so Tyndareus consulted with his sons regarding these matters, and after due consideration they decided that it was not such a bad policy to ally themselves with the kings of Asia. For they saw that the house of Pelops had Clytemnestra, who was the wife of Agamemnon, and besides, if they became allied by marriage with Priam's house, they would have control of affairs there too and nobody would stand in the way of their governing all Asia and Europe."

Agamemnon opposed all this, but the weight of the argument was too strong for him. For Tyndareus assured him that it was quite enough for him to have become his son-in-law and warned him that it was not at all advisable for his brother to have power equal to his own, since he might thus the more easily undermine him. Thyestès,<sup>1</sup> for example, had not been loyal to Atreus. He dissuaded him most effectively, however, by urging that the other suitors from Greece would not tolerate their own rejection in his interest, neither Diomede nor Antilochus<sup>2</sup> nor Achilles, but would take up arms, and so he would be in danger of making the

<sup>2</sup> Son of Nestor.

- δυνατωτάτους ποιῆσαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολεμίους.
- 53 κρείττον οὖν εἶναι μὴ καταλιπεῖν ἀρχὴν πολέμου καὶ στάσεως ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι. τὸν δὲ ἄχθεσθαι μέν, οὐκ ἔχειν δὲ ὅπως κωλύσῃ τὸν Τυνδάρεω· κύριον γὰρ εἶναι τῆς αὐτοῦ θυγατρός· καὶ ἅμα φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ. καὶ οὕτως δὴ λαβεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον τὴν Ἑλένην ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου, πείσαντα τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς, καὶ ἀφικέσθαι ἄγοντα μετὰ πολλοῦ ζήλου καὶ χαρᾶς· καὶ τὸν τε Πρίαμον καὶ τὸν Ἑκτορα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἥδεσθαι τῷ γάμῳ καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην ὑποδέχεσθαι μετὰ θυσιῶν καὶ εὐχῶν.
- 54 Σκόπει δέ, ἔφη, τὴν εὐήθειαν τοῦ ἐναντίου λόγου, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ δυνατόν εἶναι πρῶτον μὲν ἐρασθῆναι τινα γυναικός, ἣν οὐπώποτε εἶδεν· ἔπειτα καὶ πείσαι καταλιποῦσαν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀναγκαίους, ἔτι δὲ οἶμαι θυγατρίου γεγονυῖαν μητέρα, συνακολουθῆσαι ἀνδρὶ ἄλλοφύλῳ. διὰ ταύτην γὰρ τὴν ἀλογίαν συνέπλασαν τὸν περὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης
- 55 μῦθον πολὺ τούτων ἀποπληκτότερον. εἰ δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐνεθυμήθη, πῶς ὁ τε πατὴρ ἐπέτρεψεν οὐκ ὦν ἀνόητος, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα δοκῶν νοῦν ἔχειν, ἥ τε μήτηρ; πῶς δὲ<sup>1</sup> εἰκὸς τὸν Ἑκτορα ὕστερον μὲν ὀνειδίζειν καὶ λοιδορεῖσθαι αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς ὥς φησιν Ὀμηρος· λέγει γὰρ οὕτως·

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

strongest men among the Greeks his foes. It would, therefore, be better not to leave any cause for war and dissension among the Greeks. This, however, so the priest said, angered Agamemnon, but he was unable successfully to oppose Tyndareus, who was master of his own daughter; and at the same time he stood in awe of Tyndareus' sons. Thus it was that Paris took Helen as his lawful wife after gaining the consent of her parents and brothers, and took her home with him amid great enthusiasm and rejoicing. And Priam, Hector, and all the others were delighted with the union and welcomed Helen with sacrifices and prayers.

"Then see," continued the priest, "how foolish the opposite story is. Can you imagine it possible for anyone to have become enamoured of a woman whom he had never seen, and then, that she could have let herself be persuaded to leave husband, fatherland, and all her relatives—and that too, I believe, when she was the mother of a little daughter—and follow a man of another race? It is because this is so improbable that they got up that cock-and-bull story about Aphrodite, which is still more preposterous. And if Paris had any thought of carrying Helen away, why was the thing permitted to happen by his father, who was no fool, but had the reputation of having great intelligence, and by his mother? What likelihood is there that Hector tolerated such a deed at the outset and then afterwards heaped abuse and reproach upon him for abducting her as Homer declares he did? Here are his words:

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<sup>1</sup> δὲ Ἄρnim: γὰρ.

Δύσπαρι, εἶδος ἄριστε, γυναιμανές, ἡπερο-  
 πευτά,  
 αἶθ' ὄφελος ἄγονός τ' ἔμεναι ἄγαμός τ' ἀπο-  
 λέσθαι.  
 οὐ γάρ τοι χραίσμη κίθαρις τά τε δῶρ'  
 Ἀφροδίτης  
 ἢ τε κόμη τό τε εἶδος ὅτ' ἐν κονίησι μυγείης·

56 ἐξ ἀρχῆς δὲ πράττοντι συγχωρήσαι ταῦτα; ὃ τε  
 "Ἐλενος πῶς οὐ προέλεγε μάντις ὦν, ἢ τε  
 Κασσάνδρα θεοφορουμένη, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὁ  
 Ἀντήνωρ δοκῶν φρονεῖν, ἀλλ' ὕστερον ἡγανά-  
 κτου καὶ ἐπέπληττον ἐπὶ πεπραγμένοις, ἐξὸν  
 ἀφ' ἐστίας<sup>1</sup> κωλύειν;

"Ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἡλιθιότητος  
 καὶ ὡς τὰ ψευδῇ ἀλλήλοισ μάχεται· λέγουσι  
 γὰρ ὡς πρὸ ὀλίγων εἰρῶν Ἑρακλῆς πεπορθήκει  
 τὴν πόλιν διὰ μικρὰν πρόφασιν, ὀργισθεὶς ὑπὲρ  
 ἵππων ὅτι ὑποσχόμενος αὐτῷ δώσειν ὁ Λαομέδων  
 57 ψεύσαιτο. καὶ ἐγὼ ἀνεμνήσθην τῶν ἐπῶν, ἐν  
 οἷς ταῦτά φησιν·

ὅς ποτε δεῦρ' ἐλθὼν ἔνεχ' ἵππων Λαομέδοντος  
 ἐξ οἷης σὺν νηυσὶ καὶ ἀνδράσι παυροτέροισιν  
 Ἰλίου ἐξαλάπαξε πόλιν, χήρωσε δ' ἀγυιάς.

Οὐκουν, εἶπεν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀληθὲς λέγουσι. πῶς  
 γὰρ ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ οὕτω πόλις ἀλοῦσα καὶ  
 ἐρημωθεῖσα τοσαύτην ἐπίδοσιν ἔσχευ ὡς μεγίσ-

<sup>1</sup> ἀφ' ἐστίας Wyttenbach: ἀφικέσθαι.

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 3. 39 f. (and, from the middle of the third verse),  
 54 f.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

‘ O luckless Paris, nobly formed,  
Yet woman-follower and seducer! Thou  
Shouldst never have been born, or else at best  
Have died unwedded. Thy harp will not avail,  
Nor all the gifts of Venus, nor thy locks,  
Nor thy fair form, when thou art laid in dust.’<sup>1</sup>

How comes it that neither Helenus, seer though he was, nor Cassandra, the divinely inspired, nor even Antenor, reputed for his wisdom, gave a word of warning but afterwards were indignant and censured what had been done, when they could have kept Helen from their doors?

“ But that you may understand the excess of absurdity and see how the lies contradict one another, I cite what is told of Heracles sacking the city a few years previously on a slight pretext, angered because Laomedon had proved himself false in not giving him the horses which he had promised.” And I recalled the verses in which Homer makes this statement:

“ Hercules  
The lion-hearted, who once came to Troy  
To claim the coursers of Laomedon,  
With but six ships, and warriors but a few,  
He laid the city waste and made its streets  
A desolation.”<sup>2</sup>

“ This is another popular misstatement,” said my friend, “ for how could a city that had been thus taken and reduced to a wilderness have made such a wondrous recovery in so short a time so as to become

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* 5. 640 f.



την γεινέσθαι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν; πῶς δὲ ὁ  
 μὲν Ἡρακλῆς σὺν ἑξ ναυσὶν εἶλεν ἐκ πολλοῦ  
 ἀπόρθητον οὔσαν, οἱ δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ μετὰ νεῶν  
 χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων ἐλθόντες οὐκ ἐδύναντο  
 ἐλεῖν; ἢ πῶς τὸν Πρίαμον εἶασε βασιλεύειν  
 ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, ἀποκτείνας αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα ὡς  
 πάντων ἐχθρότατον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄλλον τινὰ ἀπέ-  
 58 δειξεν ἄρχοντα τῆς χώρας; εἰ δ' ἦν οὕτως ὥς<sup>1</sup>  
 φασι, πῶς<sup>2</sup> οὐκ ἔφριττον οἱ Τρῶες καὶ ὁ  
 Πρίαμος τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐχθραν, εἰδότες  
 ὅτι καὶ πρότερον οὐδὲν τηλικούτου ἑξαμαρτώντες  
 ἀπώλουντο καὶ ἀνάστατοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ πολλῶν  
 μνημονευόντων<sup>3</sup> τὴν ἄλωσιν πῶς συνέβη,<sup>4</sup> μηδὲν  
 τούτων ἐννοῆσαι μηδὲ κωλύσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον  
 μηδένα αὐτῶν;

Τίνα δὲ τρόπον ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα  
 συνῆν τῇ Ἑλένῃ καὶ διελέγετο καὶ τελευτῶν  
 ἀνέπεισεν αὐτὴν φυγεῖν,<sup>5</sup> μήτε γονέων μήτε πα-  
 τρίδος μήτε ἀνδρὸς ἢ θυγατρὸς μήτε τῆς παρὰ  
 τοῖς Ἕλλησι φήμης φροντίσασαν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ  
 τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς φοβηθεῖσαν περιόντας, οἱ πρό-  
 59 τερον αὐτὴν ἀφείλουντο Θησέως καὶ οὐ περιεῖδον  
 ἀφαιρεθεῖσαν; τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ παρόντα τὸν  
 Μενέλεω πῶς ταῦτα ἔλαθε γιγνόμενα; τοῦτο  
 δὲ ἀπόντος ἀνδρὸς γυναῖκα εἰς ὁμίλιαν ἀφι-  
 κνεῖσθαι ξένῳ ἀνδρὶ πῶς εἰκὸς<sup>6</sup> μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων  
 μηδένα αἰσθῆσθαι τὴν ἐπιβουλήν ἢ αἰσθομένους  
 κρύψαι, προσέτι δὲ τὴν Αἴθραν τὴν τοῦ Θησέως

<sup>1</sup> ἦν οὕτως ὥς Geel: οὖν οὕτω πῶς.

<sup>2</sup> γὰρ after πῶς deleted by Morel.

<sup>3</sup> πολλῶν μνημονευόντων Cohoon: πολλοὶ ἀνημονεύοντες.

<sup>4</sup> πῶς συνέβη added by Cohoon: Roiske assumed a lacuna.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

the greatest of all in Asia? And how was it that Heracles, coming with only six ships, captured it when it had long been inviolate, while the Achaeans, who came with twelve hundred ships, could not capture it? Or how did Heracles, who slew Priam's father, his mortal enemy, suffer Priam to become king instead of appointing someone else as ruler of the country? But if it was as they say, how is it that Priam and the Trojans did not dread a feud with the Greeks when they were aware that once before, and for a crime not so great, their people had lost their lives or been driven into exile? And though many recalled the capture, how is it that not one of them thought of any of these things," cried the Egyptian, "and that not one of them stopped Paris?

"And how in the world after coming to Greece did he become intimate with Helen, and talk to her, and finally persuade her to elope, without thinking of parents, country, husband, or daughter, or of her repute among the Greeks, nay, without fearing even her brothers,<sup>1</sup> who were still living and had once before recovered her from Theseus and had not brooked her abduction? For if Menelaus was at home, how did he fail to notice what was going on, but if, on the other hand, he was away from home, how is it probable that his wife could meet and converse with a strange man and none of the others be alive to the plot, or that they should have concealed it if they knew of it; and further, that Aethra, the mother of Theseus, and she a

<sup>1</sup> Castor and Pollux.

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<sup>5</sup> *φυγεῖν* added by Reiske.

<sup>6</sup> *τοῦτο δὲ* after *εἰκὸς* deleted by Arnim.

- μητέρα συναπαραι αὐτῇ αἰχμάλωτον οὖσαν;—  
 οὐ γὰρ ἱκανὸν ἦν Πιτθέως θυγατέρα οὖσαν ἐν  
 Σπάρτῃ δουλεύειν, ἀλλ' ἠρείτο ἀκολουθεῖν εἰς  
 60 Τροίαν, ὃ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀδεῶς καὶ μετὰ  
 τοσαύτης ἐξουσίας ἔπραττε τὸ πρῶγμα, ὥστε  
 οὐκ ἦν ἱκανὸν αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα ἀπαγαγεῖν,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ χρήματα προσεπέθετο—καὶ μηδὲ  
 ἐπαναχθῆναι μηδὲνα αὐτῷ, μήτε τῶν τοῦ Με-  
 νελάου μήτε τῶν τοῦ Τυνδάρεω μήτε τοὺς  
 ἀδελφούς τῆς Ἑλένης, καὶ ταῦτα νεῶν οὐσῶν  
 ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ, ἔτι δὲ πρότερον πεζῇ ἀπὸ  
 Σπάρτης ἐπὶ θάλατταν κατιόντων, παραχρήμα,  
 ὡς εἰκός, περιβοήτου γενομένης τῆς ἄρπαγῆς;  
 καὶ οὕτω μὲν οὐ δυνατὸν ἐλθεῖν Ἑλένην μετὰ  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου, γάμῳ δὲ παρ' ἐκόντων δοθεῖσαν  
 61 τῶν οἰκείων. οὕτω γὰρ εὖλογον ἦν τὴν τε  
 Αἴθραν ἀφικέσθαι μετ' αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ χρήματα  
 κομισθῆναι. οὐδὲν γὰρ τούτων ἄρπαγῆς, ἀλλὰ  
 πολὺ μᾶλλον γάμου σημεῖον ἐστίν.

- Ἐπεὶ δέ, ὡς ἔφην, γαμήσας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος  
 ἀπηλλάγη μετ' αὐτῆς, ὃ τε Μενέλαος ἡνιᾶτο τῆς  
 μνηστείας ἀποτυχῶν καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡτιᾶτο,  
 62 καὶ ἔφη προδοθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὃ τε<sup>1</sup> Ἀγαμέμνων  
 ἐκείνου μὲν ἦττον ἐφρόντιζε, τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ  
 ἐφοβεῖτο καὶ ὑπώπτευε μήποτε ἀντιποιήσεται  
 τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πραγμάτων προσηκόντων  
 αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν γάμον, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους  
 συγκαλεῖ τοὺς μνηστήρας τῆς Ἑλένης καὶ ἔφη  
 ὑβρισθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα  
 καταφρονηθῆναι καὶ τὴν ἀρίστην γυναῖκα οἴ-  
 χεσθαι εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐκδοθεῖσαν, ὡς οὐδενὸς

<sup>1</sup> τε Arnim: δέ.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

captive, should have sailed away with her?—For it was not enough that she, the daughter of Pittheus, should be a slave in Sparta, but she must deliberately follow along to Troy, and Paris conducted the affair so boldly and with such licence that it was not enough for him to abduct the wife, but he took the treasure too!—and that not a single soul should have put out after him, none of the people of Menelaus or of Tyndareus, nor Helen's brothers, though there were ships in Laconia and, what is more, though the pair had first to get down on foot from Sparta to the coast, and the news of her abduction was probably published at once? It would have been impossible for her to go with Paris in any such way, but possible if she was given in marriage with the full consent of her kinsfolk. Thus only was it reasonable that Aethra arrived with her and that the treasures were taken along. None of these facts points to an abduction, but much rather to a marriage.

“ But when, as I said, Paris married Helen and departed with her, Menelaus brooded over the failure of his suit and upbraided his brother, declaring that he had been betrayed by him. But Agamemnon was not so much concerned about him as he was fearful of Paris, who, he suspected, might interfere some time in the affairs of Greece, which concerned him now on account of his marriage with Helen. For this reason he convoked the others who had been Helen's suitors and declared that they had one and all been outraged and Greece treated with contempt, and that the best woman among them had been given in marriage to barbarians and was gone, as though there were no one among themselves who

πατὴρ καὶ τῆς Ἑλένης βουλομένης ἐκείνῳ  
 συνοικεῖν, οἱ δὲ οὕτως ἀναίσχυντον ἐτόλμων λέ-  
 γειν λόγον· καὶ ἔφασαν γιγνώσκειν ὅτι ζητοῖεν  
 πολέμου πρόφασιν· αὐτοὶ δὲ μὴ ἄρχειν πολέμου  
 κρείττους ὄντες, ἀμύνεσθαι δὲ ἐπιχειροῦντας.  
 καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ὑπέμενον οἱ Τρῶες πολὺν χρόνον  
 πολεμούμενοι καὶ πολλὰ πάσχοντες· οὐχ ὅσα  
 "Ομηρὸς φησιν, ὅμως δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν φθει-  
 ρομένης καὶ πολλῶν ἀποθνησκόντων ἀνθρώπων·  
 ὅτι ἠπίσταντο ἀδικοῦντας τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ τὸν  
 66 Ἀλέξανδρον οὐθὲν ἄτοπον πράξαντα. εἰ δὲ μὴ,  
 τίς ἂν ἠνέσχετο αὐτῶν ἢ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἢ ὁ  
 πατὴρ τῶν<sup>1</sup> ἄλλων πολιτῶν ἀπολλυμένων καὶ  
 πάσης<sup>2</sup> κινδυνευούσης ἀναστάτου γενέσθαι τῆς  
 πόλεως διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου παρανομίαν, ἐξὸν ἀποδόν-  
 τας τὴν Ἑλένην σῶσαι αὐτούς; οἱ δὲ καὶ ὕστερον,  
 ὥς φασιν, Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποθανόντος, κατεῖχον  
 αὐτὴν καὶ Δηιφόβῳ συνώκιζον, ὥς μέγιστον  
 ἀγαθὸν ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ  
 67 καταλίποι αὐτούς. καίτοι εἰ πρότερον ἐρῶσα τοῦ  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔμενεν, πῶς ἔτι ἐβούλετο μένειν, εἰ μὴ  
 καὶ Δηιφόβου αὐτὴν ἐρασθῆναι λέγουσιν; εἰκὸς  
 γὰρ ἦν πείσαι τοὺς Τρῶας, ἀποδοῦναι αὐτὴν  
 ἐτοίμους ὄντας. εἰ δὲ ἐφοβείτο τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς,  
 διαλύσεις πρότερον εὑρέσθαι χρῆν· καὶ γὰρ  
 ἐκείνοι ἀγαπητῶς ἂν ἀπηλλάγησαν τοῦ πολέμου,  
 πλείστων καὶ ἀρίστων τεθνηκότων. οὐ γὰρ ἦν

<sup>1</sup> ἢ before τῶν is bracketed by Arnim.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ πάσης Emperius: πάντες γὰρ.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

father's hand, and Helen had consented to be his wife, and yet the Greeks dared to use such impudent language. They perceived, they said, that the Greeks were seeking a pretext for war, and that they were not the aggressors, stronger though they were, but were defending themselves from attack. This is why the Trojans held out although they were assailed a long time and suffered many hardships—not so many as Homer says, but none the less their land was being wasted and numbers of their people were perishing—because they knew that the Achaeans were in the wrong and that Paris had done nothing improper. If this had not been the case, would any of them, would any of the brothers or the father have endured it while their fellow-countrymen perished and the city was in danger of total destruction on account of Paris' lawless act, when by the surrender of Helen they might have saved themselves? Yet according to the story, they even afterwards upon the death of Paris kept her and married her to Deïphobus,<sup>1</sup> as though it were a very great boon to have her in the city and they feared she might desert them. And yet if at first it was for love of Paris that she stayed in Troy, why did she consent to stay on unless, as the story goes, she came to love Deïphobus too? For the Trojans in all probability could have been induced to surrender her, since they were ready to do that. If she, however, had reason to fear the Achaeans, it would only have been necessary to arrive at terms of peace first. Indeed, the Achaeans would have been glad to get out of the war, since they had lost many of their best men. Enough!

<sup>1</sup> A son of Priam.

ἀληθές τὸ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς οὐδὲ παρέσχον αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου οἱ Τρῶες, ὅθεν εὐέλπιδες ἦσαν περιγενέσθαι. οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι ἐν οἷς ἂν ἀδικῶνται μέχρις ἐσχάτου ὑπομένουσιν ἀμυνόμενοι.

- 68 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μὴ ἄλλως νόμιζε πραχθῆναι ἢ ὥς ἐγὼ λέγω. πολὺ γὰρ πιστότερον ἐκόντα Τυνδάρεω κηδεῦσαι τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ Μενέλεω τῆς μνηστείας ἀπελπίσαντα βαρέως ἐνεγκεῖν, καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονα φοβηθῆναι τοὺς Πριάμίδας μὴ κατάσχωσι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀκούοντα καὶ Πέλοπα τὸν αὐτοῦ πρόγονον, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὄντα χώρας, διὰ τὸ κῆδος τὸ Οἰνομάου τὴν Πελοπόννησον κατασχεῖν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας συνάρασθαι τοῦ πολέμου, μνησικακοῦντας ὅτι αὐτὸς ἕκαστος οὐκ ἔγνημεν, ἢ ἐρασθῆναι μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ἧς ἡγνῶει γυναικός, ἐπιτρέψαι δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν πατέρα πλεῦσαι τοιαύτης ἔνεκα πράξεως, καὶ ταῦτα, ὥς φασιν, οὐ πάλαι τῆς Τροίας ἀλούσης ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Λαομέδοντος
- 69 ἀποθανόντος· ὕστερον δὲ πολεμουμένους καὶ τοσαῦτα κακὰ πάσχοντας μὴ θέλειν ἐκδοῦναι μήτε ζῶντος Ἀλεξάνδρου μήτε ἀποθανόντος, οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα ἔχοντας τῆς σωτηρίας· τὴν δὲ Ἑλένην ἐρασθῆναι μὲν ξένου ἀνδρός, ᾧ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκ εἰκὸς αὐτὴν ἐν ὁμιλίᾳ γενέσθαι, καταλιποῦσαν δὲ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα μετ' αἰσχύνης ἐλθεῖν εἰς ἀνθρώπους μισοῦντας· πάντα ταῦτα δὲ γιγνόμενα μηδένα

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

There was no truth in the tale of Helen's abduction, nor were the Trojans responsible for the war, and therefore they confidently expected victory. For men fight to the last ditch when they are being wronged.

"I assure you," the priest continued, "these things happened just as I have described them. For it is much more plausible that Tyndareus voluntarily formed a marriage alliance with the kings of Asia, that Menelaus was angered by having to give up his suit, that Agamemnon was alarmed lest the descendants of Priam should get control of Greece, hearing, as he did, that his own forefather, Pelops, who came from that same Asia, gained control of the Peloponnesus by his connection with Oenomaüs,<sup>1</sup> and that the remaining leaders took part in the war, each with revenge rankling in his heart because he had not been the accepted suitor—this, I say, is much more plausible than that Paris fell in love with a woman he did not know and that his father permitted him to sail on such an enterprise, although, according to the story, Troy had but recently been taken by the Greeks and Priam's father, Laomedon, slain; and that afterwards in spite of the war and their countless hardships the Trojans refused to surrender Helen either when Paris was living or after he died, although they had no hope for safety; much more reasonable than that Helen gave her affection to a stranger with whom she had probably never come in contact at all and shamefully abandoned her fatherland, relatives, and husband to come to a people who hated her. How incredible too that no one should

<sup>1</sup> He married Hippodameia, the daughter of Oenomaüs, and became king of Pisa in Elis.



κωλύσαι, καὶ<sup>1</sup> μήτε ἐξιούσαν αὐτήν, καὶ ταῦτα πεζῇ, ἕως θαλάττης μήτε ἀποπλεύσασάν διῶξαι, συνάρασθαι δὲ τοῦ στόλου τὴν Θησέως μητέρα πρεσβυτέραν καὶ δῆλον ὅτι μισοῦσαν τὴν Ἑλένην· ὕστερον δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήσαντος, οὐ λέγεται ἐρᾶν, Δηιφόβῳ συνεῖναι—καθάπερ οἶμαι καὶ κείνῳ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ὑποσχομένης—καὶ μήτε αὐτὴν ἐθέλειν ἀπιέναι παρὰ τὸν αὐτῆς ἄνδρα μήτε τοὺς Τρῶας ἀποδοῦναι τὴν Ἑλένην βία μέχρι ἀλῶναι τὴν πόλιν. τούτων οὐθὲν εἰκὸς οὐδὲ δυνατόν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τόδε πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις.

Τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἅπαντας Ἀχαιοὺς φησιν Ὅμηρος κοινωνῆσαι, οἷς ἦττον ἔμελε, τῆς δυνάμεως· Κάστορα δὲ καὶ Πολυδεύκην μόνους μὴ ἀφικέσθαι, τοὺς μάλιστα ὑβρισμένους. ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἄγνοιαν κρύπτων Ὅμηρος πεποίηκε θαυμάζουσιν τὴν Ἑλένην· ἔπειτα αὐτὸς ἀπελογήσατο, εἰπὼν ὅτι τεθνήκεσαν πρότερον. οὐκοῦν τό γε ζώντων αὐτὴν ἀρπασθῆναι δῆλόν ἐστιν. ἔπειτα Ἀγαμέμνονα περιέμενον δέκα ἔτη διατρίβοντα καὶ συνάγοντα στρατιάν, ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐθύς ἐδίωξαν τὴν ἀδελφὴν, μάλιστα μὲν εἰ κατὰ πλοῦν ἔλοιεν· εἰ δ' οὖν, ὥς πολεμήσουντες μετὰ τῆς αὐτῶν δυνάμεως; οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ Θησέα μὲν ἦλθον εὐθύς, ἄνδρα Ἑλληνα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄριστον, ἔτι δὲ αὐτόν τε πολλῶν ἄρχοντα καὶ Ἡρακλέους ἐταῖρον καὶ Πειρίθου καὶ Θετταλοὺς καὶ Βοιωτοὺς

<sup>1</sup> καὶ added by Reiske.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

have nipped all these doings in the bud, or sought to catch her while she was hurrying to the sea, and on foot too, or pursued after she had embarked, and that the mother of Theseus, an elderly woman, who certainly hated Helen, should have accompanied her on the journey. Afterwards too it is just as unlikely that on the death of Paris, whom they say Helen loved, she should have been the wife of Deiphobus—I suppose because Aphrodite had promised her to him also—and that not only she should have been unwilling to return to her husband, but that the Trojans should not have been unwilling, until their city was captured, to surrender her through compulsion. All that is improbable and indeed impossible. The same applies also to the following.

“According to Homer, all the other Greeks, in spite of the fact that they had but a secondary interest in the dispute, took part in the expedition, while Castor and Pollux, who had been most deeply injured, did not go. Homer in veiling this blunder has represented Helen as expressing her astonishment and then, made excuse for them himself by saying that they had died before this.<sup>1</sup> Hence it is evident that they were still living when she was carried off. And yet did they wait ten years for Agamemnon to waste time and muster an army instead of pursuing their sister at once in the hope of taking her on the voyage if possible, or else waging war with their own force if they failed? I cannot believe that they would have proceeded at once against Theseus, a man of Greek blood and peerless in valour, a ruler also of many and a comrade of Heracles and Peirithoüs with Thessalians and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Iliad* 3, 236 f.

- 75 μάτων τινὰ ἐπόρθουν. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος μετὰ τοῦ Ἑκτορος τὸν μὲν ὄχλον συνήγεν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐκ τῆς χώρας εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, τὰς δὲ μικρὰς πόλεις εἰς τὰς<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι πανταχοῦ βοηθεῖν. πάλιν δὲ καταπλεύσαντες εἰς τὸν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα νυκτὸς ἔλαθον ἀποβάντες, καὶ ναύσταθμον περιεβάλλοντο καὶ τάφρον ὠρυξαν φοβούμενοι τὸν Ἑκτορα καὶ τοὺς Τρῶας, καὶ μᾶλλον ὥς αὐτοὶ πολιορκησόμενοι παρεσκευάζοντο.
- 76 Οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα συγχωροῦσιν Ὀμήρῳ, τὸ δὲ τείχος οὐ φασιν αὐτὸν γενόμενον λέγειν, ὅτι πεποίηκεν ὕστερον Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ποσειδῶνα τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἐφίεντας ἐπ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἀφανίσαντας· ὃ πάντων πιθανώτατόν ἐστι, κατακλυσθῆναι τὰ θεμέλια τοῦ τείχους. ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν οἱ ποταμοὶ λιμνάζουσι τὸν τόπον καὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάττης προσκεχώκασι.<sup>2</sup>
- 77 Τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν χρόνον τὰ μὲν ἐποίουν κακῶς, τὰ δ' ἔπασχον, καὶ μάχαι μὲν οὐ πολλαὶ ἐγένοντο ἐκ παρατάξεως.<sup>3</sup> οὐ γὰρ ἐθάρρουν προσιέναι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν τῶν ἔνδοθεν· ἀκροβολισμοὶ δὲ καὶ κλωπεῖαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων· καὶ Τρωῖλος τε οὕτως ἀποθνήσκει παῖς ὢν ἔτι καὶ Μῆστωρ καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους. ἦν γὰρ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐνεδρεῦσαι δεινό-
- 78 τατος καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιθέσθαι. ὅθεν Αἰνεῖαν τε οὕτως ἐπελθὼν ὀλίγου ἀπέκτεινεν ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους κατὰ τὴν χώραν, καὶ τῶν φρουρίων ἦρει τὰ κακῶς φυλαττόμενα· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς γῆς ἐπεκράτουν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> τὰς added by Emperius.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

some of the towns, whereupon Paris and Hector brought all the country folk into the city, but left the small towns on the coast to their fate through inability to furnish help everywhere. The enemy then sailed back to the harbour of the Achaeans and landed under cover of darkness, built a wall about their ships, and dug a trench because they feared Hector and the Trojans, and made preparations as if it were they who expected a siege.

"Now while the Egyptians agree with Homer on the other points, they insist that he does not speak of the wall as having been finished, their reason being that he has represented Apollo and Poseidon as having at a later time sent the rivers against it and swept it away.<sup>1</sup> The most plausible explanation of all is that it was merely the foundations of the wall that were inundated. Indeed, even in our day the rivers still make a marsh of the place and have deposited silt far out into the sea.

"In the years that followed, the Greeks both did and suffered damage. However, not many pitched battles were fought, since they did not dare to approach the city because of the number and courage of the inhabitants. Skirmishes and forays there were on the part of the Greeks, and it was thus that Troilus, still a boy, perished, and Mestor and many others; for Achilles was very skilful in laying ambushes and making night attacks. In this way he almost caught and slew Aeneas upon Mount Ida and many others throughout the country, and he captured any forts that were poorly guarded. For the Achaeans had only a foothold for their camp and did not control

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 12. 17 ff.

<sup>2</sup> - ποταμοὶ ἔπειτα: Philomann: προκεχωρήκασιν.

<sup>3</sup> - ποταμοὶ ἔπειτα: παρατάξων.

- Ἀλέξανδρον μεμνημένον ἐν τῇ συνουσίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τὴν Ἑλένην, ὃ πάντων σαφέστατα ἔδει ῥηθῆναι καὶ μετὰ πλείστης σπουδῆς. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ
- 82 τὴν μονομαχίαν· οὐ γὰρ δυνάμενος εἰπεῖν ὥς ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὁ Μενέλαος, κενὰς αὐτῷ χαρίζεται χάριτας καὶ νίκην γελοίαν ὥς τοῦ ξίφους καταχθέντος. οὐ γὰρ ἦν τῷ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου χρήσασθαι, τοσοῦτόν γε κρείττονα ὄντα ὥς ἔλκειν αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ζῶντα μετὰ τῶν ὀπλων, ἀλλ' ἀπάγχειν ἔδει τῷ ἱμάντι ;
- 83 ψευδῆς δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Αἴαντος καὶ τοῦ Ἑκτορος μονομαχία καὶ πάννυ εὐήθης ἡ διάλυσις, πάλιν ἐκεῖ τοῦ Αἴαντος νικῶντος, πέρας δὲ οὐδέν, καὶ δῶρα δόντων ἀλλήλοις ὥσπερ φίλων.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἤδη τὴν αὐτὴν λέγει, τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἦτταν καὶ τροπὴν καὶ τὰς τοῦ Ἑκτορος ἀριστείας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολλυμένων, ὥσπερ ὑπέσχετο ἐρεῖν, τρόπον τινὰ ἄκων καὶ

84 ἀναφέρων εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως. καίτοι θεοφιλῇ γ' εἶναι τὴν πόλιν φησὶ καὶ Δία ἄντικρυς πεποίηκε λέγοντα πασῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον πόλεων τὸ Ἴλιον μάλιστα ἀγαπῆσαι καὶ τὸν Πρίαμον καὶ τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ. ἔπειτα ὀστράκου μεταπесόντος, φασί, τοσοῦτον μετέβαλεν ὥστε οἴκτιστα ἀνελεῖν τὴν ἀπασῶν προσφιλεστάτην δι' ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἁμαρτίαν, εἴπερ ἤμαρτεν. ὅμως δὲ οὐχ οἷός τέ ἐστιν ἀποκρύψαι τὰ τοῦ Ἑκτορος ἔργα νικῶντος καὶ διώκοντος μέχρι τῶν νεῶν καὶ πάντων αὐτὸν ἐκπεπληγ-

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 3. 438.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* 3. 371.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

himself as alluding to it in his interview with Helen,<sup>1</sup> although this fact should have been presented with especial clearness and the greatest care. A further exception is the account of the single combat. For since Homer cannot say that Menelaus slew Paris, he favours him with an empty honour and with a victory that is ridiculous by saying that his sword broke. Pray was it impossible for him to use Paris' sword—when he was at any rate strong enough to drag him alive to the Achaeans, armour and all—but did he have to choke him with the strap of his helmet? <sup>2</sup> The single combat between Ajax and Hector is also a pure fabrication, and its ending is very absurd. Here again Ajax conquers, but there is no finality, and the two make gifts to one another as if they were friends! <sup>3</sup>

“But immediately after this Homer gives the true account, telling of the defeat and rout of the Achaeans, Hector's mighty deeds, and the numbers of the slain, as he had promised to do, and yet with a certain reluctance and a desire to enhance Achilles' glory. Still he calls the city ‘beloved of the gods,’ and has Zeus say frankly that of all the cities beneath the sun he had loved Ilium best, and Priam and his people. Yet afterwards when the shell fell other side up,<sup>4</sup> as the expression is, he made such a complete *volte-face* as to destroy that most beloved of cities most miserably on account of one man's crime, if crime there was. However, Homer cannot ignore the story of Hector's exploits when he routed and pursued the enemy even to the ships, and all the bravest were

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 7. 181 f.

<sup>4</sup> Equivalent to “when heads became tails”; “when fortune shifted.” See note on p. 219.

- μένων τῶν ἀρίστων, ὅτε μὲν Ἄρει παραβάλλων αὐτόν, ὅτε δὲ φλογὶ λέγων τὴν ἀλκὴν ὁμοιον εἶναι, μηδενὸς δὲ ἀπλῶς ὑπομένοντος αὐτόν, τοῦ τε Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτῷ παρισταμένου καὶ τοῦ Διὸς ἄνωθεν ἐπισημαίνοντος ἀνέμῳ καὶ βροντῇ—
- 85 ταῦτα γὰρ οὐ βουλόμενος εἰπεῖν οὕτως ἐναργῶς, ὅμως ἐπεὶ ἀληθὴ ἦν, ἀρξάμενος αὐτῶν οὐ δύναται ἀποστήναι—τὴν τε νύκτα ἐκείνην τὴν χαλεπὴν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κατήφειαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐκπληξιν καὶ τὰς οἰμωγὰς, ἔτι δὲ τὴν νυκτερινὴν ἐκκλησίαν βουλευομένων ὅπως φύγοιεν, καὶ τὰς δεήσεις τὰς τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, εἴ τι δύναιτο ἐκεῖνος ἄρα ὠφελῆσαι.
- 86 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τῷ μὲν Ἀγαμέμνονι χαρίζεται τινα ἀριστείαν ἀνόνητον<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῷ Διομήδει καὶ τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ καὶ Εὐρυπύλῳ, καὶ τὸν Αἴαντά φησι μάχεσθαι προθύμως, εὐθύς δὲ τοὺς Τρῶας ἐπικρατῆσαι καὶ τὸν Ἑκτορα ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τὰς ναῦς. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν λέγων δῆλός ἐστιν ὅτι ἀληθὴ λέγει καὶ τὰ γινόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων προαγόμενος· ὅταν δὲ αὕξη τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, πολλῆς ἀπορίας μεστός ἐστι καὶ πᾶσι φανερόν ὅτι ψεύδεται· τὸν μὲν Αἴαντα δις κρατῆσαι τοῦ Ἑκτορος μάτην, ὅτε μὲν τῇ μονομαχίᾳ, πάλιν δὲ τῷ λίθῳ, τὸν δὲ Διομήδην τοῦ Αἰνείου, καὶ μηδὲ τούτου μηδὲν πράξαντος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἵππους
- 87 μόνον λαβόντος, ὅπερ ἦν ἀνεξέλεγκτον. οὐκ

<sup>1</sup> ἀνόνητον Valesius: ἀνόητον.

<sup>1</sup> See especially *Iliad* 15. 270 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* 9. 1 f.; 10. 1 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad* 9. 79 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Iliad* 11.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

terror-stricken at the sight of him. Now he compares him to Ares, and again he says that his strength is like that of fire and not a single one dares to confront him, while Apollo stands at his side and Zeus from above signals his approval with wind and thunder.<sup>1</sup> Homer is reluctant to state these things so frankly, yet since they are true, he cannot refrain when once he has started. Then there is that dreadful night of discouragement in the camp,<sup>2</sup> Agamemnon's panic fear and lamentation, that midnight council, too, at which they deliberated on the method of flight, and that appeal to Achilles in hope that he might find it possible after all to give them some aid.<sup>3</sup>

"For the following day Homer does grant some ineffectual display of prowess to Agamemnon,<sup>4</sup> and to Diomede, Odysseus, and Eurypylus,<sup>5</sup> and he says that Ajax did fight stoutly, but that the Trojans straightway gained the upper hand and Hector pursued them to the Achaean rampart and the ships.<sup>6</sup> In this part of his narrative he is also evidently telling the truth and what really occurred, carried away as he is by the facts themselves. But when he glorifies the Achaeans, he is terribly embarrassed, and anyone can see that he is dealing in fiction: when, for instance, he has Ajax conquer Hector twice, but both times without result, once in the single combat<sup>7</sup> and once again with the stone;<sup>8</sup> again when Diomede conquers Aeneas,<sup>9</sup> this time too without any result beyond merely capturing his horses, a statement that could not be disproved. So not knowing what

<sup>1</sup> See, however, *Iliad* 11. 575 f., where Eurypylus is wounded.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* 11. 1 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad* 14. 409 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Iliad* 7. 206 f.

<sup>9</sup> *Iliad* 5. 297 f.



ἔχων δὲ ὅ τι αὐτοῖς χαρίσεται τὸν Ἄρην καὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην φησὶ τρωθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ Διομήδους. ἐν οἷς ἅπασι δῆλός ἐστιν εὖνους μὲν ὦν ἐκείνοις καὶ βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς θαυμάζειν, οὐκ ἔχων δὲ ὅ τι εἴπῃ ἀληθές, διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν εἰς ἀδύνατα ἐμπίπτων καὶ ἀσεβῇ πράγματα, ὃ πάσχοιεν ὡς τὸ πολὺ πάντες ὅσοι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μάχονται.

- 88 Ἄλλ' οὐ περὶ τοῦ Ἑκτορος ὁμοίως ἀπορεῖ ὅ τι εἴπῃ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστόν, ὡς γε οἶμαι τὰ γενόμενα διηγούμενος· ἀλλὰ φεύγοντας μὲν προτροπάδην ἅπαντας καὶ κατ' ὄνομα τοὺς ἀρίστους, ὅταν φῇ μήτε Ἰδομενέα μένειν μήτε Ἀγαμέμνονα μήτε τοὺς δύο Αἴαντας, ἀλλὰ Νέστορα μόνον ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, καὶ τοῦτον ἀλῶναι παρ' ὀλίγον· ἐπιβοηθήσαντα δὲ τὸν Διομήδην καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον θρασυνόμενον, ἔπειτα εὐθύς ἀποστραφέντα φεύγειν, ὡς κεραυνῶν δῆθεν εἰργόντων
- 89 αὐτόν· τέλος δὲ τὴν τάφρου διαβαινομένην καὶ τὸ ναύσταθμον πολιορκούμενον καὶ ῥηγνυμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἑκτορος τὰς πύλας καὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἤδη κατειλημένους καὶ περὶ τὰς σκηνὰς πάντα τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὸν Αἴαντα ἄνωθεν μαχόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τέλος ἐκβληθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἑκτορος καὶ ἀναχωρήσαντα
- 90 καὶ τῶν νεῶν τινὰς ἐμπρησθείσας. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν Αἰνείας ὑπὸ Ἀφροδίτης ἀρπαζόμενος οὐδὲ Ἄρης ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς τιτρωσκόμενος οὐδὲ ἄλλο τοιοῦτον οὐθὲν ἀπίθανον, ἀλλὰ πράγματα ἀληθῆ καὶ ὅμοια γεγονόσι. μεθ' ἣν ἦτταν οὐκέτι ἦν ἀναμάχεσθαι δυνατὸν οὐδὲ θαρρήσαι ποτε τοὺς οὕτως ἀπειρηκότας ὡς μήτε ὑπὸ τῆς τάφρου

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

to credit the Achaeans with, he tells how Ares<sup>1</sup> and Aphrodite<sup>2</sup> were wounded by Diomede. In all such accounts it is clear that he is partial to the Achaeans and eager to extol them, but that, not knowing of anything to say that is true, he is led in his embarrassment to mention impossible and impious deeds—the usual experience of all who oppose the truth.

“In the case of Hector, however, he shows no such a loss for something great and splendid to say—because, I believe, he is telling of actual events. Nay, he says that all fled pell-mell, even the bravest, whose names he gives, that neither Idomeneus<sup>3</sup> stood his ground, nor Agamemnon, nor the two Ajaxes, but only Nestor, and he because he was forced to do so, and that he was almost captured; but that Diomede came to his relief, put on a bold front for a short time, then straightway wheeled about and fled—because, forsooth, some thunderbolts deterred him!<sup>4</sup> Finally, Homer tells how the trench was crossed, the ship-station besieged<sup>5</sup> and the gates broken down by Hector, how the Achaeans were now crowded into their ships and all the war centred around the huts, how Ajax fights above on the ships and is finally dislodged by Hector and retires,<sup>6</sup> while some of the ships are set on fire. For here there is no Aeneas snatched away by Aphrodite, no Ares wounded by a mortal, nor any other such incredible tales; nay, here are true events, and they resemble actual occurrences. After this defeat the men who had been so completely crushed could by no possibility have renewed the struggle or even regained courage so as to be helped

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 5. 846 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* 5. 330 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad* 8. 78 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Iliad* 8. 167 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Iliad* 8. 78 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Iliad* 16. 101 f.

μήτε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐρύματος ὠφεληθῆναι μηθὲν μήτε  
 91 αὐτὰς διαφυλάξαι τὰς ναῦς. ποία γὰρ ἔτι  
 τηλικαύτη δύναμις ἢ τίς οὕτως ἀνὴρ ἄμαχος  
 καὶ θεοῦ ῥώμην ἔχων, ὃς ἐπιφανεῖς ἐδύνατο  
 σῶσαι τοὺς ἀπολωλότας ἤδη; τὸ γὰρ τῶν  
 Μυρμιδόνων πλῆθος πόσον τι πρὸς τὴν σύμπα-  
 σαν ἦν στρατιάν; ἢ τὸ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως σθένος,<sup>1</sup>  
 οὐ δῆπου τότε πρῶτον μέλλοντος μάχεσθαι,  
 πολλάκις δὲ ἐν πολλοῖς τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἔτεσιν  
 εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθόντος, καὶ μήτε τὸν Ἑκτορα  
 ἀποκτείναντος μήτε ἄλλο μηθὲν εἰργασμένου  
 μέγα, εἰ μὴ γε<sup>2</sup> Τρωῖλον παῖδα ἔτι ὄντα τὴν  
 ἡλικίαν ἐλόντος;

92 Ἐνταῦθα δὲ γενόμενος Ὅμηρος οὐδὲν ἔτι  
 τάληθοὺς ἐφρόντισεν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπαν ἤκεν ἀναι-  
 σχυντίας καὶ πάντα τὰ πράγματα ἀπλῶς ἀνέ-  
 τρεψε καὶ μετέστησεν εἰς τοῦναντίον, καταπε-  
 φρονηκῶς μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι καὶ τᾶλλα  
 ἐώρα πάνυ ῥαδίως πειθομένους αὐτοὺς καὶ περὶ  
 τῶν θεῶν, οὐκ ὄντων δὲ ἐτέρων ποιητῶν οὐδὲ  
 συγγραφέων, παρ' οἷς ἐλέγετο τάληθές, ἀλλ'  
 αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἐπιθέμενος ὑπὲρ τούτων γράφειν,  
 γενεαῖς δὲ ὕστερον ξυνθεὶς πολλαῖς, τῶν εἰδόντων  
 αὐτὰ ἠφανισμένων καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἐκείνων,<sup>3</sup> ἀμαυρᾶς  
 δὲ καὶ ἀσθενοῦς ἔτι φήμης ἀπολειπομένης, ὥς  
 εἰκὸς περὶ τῶν σφόδρα παλαιῶν, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς  
 πολλοὺς καὶ ἰδιώτας μέλλων διηγεῖσθαι τὰ ἔπη,

<sup>1</sup> σθένος added by Arnim.

<sup>2</sup> εἰ μὴ γε Reiske: μήτε.

<sup>3</sup> ἔτι after ἐκείνων deleted by Reiske.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Iliad* 24. 257 f. Priam speaks of his son Troilus simply as having been slain in war. Other accounts, such

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

at all by the trench or the rampart, or even so as to save their ships. For where now was any such strength to be found or any hero so invincible and possessed of a god's might, that they who were already lost could have been saved by his appearance? How insignificant, for instance, was the number of the Myrmidons compared with that of the entire Trojan army!—or the strength of Achilles, who was certainly not going to fight then for the first time, but had time and again in the many years preceding engaged in conflict, and yet neither slain Hector nor performed any other great exploit beyond capturing Troilus,<sup>1</sup> who was still a boy in years!

“However, on reaching this point in his narrative Homer had no further concern for the truth but carried his shamelessness to extremes. He simply turned all the events topsy-turvy and reversed them, holding his hearers in contempt because he saw how easily they were duped in other matters, and particularly about the gods. Besides, there were no other poets or authors where one could read the truth, but he was the first who applied himself to the recording of these events, though he composed his poem many generations after the actual occurrences, when those who had known the facts had passed away along with their descendants, and only an obscure and uncertain tradition survived, as is to be expected in the case of events that have occurred in the distant past. Moreover, he intended to recite his epics to the masses and the common people, at

as that in Virgil, *Aeneid* 1. 474 f., credit Achilles with his death. Tzetzes *ad Lyc.* 307 says that Achilles pursued him into the temple of Thymbraean Apollo and there slew him.

καὶ ταῦτα βελτίω ποιῶν τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὥς  
 93 μὴδὲ τοὺς γινώσκοντας ἐξελέγχειν. οὕτως δὴ  
 ἐτόλμησε τὰναντία τοῖς γενομένοις ποιῆσαι.

Τοῦ γὰρ Ἀχιλλέως ἐπιβοηθήσαντος ἐν τῇ κα-  
 ταλήψει τῶν νεῶν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τὸ πλεόν καὶ τῆς  
 αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας ἕνεκεν, τροπὴν μὲν τινα γενέ-  
 σθαι τῶν Τρώων καὶ ἀναχωρῆσαι παραχρῆμα  
 ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ σβεσθῆναι τὸ πῦρ,  
 ἅτε ἐξαπίνης ἐπιπεσόντος τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, καὶ  
 τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἀποχωρεῖν καὶ τὸν Ἑκτορα  
 ὑπάγειν αὐτὸν ἔξω τῆς τάφρου καὶ τῆς περὶ  
 τὸ στρατόπεδον στενοχωρίας, σχέδην<sup>1</sup> δὲ καὶ  
 ἐφιστάμενον, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς φησιν Ὅμηρος.  
 94 συμπεσόντων δὲ καὶ μαχομένων πάλιν, τὸν  
 Ἀχιλλέα κάλλιστα ἀγωνίσασθαι μετὰ τῶν  
 αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποκτεῖναι τῶν Τρώων καὶ  
 τῶν ἐπικούρων, ἄλλους<sup>2</sup> τε καὶ τὸν Σαρπηδόνα  
 τὸν τοῦ Διὸς υἱὸν λεγόμενον εἶναι, βασιλέα  
 Λυκίων· καὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ διάβασιν  
 ἀποχωρούντων<sup>3</sup> γενέσθαι φόνον πολύν, οὐ μέντοι  
 προτροπάδην φεύγειν αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς ἐκά-  
 στοτε ὑποστροφὰς γίγνεσθαι.

95 Τὸν δὲ Ἑκτορα ἐν τούτῳ παραφυλάττειν,  
 ἐμπειρότατον ὄντα καιρὸν μάχης ξυνεῖναι, καὶ  
 μέχρι μὲν ἤκμαζεν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς καὶ νεαλὴς ὢν  
 ἐμάχετο, μὴ ξυμφέρεσθαι αὐτῷ, μόνον δὲ τοὺς  
 ἄλλους παρακαλεῖν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἡσθάνετο κάμνοντα  
 ἤδη καὶ πολὺ τῆς πρότερον ὑφεικότα ὀρμῆς,  
 ἅτε οὐ ταμειυσάμενον ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι, καὶ ὑπὸ  
 τοῦ ποταμοῦ κοπωθέντα μείζονος ἐρρηγκότος καὶ

<sup>1</sup> σχέδην Jacobs: σχεδόν.

<sup>2</sup> ἄλλους Reiske: ἄλλως.

<sup>3</sup> ἀποχωρούντων Rhodemann: ἀποχωρόντα.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

the same time overstating the achievements of the Greeks, so that even the wiser persons would not refute him. Thus it was that he went so far as to represent the opposite of what actually occurred.

"For instance, when Achilles came to their aid during the assault on the ships, of necessity for the most part and to save his own skin, there was," so the Egyptian claimed, "a partial rout of the Trojans, who withdrew from the ships forthwith, and the fire was quenched because Achilles had fallen upon them by surprise; and, in addition to the general retreat, Hector himself withdrew beyond the trench and the narrow space about the encampment, stoutly contesting each step, however, as Homer himself admits.<sup>1</sup> Then when they clashed and engaged again, Achilles and his followers fought most brilliantly and slew great numbers of the Trojans and their allies, notably Sarpedon, king of the Lycians and a reputed child of Zeus;<sup>2</sup> and at the river ford there was a great slaughter of the fleeing Trojans,<sup>3</sup> not fleeing in headlong confusion, however, but repeatedly turning to make a stand.

"Meanwhile Hector, experienced as he was in discerning the critical moment in a fight, kept on his guard, and as long as Achilles possessed his full strength and fought with youthful vigour, avoided him, contenting himself with cheering the others on. But later he noticed that Achilles was at last growing fatigued and had lost a great measure of his original impetus because he had not spared his strength in the struggle, and that he was exhausted by his reckless plunge into the river, swollen beyond

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 16. 303 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* 16. 481 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad* 21. 1 ff.

ἀπείρως διαβαίνοντα, καὶ ὑπὸ τε Ἀστεροπαίου τοῦ Παίονος<sup>1</sup> τετρωμένον, Αἰνείαν τε συστάντα αὐτῷ καὶ μαχεσάμενον ἐπὶ πλέον, ὁπότε δὲ ἐβουλήθη ἀσφαλῶς ἀποχωρήσαντα, Ἀγήνορα<sup>2</sup> δὲ οὐ καταλαβόντα ὁρμήσαντα διώκειν· καίτοι τούτῳ μάλιστα προεῖχεν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ὅτι ἐδόκει  
 96 τάχιστος εἶναι· καταφανὴς οὖν ἐγεγόνει αὐτῷ διὰ τούτων ἀπάντων εὐάλωτος ὢν, ἅτε δεινῷ τὴν πολεμικὴν τέχνην· ὥστε θαρρῶν ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ κατὰ μέσον τὸ πεδίον. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐνέκλινεν ὡς φεύγων, ἀποπειρώμενος αὐτοῦ, ἅμα δὲ κοπῶσαι βουλόμενος, ὅτε μὲν περιμένων, ὅτε δὲ ἀποφεύγων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα βραδύνοντα καὶ ἀπολειπόμενον, οὕτως ὑποστρέψας αὐτὸς ἦκεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν οὐδὲ τὰ ὅπλα φέρειν ἔτι δυνάμενον, καὶ συμβαλὼν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τῶν ὅπλων ἐκράτησεν, ὡς καὶ τοῦτο Ὅμηρος εἶρηκε. τοὺς δὲ ἵππους διῶξαι μὲν φησι τὸν Ἑκτορα, οὐ λαβεῖν  
 97 δέ, κακείνων ἀλόντων. τὸ μὲν οὖν σῶμα μόλις διέσωσαν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς οἱ Αἴαντες· οἱ γὰρ Τρῶες ἤδη θαρροῦντες καὶ νικᾶν νομίζοντες μαλακώτερον ἐφείποντο· ὁ δὲ Ἑκτωρ ἐνδυσάμενος τὰ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ὅπλα ἐπίσημα ὄντα ἔκτεινέ τε καὶ ἐδίωκε· μέχρι τῆς θαλάττης, ὡς ὁμολογεῖ ταῦτα Ὅμηρος. νῦν δὲ ἐπιγενομένη ἀφείλετο μὴ πάσας ἐμπρῆσαι τὰς ναῦς.

Τούτων δὲ οὕτως γενομένων, οὐκ ἔχων ὅπως κρύψῃ τὰληθές, Πάτροκλον εἶναί φησι τὸν ἐπ-

<sup>1</sup> ἑώρα after Παίονος bracketed by Arnim.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀγήνορα Reiske from *Iliad* 21. 545: Ἀντήνορα.

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 21. 165 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* 21. 544 f.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

its wont, and had been wounded by Asteropaeus,<sup>1</sup> the son of Paeon. Then he saw, too, that Aeneas had engaged Achilles and, after a prolonged fight, had come off in safety at the moment he desired, and that the latter, rushing in pursuit of Agenor,<sup>2</sup> had not been able to overtake him—and yet it was in this very point that Achilles chiefly excelled, in that he was reckoned the swiftest of foot. And so it had become clear to Hector, a master in the art of war, that in view of all these conditions Achilles was an easy prey. Accordingly he boldly confronted him in the open plain. At first he gave way as if in open flight, but with the real purpose of testing him and, at the same time, wearying him by now making a stand and now fleeing. Then when he noted that he lagged and fell behind, he himself turned and fell upon Achilles, who was no longer able even to support his arms. He gave him battle, slew him, and, just as Homer has told it,<sup>3</sup> possessed himself of his arms. He pursued the horses of Achilles too," said the Egyptian priest, "but he did not bring them in though they too were caught. The two Ajaxes with great difficulty managed to bring back the body of Achilles to the ships; for the Trojans, now feeling relieved and believing that they were victorious, were pressing on with less energy; while Hector, after donning the emblazoned arms of Achilles, continued the slaughter and pressed on in pursuit to the sea, just as Homer admits. Night fell, however, and prevented the burning of all the ships.

"Yet in the face of these facts, Homer, finding it impossible to conceal the truth, says it was Patroclus

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad* 17. 75 f.



- ἐξελθόντα μετὰ τῶν Μυρμιδόνων, ἀναλαμβάνοντα  
 τὰ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ὅπλα, καὶ τοῦτον ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 Ἑκτορος ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ τὸν Ἑκτορα τῶν ὅπλων  
 98 οὕτως κρατῆσαι. καίτοι πῶς ἂν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς  
 ἐν τοσούτῳ κινδύνῳ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὄντος καὶ  
 τῶν νεῶν ἤδη καιομένων καὶ ὅσον οὐπω ἐπ'  
 αὐτὸν ἦκουτος τοῦ δεινοῦ, καὶ τὸν Ἑκτορα ἀκούων  
 ὅτι φησὶ μηδένα αὐτῷ ἀξιόμαχον εἶναι καὶ τὸν  
 Δία βοηθεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ δεξιὰ σημεῖα φαίνειν, εἴ  
 γε ἐβούλετο σῶσαι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, αὐτὸς μὲν  
 ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ἔμενεν ἄριστος ὢν μάχεσθαι, τὸν  
 δὲ πολὺ χείρονα αὐτοῦ ἔπεμπε; καὶ ἅμα μὲν  
 παρήγγελλεν ἐμπεσεῖν ἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι  
 τοὺς Τρῶας, ἅμα δὲ τῷ Ἑκτορι μὴ μάχεσθαι;  
 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ ἦν οἶμαι προελθόντι γε  
 99 ἅπαξ ὅτῳ ἐβούλετο μάχεσθαι. οὕτως δὲ ὑπο-  
 καταφρονῶν τοῦ Πατρόκλου καὶ ἀπιστῶν αὐτῷ,  
 τὴν δύναμιν ἐπέτρεπεν<sup>1</sup> ἐκείνῳ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τὰ  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἵππους, ὥς ἂν κάκιστά τις  
 βουλεύσαιτο περὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ, πάντα ἀπολέσαι  
 βουλόμενος; ἔπειτα ἠὔχετο τῷ Διὶ ὑποστρέψαι  
 τὸν Πάτροκλον μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἀπάντων καὶ  
 τῶν ἐταίρων, οὕτως ἀνοήτως πέμπων αὐτὸν πρὸς  
 ἄνδρα κρείττονα, ᾧ προκαλουμένῳ τοὺς ἀρίστους  
 100 οὐδεὶς ὑπακούσαι ἤθελεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων ἀν-  
 τικρυς ἔφη καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα φοβεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ  
 βούλεσθαι συμβαλεῖν ἐκείνῳ; τοιγαροῦν οὕτω  
 βουλευσάμενον αὐτὸν λέγει<sup>2</sup> τοῦ τε ἐταίρου  
 στερηθῆναι καὶ πολλῶν ἐτέρων, ὀλίγου δὲ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἐπέτρεπεν Arnim: ἐπιτρέπειν.<sup>2</sup> λέγει Selden: λέγειν.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

who attacked with the Myrmidons after taking Achilles' arms, that it was he who was slain by Hector, and that Hector in this manner won the arms. And yet when the army was beset with so great peril, when the ships were now ablaze, and danger was almost at his own doors, how was it possible for Achilles, hearing that Hector declared he had found no foeman worthy of his steel and that Zeus was helping him and showing him signs of his favour, to remain in his tent, great champion that he was, if he really desired the salvation of the Achaeans, and to send a hero much his inferior and exhort him to lay on manfully and beat back the Trojans, only not to engage with Hector? <sup>1</sup> For it was quite impossible, I imagine, for Patroclus to choose with whom he would fight when once he had set forth. But although he had such a poor opinion of Patroclus and distrusted him, <sup>2</sup> did Achilles entrust his force to him, and his own weapons and horses, an insane course which no one would adopt regarding his own interests unless he wished to ruin everything? Then did he pray Zeus to bring back Patroclus with all his arms and comrades, while sending him forth so foolishly against a mightier man whose challenge to the bravest no one was willing to accept, and whom Agamemnon declared frankly even Achilles so feared that he shrank from encountering him? <sup>3</sup> Consequently, after making this plan, he lost, as Homer admits, both his comrade and many other men, while he almost lost his horses too, and did

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 18. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Not in harmony with passages like *Iliad* 18. 316 f.; 19. 304 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad* 7. 113.

τῶν ἵππων καὶ ἄοπλον γενέσθαι. ἂ οὐδέποτ' ἂν ἐποίησεν Ἀχιλλεὺς μὴ γε<sup>1</sup> ἀπόπληκτος ὢν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πάντως ἂν αὐτὸν ἐκώλυσε Φοῖνιξ.

Ἄλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἐβούλετο, φησί, ταχέως ἀπαλλάξαι τοῦ κινδύνου τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, ἕως ἂν λάβῃ τὰ δῶρα, καὶ ἅμα οὐδέπω τῆς ὀργῆς ἐπέπαυτο.

- 101 καὶ τί ἦν ἐμποδὼν αὐτὸν προελθόντα ἐφ' ὅσον ἐβούλετο πάλιν μηνίειν; ξυνεῖς δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀλογίας αἰνίττεται διὰ πρόρρησιν τινα μένειν αὐτόν, ὡς, εἰ ἐξῆι, πάντως ἀποθανούμενον, ἄντικρυς αὐτοῦ κατηγορῶν δειλίαν· καίτοι ἐξῆν αὐτῷ διὰ ταύτην τὴν πρόρρησιν ἀποπλεῦσαι διενεχθέντα πρὸς τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα. οὐ μέντοι ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Πατρόκλου ἐτύγχανεν ἀκηκοὼς τῆς μητρός, ὃν φησιν ἐν ἴσῳ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῇ τιμᾶν καὶ μηδὲ αὐτὸς ἔτι βούλεσθαι
- 102 ζῆν ἐκείνου ἀποθανόντος. ὡς δὲ ἑώρα αὐτὸν οὐ δυνάμενον βαστάσαι τὸ δόρυ τὰ ἄλλα ἐδίδου δῆλον ὅτι προσεικότα τῷ δόρατι, καὶ οὐκ ἐφοβεῖτο μὴ οὐ δύνηται φέρειν αὐτά· ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ φησι συμβῆναι περὶ τὰς μάχας.

Ἄλλὰ γὰρ εἴ τις ἅπαντα ἐλέγχοι, πολὺ ἂν ἔργον εἴη. τὸ γὰρ ψεῦδος ἐξ αὐτοῦ φανερόν ἐστι τοῖς προσέχουσιν· ὥστε οὐδενὶ ἄδηλον καὶ τῶν ὀλίγων νοῦν ἔχόντων ὅτι σχεδὸν ὑπόβλητός ἐστιν ὁ Πάτροκλος καὶ τοῦτον ἀντήλλαξεν

<sup>1</sup> μὴ γε Emperius: μηδέ.

<sup>1</sup> Achilles' tutor.

<sup>2</sup> See *Iliad*. 16. 49 f. Achilles refused to fight until he received back the maiden Briseis, whom Agamemnon had taken from him.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

lose his arms. Now Achilles would never have done such things unless he was out of his senses, and if this had been the case, Phoenix<sup>1</sup> would certainly have restrained him.

"But, says Homer, Achilles did not wish to free the Achaeans from their peril speedily, not until he should receive his gifts.<sup>2</sup> Besides, he had not yet given over his anger. But what was there to prevent his coming forth and then nursing his wrath as long as he wished? Homer is aware of this inconsistency and hints that he tarried in his tent on account of a certain prophecy that declared he would surely die if he went out, thus laying the charge of cowardice squarely at his door. And yet on the strength of this prophecy he might have withdrawn from the expedition after his quarrel with Agamemnon. But what is more to the point, it happens that he had heard the warning which his mother gave with reference to Patroclus,<sup>3</sup> whom he declares<sup>4</sup> he loves as his own soul and after whose death he would wish to live no longer. Yet when he saw him unable to lift the spear, he gave him the other things that were evidently proportionate in weight to the spear and did not fear that he would be unable to carry them. And this is just what Homer says did happen in the battle.

"But it would be a long task to show up every misstatement. To any careful observer the falsehoods are self-evident, so much so that anyone with half a mind can see that Patroclus is little more than a counterfeit that Homer has substituted for

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps a reference to some prophecy regarding Patroclus' death to be followed by his own; cf. *Iliad* 8. 473 ff., where Zeus speaks.

<sup>4</sup> *Iliad* 18 80 ff.

Ομηρος τοῦ<sup>1</sup> Ἀχιλλέως, βουλόμενος τὸ κατ' ἐκείνον κρύψαι.

- 103 Ὑφορώμενος δὲ μή τις ἄρα καὶ τοῦ Πατρόκλου ζητῇ τάφον—ὥσπερ οἶμαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀριστέων τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν Τροίᾳ φανεροί εἰσιν οἱ τάφοι—διὰ τοῦτο προκαταλαμβάνων οὐκ ἔφη τάφον αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι καθ' αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως τεθῆναι. καὶ Νέστωρ μὲν οὐκ ἠξίωσε μετ' Ἀντιλόχου ταφῆναι δι' αὐτὸν ἀποθανόντος, οἷκαδε τὰ ὁστῶ κομίσας· τὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ὁστῶ ἀνεμίχθη τοῖς τοῦ Πατρόκλου;

- Μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ἐβούλετο Ὀμηρος ἀφανίσαι τὴν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως τελευτὴν ὥς οὐκ ἀποθανόντος  
104 ἐν Ἰλίῳ. τοῦτο δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀδύνατον ἑώρα, τῆς φήμης ἐπικρατούσης καὶ τοῦ τάφου δεικνυμένου, τό γε<sup>2</sup> ὑφ' Ἑκτορος αὐτὸν ἀποθανεῖν ἀφείλετο καὶ τοῦναντίον ἐκείνον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἀναιρεθῆναι φησιν, ὃς τοσοῦτον ὑπερεῖχε τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων καὶ προσέτι αἰκισθῆναι τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ συρῆναι μέχρι τῶν τειχῶν. πάλιν δὲ εἰδὼς τάφον ὄντα τοῦ Ἑκτορος καὶ τιμώμενον αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀποδοθῆναι αὐτὸν λέγει κελεύσαντος τοῦ Διὸς λύτρων δο-  
105 θέντων, τέως δὲ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τοῦ διαμεῖναι τὸν νεκρὸν. οὐκ ἔχων δὲ ὅ τι ποιήσῃ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, ἐπεὶ ἔδει

<sup>1</sup> ἀντήλλαξεν Ὀμηρος τοῦ Emperius: ἀπήλλαξεν Ὀμηρος διὰ.

<sup>2</sup> γε Reiske: τε.

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 23. 243 f.

<sup>2</sup> According to the *Odyssey* 24. 76 f., Antilochus seems to have been buried near Achilles and Patroclus.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

Achilles in his eagerness to conceal the truth concerning that hero.

"Then Homer had a misgiving that there might actually be some search for the tomb of Patroclus also—it would naturally be, I suppose, clearly marked just as are the tombs of the other chieftains also who were slain at Troy—so, safeguarding himself against this, he says that Patroclus had no separate tomb but was buried with Achilles.<sup>1</sup> Again, Nestor, who brought back the bones of Antilochus with him from Troy,<sup>2</sup> did not ask to be buried with him, although Antilochus died for him,<sup>3</sup> but the ashes of Achilles were mingled with those of Patroclus.

"Now it was Homer's especial aim to throw a veil over the death of Achilles and create the impression that he did not die at Troy; but seeing the impossibility of this, since the tradition prevailed and his tomb was being pointed out, Homer, suppressing the account of his death by Hector's hand, makes the contrary statement that the latter, who was so far superior to all other men, was slain by Achilles, adding that his corpse was dishonoured and dragged as far as the walls.<sup>4</sup> Knowing, too, that there was a tomb of Hector where he was honoured by the citizens, Homer goes on to say that his body was returned by command of Zeus upon payment of a ransom, Aphrodite and Apollo having in the meanwhile cared for its preservation.<sup>5</sup> But not knowing what disposition to make of Achilles—for he must

<sup>1</sup> See Pindar, *Pythian Odes* 6. 28 f., where Antilochus is said to have died for his father, and § 116 in this Discourse.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* 22. 395 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad* 23. 184 f.

αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Τρώων τινὸς ἀνηρῆσθαι—οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τοῦτον ἔμελλεν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν Αἴαντα, ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀποθανόντα ποιεῖν, φθονῶν τῆς δόξης τῷ ἀνελόντι—τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον φησιν ἀποκτείνειν αὐτόν, ὃν πεποίηκε τῶν Τρώων κάκιστον καὶ δειλότατον καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μενελάου μικροῦ δεῖν ζωγρηθέντα, ὃν λοιδορούμενον αἰεὶ πεποίηκεν, ὥς<sup>1</sup> μαλθακὸν αἰχμητὴν καὶ ἐπονείδιστον ἐν  
 106 τοῖς Ἕλλησι, ἵνα δὴ τοῦ Ἑκτορος τὴν δόξαν ἀφέλοιτο—καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα φαίνεται καθηρηκῶς—πολὺ<sup>2</sup> χεῖρω καὶ ἀδοξότερον αὐτοῦ ποιήσας τὸν θάνατον.

Τέλος δὲ προάγει ἤδη τεθνηκότα τὸν Ἀχιλλέα καὶ ποιεῖ μαχόμενον· οὐκ ὄντων δὲ ὄπλων, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Ἑκτορος ἔχοντος—ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ<sup>3</sup> ἔλαθεν αὐτὸν ἐν τι τῶν ἀληθῶν ῥηθέν—ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φησι κομίσαι τὴν Θέτιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου γενόμενα ὄπλα· καὶ οὕτως δὴ γελοίως τὸν Ἀχιλλέα μόνον τρεπόμενον τοὺς Τρῶας, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἀχαιῶν, ὥσπερ οὐδενὸς παρόντος, ἀπάντων ἐπελάθετο· ἅπαξ δὲ τολμήσας τοῦτο ψεύσασθαι πάντα συνέχεε. καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖ  
 107 μαχομένους ἀλλήλοις, σχεδὸν ὁμολογῶν ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτῷ μέλει ἀληθείας. πάννυ δὲ ἀσθενῶς καὶ ἀπιθάνως τὴν ἀριστείαν διελθών, ὅτε μὲν ποταμῷ μαχόμενον αὐτόν, ὅτε δὲ ἀπειλοῦντα

<sup>1</sup> ὡς Morel: οὕτως.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ before πολὺ deleted by Geel.

<sup>3</sup> γὰρ added by Emperius.

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 3. 369 f.

<sup>2</sup> According to §§ 96 and 102 it was Achilles and not Patroclus that was slain.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

have been slain by some one of the Trojans, since Homer had no idea of representing him as dying by his own hand as he did Ajax, thereby denying his slayer the glory of the deed—Homer says that Paris slew him, Paris, whom he has depicted as the most base and cowardly of the Trojans, and as having been almost captured alive by Menelaus,<sup>1</sup> whom he has depicted as being always reviled as a faint-hearted spearman and a name of reproach among the Greeks; and he does this, we see, in order to steal the glory from Hector—who undoubtedly slew Achilles—thus making the hero's end much less creditable than it really was and much more inglorious.

“Finally, he brings forth Achilles, who was in fact already slain,<sup>2</sup> and has him do battle with the Trojans. But his arms are not at hand but are in Hector's possession—for here Homer did permit one truth to escape his lips—and so he says that Thetis brought from heaven the arms made by Hephaestus,<sup>3</sup> letting Achilles in this way, forsooth, rout the Trojans single-handed—a ridiculous conception, wherein Homer has ignored all the other Achaeans as though not a single man were available.<sup>4</sup> And having once given himself the liberty of making this misrepresentation, he went on to distort the entire story. At this point he makes the gods fight with one another,<sup>5</sup> thus virtually acknowledging his utter disregard for the truth. Moreover, he recounts Achilles' heroic deeds in a manner very weak and unconvincing. Now the hero is fighting with a river,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 19. 1 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* 20. 490 f.; 21. 1 f., 526 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad*. 21. 385 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Iliad* 21. 211 f.



- Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ διώκοντα αὐτόν· ἐξ ὧν ἀπάντων ἰδεῖν ἔστι τὴν ἀπορίαν αὐτοῦ σχεδόν· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς ἀληθέσιν οὕτως ἀπίθανος οὐδὲ ἀηδής· μόλις ποτὲ τῶν Τρώων εἰς τὴν πόλιν φευγόντων, τὸν Ἑκτορα πεποίηκε πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀνδρειότατα ὑπομένοντα αὐτόν καὶ μήτε τῷ πατρὶ δεομένῳ μήτε τῇ μητρὶ πειθόμενον, ἔπειτα φεύγοντα κύκλῳ τῆς πόλεως, ἐξὸν εἰσελθεῖν, καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, τάχιστον ἀνθρώπων αἰεὶ ποτε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεγόμενον, οὐ δυνάμενον
- 108 καταλαβεῖν. τοὺς δὲ Ἀχαιοὺς ὁρᾷν ἅπαντας ὥσπερ ἐπὶ θέαν παρόντας καὶ μηδένα βοηθεῖν τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ, τοιαῦτα πεπονθότας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἑκτορος καὶ μισοῦντας αὐτόν ὥστε καὶ νεκρὸν τιτρώσκειν. ἔπειτα Δηίφοβον ἐξελθόντα τοῦ τείχους, μᾶλλον δὲ Ἀθηναίων παραλογίσασθαι αὐτόν, εἰκασθεῖσαν Δηϊφόβῳ, καὶ τὸ δόρυ κλέψαι τὸ τοῦ Ἑκτορος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, οὐδὲ ὅπως ἀποκτείνῃ τὸν Ἑκτορα εὐρίσκων,<sup>1</sup> τρόπον τινα ἱλιγγιῶν περὶ τὸ ψεῦδος καὶ τῷ ὄντι ὡς ἐν ὀνειράτι μάχην διηγούμενος. μάλιστα γοῦν προσέεικε τοῖς ἀτόποις ἐνυπνίοις τὰ περὶ τὴν μάχην ἐκείνην.
- 109 Εἰς τοῦτ' οὖν δὲ προελθὼν ἀπέειπε λοιπόν, οὐκ ἔχων ὃ τι χρήσεται τῇ ποιήσῃ καὶ τοῖς ψεύσμασι δυσχεραίνων, ἀγῶνά τινα προσθεὶς ἐπιτάφιον, καὶ τοῦτο πάνυ γελοῖως, καὶ τὴν<sup>2</sup> Πριάμου βασιλέως εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἄφιξιν παρὰ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, μηδενὸς αἰσθομένου τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ τὰ λύτρα τοῦ Ἑκτορος. καὶ οὕτε

<sup>1</sup> εὐρίσκων Selden: εὐρίσκειν.

<sup>2</sup> τὴν Emperius: τοῦ.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

now threatening Apollo and pursuing him,<sup>1</sup> the entire narrative at this point showing how well-nigh desperate the poet was. For when he is telling the truth, he is not so unconvincing or dull. Once when the Trojans were hard bested to withdraw safely into the city, Homer has represented the splendid heroism with which Hector awaited Achilles outside the city walls, deaf to the prayers of father and mother. Then he circles the city in flight when he might have entered it, and Achilles is unable to catch him,<sup>2</sup> though he is always represented by Homer as the swiftest of men. Meanwhile all the Achaeans were looking on as if attending a show, and none rendered Achilles any help after all they had suffered at Hector's hands and though they so hated him that they afterwards even wounded his dead body. Then he makes Deïphobus come forth from the walls—or, rather, Athena in his guise—and deceive Hector and steal his spear from him in the duel,<sup>3</sup> the poet being at his wits' end how to despatch Hector, and dazed as it were by his falsehood, so that he actually describes the fight as if in a dream. At any rate the account of that struggle bears the closest resemblance to a nightmare.

“When he reached this point, Homer gave up, not knowing how to continue his work and being dissatisfied with his falsehoods. He merely added some sort of funeral games,<sup>4</sup> a perfectly ridiculous thing, then the arrival of king Priam in the Greek camp at the tent of Achilles without the knowledge of any of the Achaeans, and the ransom of Hector.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 21. 599 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* 22. 21 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Iliad* 22. 289 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Iliad* 23. 257 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Iliad* 24. 141 f.

- τὴν τοῦ Μένονος βοήθειαν οὔτε τὴν τῶν Ἀμαζόνων, οὔτως θαυμαστὰ καὶ μεγάλα, ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν, οὔτε τὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως θάνατον  
 110 οὔτε τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Τροίας. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπέμεινεν οἶμαι πάλαι τεθνηκότα τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ποιεῖν πάλιν ἀναιρούμενον, οὐδὲ νικῶντας τοὺς ἡττηθέντας καὶ φεύγοντας, οὐδὲ τὴν κρατήσασαν πόλιν ταύτην πορθουμένην. οἱ δὲ ὕστερον ἅτε ἐξηπατημένοι καὶ τοῦ ψεύδους ἰσχύοντος ἤδη θαρροῦντες ἔγραφον. τὰ δὲ πράγματα οὔτως ἔσχευ.
- 111 Ἀχιλλέως τελευτήσαντος ὑπὸ Ἑκτορος ἐν τῇ βοηθείᾳ τῶν νεῶν, οἱ μὲν Τρῶες, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, ἐπηυλίσθησαν ἐγγὺς τῶν νεῶν, ὡς φυλάξοντες τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς· ὑπώπτειον γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀποδράσασθαι<sup>1</sup> τῆς νυκτός· ὁ δὲ Ἑκτωρ ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν παρὰ τε τοὺς γονέας καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, χαίρων τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, ἐπὶ  
 112 τοῦ στρατεύματος καταλιπὼν Πάριν. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς τε καὶ τῶν Τρώων τὸ πλῆθος ἐκάθευδεν, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν κεκοπωμένους καὶ μηδὲν προσδεχομένους κακόν, ἔτι δὲ παντέλους εὐπραγίας οὔσης. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων μετὰ Νέστορος καὶ Ὀδυσσεώς καὶ Διομήδους βουλευσάμενος σιωπῇ καθείλκυσαν τῶν νεῶν τὰς πολλὰς, ὁρῶντες ὅτι καὶ τῇ προτεραίᾳ μικροῦ διεφθάρησαν, ὡς μηδὲ φυγὴν ἔτι εἶναι· καὶ μέρος οὐκ ὀλίγον ἦν ἐμπεπρησμένον αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ μία ναὺς ἡ Πρωτεσιλαίου· ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Χερρόνησον, τῶν αἰχμαλώτων πολλὰ καταλιπόντες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ὀλίγα κτημάτων.

<sup>1</sup> ἀποδράσασθαι Emperius: ἀποδράσαι.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

But of the help which Memnon and the Amazons brought, great and splendid episodes though they were, not a word did he venture to speak, nor of the death of Achilles, nor of the capture of Troy. Homer, methinks, did not have the heart to depict Achilles, who had long been dead, as being slain again, or the defeated and routed as victorious, or this conquering city as being sacked. Then later writers, because they were deceived and the falsehood was now generally accepted, henceforth wrote without misgiving. But the actual course of events was as I have given it.

“Now when Achilles, in his defence of the ships, had been slain by Hector, the Trojans, just as they had done before, bivouacked hard by the ships in order to keep watch on the Achaeans, who they suspected would flee during the night. But Hector, rejoicing in his success, withdrew into the city to be with his parents and wife, leaving Paris behind in command of the forces. He with the host of the Trojans lay down to rest, as was natural, since they were exhausted and suspected no evil and, moreover, had been completely successful. But meanwhile, after Agamemnon had taken counsel with Nestor, Odysseus, and Diomedes, they quietly launched the majority of the ships, realizing that on the preceding day they had come near being destroyed, so that even flight would not again be possible; and in fact a considerable part of the fleet had fallen prey to the flames, not merely the one ship of Protesilaus. Having launched their ships, therefore, they sailed off to the Chersonese, leaving behind many of their prisoners and a good deal of their other property.

- 113 Ἄμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ φανεροῦ γενομένου τοῦ πράγματος, ὃ μὲν Ἑκτωρ ἡγανάκτει καὶ βαρέως ἔφερε καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐλοιδόρει· τοὺς γὰρ πολεμίους αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἀφείναι· τὰς δὲ σκηναὺς ἐνέπρησαν οἱ Τρῶες καὶ διήρπαζον τὰ καταλειφθέντα. τοῖς δὲ Ἀχαιοῖς ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ βουλευομένοις—οὐ γὰρ εἶχον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἑκτορα ναυτικὸν ἔτοιμον ὥστε διαβαίνειν ἐπ' αὐτούς—ἐδόκει μὲν ἀπιέναι πᾶσι, πολλοῦ πλήθους ἀπολωλότος καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν· κίνδυνος δὲ ἦν μὴ ναῦς ποιησάμενοι παραχρῆμα ἐπιπλεύ-  
 114 σωσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν μένειν ὥσπερ κατ' ἀρχὰς ληστεύοντας, εἴ πως τῷ Πάριδι κάμνοντι διαλλάξειαν αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς φιλίαν πράξαντες ἀπέλθοιεν.<sup>1</sup> ὥς δὲ ἔκριναν ταῦτα, καὶ ἐποίουν πέραν μένοντες.

Κἀνταῦθα τοῖς Τρωσὶν ἐπῆλθον ἐκ μὲν Αἰθιοπίας Μένων, αἱ δὲ Ἀμαζόνες ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου βοηθοὶ καὶ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐπικούρων, ὡς εὐτυχούντας ἐπυνθάνοντο τὸν Πρίαμον καὶ τὸν Ἑκτορα καὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ὅσον οὐπω διεφθαρμένους πάντας, οἱ μὲν τινες κατ' εὐνοίαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ φόβῳ τῆς δυνάμεως· οὐ γὰρ τοῖς ἡττημένοις οὐδὲ τοῖς κακῶς πράττουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νικῶσι καὶ τοῖς περιγενομένοις ἀπάντων πάντες ἐθέλουσι βοηθεῖν.  
 115 μετεπέμψαντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ παρ' αὐτῶν εἴ τινα ἐδύναντο ὠφέλειαν· τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἔξωθεν<sup>2</sup> οὐδὲν οὐδεὶς ἔτι προσεῖχεν αὐτοῖς· ἀλλὰ Νεοπτόλεμόν τε τὸν Ἀχιλλέως κομιδῇ νέον ὄντα καὶ Φιλοκτήτην ὑπεροφθέντα πρότερον διὰ τὴν νόσον, καὶ τοιαύτας βοηθείας οἴκοθεν ἀσθενεῖς καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἀπέλθοιεν Oasaubon: ἀπελθεῖν. <sup>2</sup> ἔξωθεν Morel: ἔσωθεν.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

“In the morning when the fact became evident, Hector was filled with angry indignation and upbraided Paris for letting the enemy escape out of his hands. The Trojans then burned the huts and plundered what had been left behind, while the Achaeans, after taking counsel from their position of safety—for Hector and his people had no fleet at hand in which to cross over to attack them—unanimously decided to withdraw, since they had lost many of their people and their bravest warriors. There was the danger, however, that the Trojans might build themselves ships and sail at once against Greece. They were therefore obliged to remain and live by plundering as at first, in the hope of making peace with Paris when he became wearied, and departing after establishing friendly relations. They did as they had decided and remained across the water.

“At this juncture Memnon came from Ethiopia to aid the Trojans, and the Amazons from Pontus, as well as other allies in great numbers when they learned that Priam and Hector were successful and that the Achaeans now were all but utterly destroyed. Some came out of friendship, others fearing the power of Troy, since it is not those who have met with defeat or are in sore straits but those who have conquered and overcome all their enemies that everyone is eager to help. The Achaeans also sent for whatever reinforcements they had at home, for no one outside of Greece any longer paid any heed whatsoever to them. Thus it was that Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, came although he was still very young, and Philoctetes, hitherto neglected because of his ailment, and other equally poor and feeble

ἀπόρους. ὧν ἀφικομένων μικρὸν ἀναπνεύσαντες  
 πάλιν διέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Τροίαν, καὶ περιεβά-  
 λοντο τεῖχος ἕτερον πολὺ ἔλαττον, οὐκ ἐν ᾧ  
 116 πρότερον τόπῳ παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ  
 μέν τινες ὑφώρμουν ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος, αἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ  
 πέραν ἔμενον· ἅτε γὰρ οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα ἔχοντες  
 κρατήσειν, ἀλλ' ὁμολογιῶν δεόμενοι, καθάπερ  
 εἶπον, οὐ βεβαίως ἐπολέμουν, ἀλλ' ἀμφιβόλως  
 τρόπον τινὰ καὶ πρὸς ἀπόπλουν μᾶλλον τὴν  
 γνώμην ἔχοντες.

Ἐνέδραις οὖν ὥς τὸ πολὺ καὶ καταδρομαῖς  
 ἐχρῶντο. καὶ ποτε μάχης ἰσχυροτέρας γενο-  
 μένης, βιαζομένων αὐτῶν τὸ φρούριον ἐξελεῖν,  
 Αἴας τε ὑπὸ Ἑκτορος ἀποθνήσκει καὶ Ἀντίλοχος  
 117 ὑπὸ τοῦ Μένωνος πρὸ τοῦ πατρός· ἐτρώθη δὲ  
 καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Μένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντιλόχου, καὶ  
 ἀποκομιζόμενος τραυματίας τελευτᾷ κατὰ τὴν  
 ὁδόν. συνέβη δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς εὐημερῆσαι  
 τότε ὥς οὐ πρότερον. ὃ τε γὰρ Μένων μέγα  
 ἀξίωμα ἔχων ἐτρώθη καιρίως, τὴν τε Ἀμαζόνα  
 ἀπέκτεινε Νεοπτόλεμος καταδραμοῦσαν ἐπὶ τὰς  
 ναῦς ἰταμώτερον καὶ πειρωμένην ἐμπρῆσαι, μα-  
 χόμενος ἐκ τῆς νεὸς ναυμάχῳ δόρατι, καὶ  
 Ἀλέξανδρος ἀποθνήσκει Φιλοκτήτῃ διατοξεύο-  
 118 μενος. ἦν οὖν ἀθυμία καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Τρωσίν,  
 εἰ μηδέποτε παύσονται τοῦ πολέμου μηδὲ ἔσται  
 μηδὲν αὐτοῖς πλέον νικῶσιν. ὃ τε Πρίαμος  
 ἄλλος ἐγεγόνει μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήν,  
 σφόδρα ἀνιαθεὶς καὶ φοβούμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 Ἑκτορος. πολὺ δὲ φαυλότερον ἔσχε τὰ τῶν  
 Ἀχαιῶν, Ἀντιλόχου τε καὶ Αἴαντος τεθνηκότων·

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

recruits from home. Upon their arrival the Achaeans having revived their strength, recrossed to Troy, and threw up another much smaller wall, not in the same place as previously along the shore, but on the higher part of it, which they seized. Some of the ships lay at anchor close to this rampart, others remained across the water. For since the Greeks had no hope of winning but wished to make terms, as I have said, they did not prosecute the war vigorously, but in a somewhat half-hearted way and with their minds set rather upon returning home.

“ They resorted to ambush, therefore, and guerilla warfare for the most part; but on one occasion, when an unusually fierce struggle arose over an attempt of the Trojans to raze their stronghold, Ajax was slain by Hector, and Antilochus,<sup>1</sup> while defending his father, by Memnon. But Memnon too was wounded by Antilochus and died while being carried off the field. Then too it was that the Achaeans enjoyed a period of success as never before. For not only was Memnon, who was held in great esteem, wounded mortally but the Amazon also, who flung herself upon the ships with unusual ferocity and tried to fire them, was killed by Neoptolemus, who fought from his ship with a naval pike; and Paris was slain, pierced by Philoctetes' arrow. Thus the Trojans in turn were disheartened and wondered whether they ever would be rid of the war or any advantage would redound to them through victory. Priam too was a changed man after the death of Paris, through his deep grief for him and his fear for Hector, while the deaths of Antilochus and Ajax left the Achaeans in

<sup>1</sup> See note 1 on p. 525.



ὥστε πέμπουσι περὶ συμβάσεων, φάσκοντες  
 ἀπιέναι γενομένης εἰρήνης καὶ ὄρκων ὁμοσθέντων  
 μηκέτι στρατεύσειν μήτε αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν  
 119 μήτε ἐκείνους ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄργος. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ  
 μὲν Ἑκτωρ ἀντέλεγε· πολὺ γὰρ εἶναι κρείττους  
 καὶ τὸ ἐπιτείχισμα ἔφη κατὰ κράτος αἰρήσειν·  
 μάλιστα δὲ ἐχαλέπαινε τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῇ.  
 δεομένου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τὸ γῆρας τὸ αὐτοῦ  
 λέγοντος καὶ τῶν παίδων τὸν θάνατον, τοῦ τε  
 ἄλλου πλήθους ἀπηλλάχθαι βουλομένου, τὰς μὲν  
 διαλύσεις συνεχώρησεν· ἡξίου δὲ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς  
 τά τε χρήματα διαλύσαι τὰ δαπανηθέντα εἰς τὸν  
 πόλεμον καὶ δίκην τινὰ ὑποσχεῖν, ὅτι μὴθὲν  
 ἀδικηθέντες ἐστρατεύσαντο, καὶ τὴν τε χώραν  
 διέφθειραν πολλοῖς ἔτεσι καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς  
 ἄλλους τε ἀπέκτειναν πολλοὺς<sup>1</sup> καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον,  
 οὐδὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παθόντες, ἀλλ' ὅτι κρείττων  
 ἐνομίσθη κατὰ μνηστείαν καὶ γυναῖκα ἔλαβεν ἐκ  
 120 τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῶν κυρίων διδόντων. ὁ δὲ Ὀδυσ-  
 σεύς, οὗτος γὰρ ἐπρέσβευε περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης,  
 παρητεῖτο, ἐπιδεικνὺς ὅτι οὐχ ἥττω δεδράκασιν  
 ἢ πεπόνθασιν, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐκείνοις ἀντίθει  
 τοῦ πολέμου· μὴδὲν γὰρ δεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον, τοσοῦ-  
 των οὐσῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν γυναικῶν, ἐνθένδε<sup>2</sup>  
 εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλθόντα μνηστεύειν καὶ ἀπελθεῖν  
 καταγελάσαντα τῶν ἀρίστων παρ' αὐτοῖς,  
 πλούτῳ νικήσαντα· συμβῆναι γὰρ οὐχ ἀπλῶς  
 τὴν μνηστείαν, ἀλλὰ ἐπιβουλεύειν<sup>3</sup> αὐτὸν τοῖς  
 ἐκεῖ πράγμασι διὰ τούτου<sup>4</sup> μὴ λανθάνειν αὐτούς·  
 ὥστε τὸ λοιπὸν ἡξίου παύσασθαι, τοσοῦτων

<sup>1</sup> ἄλλους τε ἀπέκτειναν πολλοὺς added by Kaihel.

<sup>2</sup> ἐνθένδε Capps: τόνδε.

<sup>3</sup> Emperius: ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐν.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

a much weaker condition. The result was that they sent an embassy offering to withdraw as soon as peace was made and oaths taken that the one people would not again invade Asia nor the other, Argos. Thereupon Hector spoke against this, for the Trojans, he said, were far stronger and would capture the fortification by assault; but what angered him most was the death of Paris. However, upon the appeal of his father, who urged his fullness of years and the loss of his sons, and influenced by the desire of the people of the city to be relieved of the war, he consented to the cessation of hostilities, but insisted that the Achaeans pay the expenses of the war and make reparation because they had been the aggressors, had pillaged the country for many years, and had slain Paris along with many other brave warriors, not because he had done them any injury but because he had been preferred in the wooing of Helen and had won a wife from Hellas, given by those who had the right to do so. Against this, Odysseus, who was a member of the peace embassy, protested, pointing out that the achievements of the Achaeans were no less than their defeats and was for laying the blame for the war upon their enemies. Paris, he thought, had no business, when there were so many women in Asia, to go from there to Greece to sue for a wife and then return after snapping his fingers at her chieftains and triumphing through the power of his wealth. His errand, he insisted, had been no simple courtship; nay, they were not oblivious of the fact that by its means Paris was plotting against Greek interests. He therefore insisted that this be given up for the future, since both sides had suffered so

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<sup>4</sup> τούτου Emperius : τούτο.

κακῶν γεγονότων ἀμφοτέροις, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπι-  
 γαμίας τε οὔσης καὶ συγγενείας τοῖς Ἀτρεΐδαις  
 121 πρὸς αὐτοὺς διὰ Πέλοπα. περὶ δὲ τῶν χρη-  
 μάτων κατεγέλα· μὴ γὰρ εἶναι χρήματα τοῖς  
 Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐκόντας  
 στρατεῦσθαι διὰ τὴν οἴκοι πενίαν. ταῦτα δὲ  
 ἔλεγεν ἀποτρέπων αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα  
 στρατείας. εἰ δέ τινα δεῖ<sup>1</sup> δίκην γενέσθαι τοῦ  
 εὐπρεποῦς χάριν, αὐτὸς<sup>2</sup> εὐρεῖν. καταλείψειν  
 γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀνάθημα κάλλιστον καὶ μέγιστον τῇ  
 Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ ἐπιγράψειν, Ἰλαστήριον Ἀχαιοὶ τῇ  
 Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἰλιάδι. τοῦτο γὰρ φέρειν<sup>3</sup> μεγάλην  
 τιμὴν ἐκείνοις· καθ' ἑαυτῶν δὲ γίγνεσθαι μαρτύ-  
 122 ριον ὡς ἡττημένων. παρεκάλει δὲ καὶ τὴν  
 Ἑλένην ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης συλλαμβάνειν. ἡ δὲ  
 συνέπραττε προθύμως· ἤχθετο γὰρ ὅτι δι' αὐτὴν  
 οἱ Τρῶες ἐδόκουν πολλὰ κακὰ πάσχειν. καὶ  
 ποιοῦνται τὰς διαλύσεις, καὶ σπονδαὶ γίνονται  
 τοῖς Τρωσὶ καὶ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. Ὀμηρος δὲ καὶ  
 τοῦτο μετήνεγκεν ἐπὶ τὸ ψεῦδος, εἰδὼς γενόμενον·  
 ἀλλ' ἔφη τοὺς Τρῶας συγχέαι τὰς σπονδὰς·<sup>4</sup>  
 ὥμοσάν τε ἀλλήλοις ὃ τε Ἑκτωρ καὶ Ἀγα-  
 μέμνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ δυνατοὶ μήτε τοὺς  
 Ἕλληνάς ποτε στρατεύσειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἕως  
 ἂν ἄρχῃ τὸ Πριάμου γένος, μήτε τοὺς Πριαμίδας  
 εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἢ Βοιωτίαν ἢ Κρήτην ἢ Ἰθάκην  
 ἢ Φθίαν ἢ Εὐβοίαν. ταύτας γὰρ μόνας ἐξαιρέ-  
 123 τους ἐποίουν· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ἐβούλοντο  
 ὀμνύειν οἱ Τρῶες οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἀτρεΐδαις ἔμελε.

<sup>1</sup> δεῖ added by Reiske.<sup>2</sup> αὐτὸς Morel: αὐτοῖς.<sup>3</sup> φέρειν Morel: φέρει.<sup>4</sup> as after σπονδὰς deleted by Rhodomann.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

much, and that too although the Atridae were already connected with the Trojans by marriage ties and kinship through Pelops.<sup>1</sup> With regard to indemnity, he had only ridicule. The Greeks, he said, had no means; nay, even then the larger part of the army was serving voluntarily on account of the poverty of the homeland. This he urged to deter the Trojans from a campaign against Greece, and said that if any indemnity should be necessary for propriety's sake, he was ready with a plan. For the Greeks would leave a very large and beautiful offering to Athena and carve upon it this inscription: "A Propitiation from the Achaeans to Athena of Ilium." This, he explained, conferred great honour upon the Trojans and stood against the Greeks as an evidence of their defeat. He exhorted Helen also to interest herself in the peace, and she gladly lent her help, for it pained her that she was blamed for the many misfortunes of the Trojans. So hostilities were brought to an end, and a truce was made between the Trojans and the Achaeans. But here too Homer has distorted the facts though he knew what occurred. He says that the Trojans broke the truce; and Hector and Agamemnon together with the other prominent chieftains had only sworn to each other that the Achaeans would never invade Asia so long as the family of Priam was on the throne, and that the descendants of Priam would not invade the Peloponnese, Boeotia, Crete, Ithaca, Phthia, or Euboea. These were the only countries that they specified; as regards the others, the Trojans refused to give their oath, nor were the

<sup>1</sup> See §§ 50 and 68.

τούτων δὲ ὁμοσθέντων, ὃ τε ἵππος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐτελέσθη, μέγα ἔργον, καὶ ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν οἱ Τρῶες πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τῶν πυλῶν οὐ δεχομένων μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους καθεῖλον· ὅθεν γελοίως ἐλέχθη τὸ ἀλῶναι τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἵππου. καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ὥχετο ὑπόσπονδον τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ. τὴν δὲ Ἑλένην ὁ Ἑκτωρ συνώκισε Δηιφόβῳ, ὃς ἦν μετ' ἐκείνον τῶν  
 124 ἀδελφῶν ἄριστος. ὁ δὲ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τελευτᾷ πάντων εὐδαιμονέστατος, πλὴν ὅσα λελύπηται περὶ τῶν παίδων τῶν τετελευτηκότων. καὶ αὐτὸς βασιλεύσας συχνὰ ἔτη καὶ πλείστα τῆς Ἀσίας καταστρεψάμενος γηραιὸς ἀποθνήσκει, καὶ θάπτεται πρὸ τῆς πόλεως. τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν Σκαμανδρίῳ<sup>1</sup> τῷ παιδί κατέλιπεν.

Ταῦτα δὲ ἔχοντα οὕτως ἐπίσταμαι σαφῶς ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἀποδέξεται, φήσουσι δὲ ψευδῇ πάντες εἶναι πλὴν τῶν φρονούντων, οὐ μόνον οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμεῖς. ἡ γὰρ διαβολὴ σφόδρα χαλεπὴ  
 125 ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ἐξηπατῆσθαι πολὺν χρόνον. σκοπεῖτε δὲ τἀναντία πῶς ἐστὶ γελοῖα, ἀφελόντες τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὸ προκατελιῆθαι· κρυφθῆναι μὲν ἐν τῷ ἵππῳ στράτευμα ὅλον, τῶν δὲ Τρώων μηθένα αἰσθάνεσθαι τοῦτο μηδὲ ὑποπτεῦσαι, καὶ ταῦτα μάντεως οὔσης παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀψευδοῦς, ἀλλὰ κομίσαι<sup>2</sup> τοὺς πολεμίους δι' αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν· πρότερον δὲ ἓνα ἄνδρα πάντων ἡττωμένων ἱκανὸν γενέσθαι γυμνὸν ἐπιφανέντα τῇ φωνῇ τρέφασθαι τοσαύτας μυριάδας, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Σκαμανδρίῳ Emperius : Σκαμάνδρῳ.

<sup>2</sup> κομίσαι Emperius : κομίζουσι.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

Atridae insistent. When this compact had been sworn to, the horse, a huge structure, was completed by the Achaeans and conveyed up to the city by the Trojans, who removed a portion of the walls when the gates did not admit its passage. Hence the ridiculous story of the capture of the city by the horse. The army departed under truce in this way. Then Hector gave Helen to Deïphobus as his wife, for he was the best of the brothers next to himself. His father died as the most fortunate man in the world except for the grief he bore for the sons who had perished. Hector too died full of years at the end of a long reign after subduing most of Asia, and was buried outside the city. His kingdom he left to his son Scamandrius."<sup>1</sup>

Though this is the true account, I see clearly that no one will accept it, but that all save the thoughtful will declare it to be false. By "all" I mean you as well as the Greeks.<sup>2</sup> For calumny is extremely hard to overcome, and especially when men have been deceived for a long time. But rid yourselves of your opinions and prejudices and consider how ridiculous the opposite story is. A whole army was hidden in a horse and yet not a single Trojan noticed it or even surmised it in spite of the fact that they had an unerring prophetess among them, but by their own efforts they brought the enemy within the city. Then before this, when all were defeated, one man appeared unarmed and proved able by the power of his voice to put to flight so many

<sup>1</sup> Usually called Astyanax.

<sup>2</sup> Dio is addressing the people of the Troy of his day. See § 4.

μετὰ τοῦτο ὄπλα οὐκ ἔχοντα, ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ  
 λαβόντα νικῆσαι τοὺς μίᾳ πρότερον ἡμέρᾳ  
 κρατοῦντας καὶ διώκειν ἅπαντας ἕνα ὄντα.  
 126 αὐτὸν δὲ ἐκείνουν τοσοῦτον ὑπερέχοντα ἀποθανεῖν  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ πάντων κακίστου τὴν ψυχὴν, ὥς αὐτοί  
 φασιν, ἄλλου τε ἀποθανόντος ἄλλον σκυλευθῆναι,  
 μόνῳ δὲ ἐκείνῳ τῶν ἡγεμόνων μὴ γενέσθαι τάφον.  
 ἄλλον δὲ τινα τῶν ἀρίστων τοσαῦτα ἔτη πολε-  
 μούντα ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων μηδενὸς ἀποθα-  
 νεῖν, αὐτὸν δὲ ὀργισθέντα ἀποσφάξαι, καὶ ταῦτα  
 δοκοῦντα σεμνότατον καὶ πραῖτατον εἶναι τῶν  
 127 συμμαχῶν· τὸν δὲ ποιητὴν προθέμενον εἰπεῖν  
 τὸν Τρωικὸν πόλεμον τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα  
 τῶν γεγρονότων ἐᾶσαι καὶ μηδὲ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς  
 πόλεως διελθεῖν.

Ταῦτα γάρ ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς πεποιημένοις καὶ  
 λεγομένοις. ὁ μὲν Ἀχιλλεύς, προηττημένων τῶν  
 Ἀχαιῶν οὐκ εἰς ἅπαξ οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων μόνον,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιᾶς, μόνος περιγενό-  
 μενος καὶ τοσοῦτον τὰ πράγματα μεταβαλὼν,  
 αὐτὸς δὲ Ἑκτορα μὲν ἀποκτείνας, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἀλεξάν-  
 δρου ἀποθνήσκων, ὃς ἦν ὑστάτος τῶν Τρώων, ὥς  
 αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, Πατρόκλου δὲ ἀποθανόντος, σκυ-  
 λευόμενος ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου ληφθέντα  
 128 ὄπλα, ὁ δὲ Πάτροκλος οὐ ταφεῖς. ἐπειδὴ δὲ  
 Αἴαντος ἦν τάφος καὶ πάντες ἤδεσαν αὐτὸν ἐν  
 Τροίᾳ τελευτήσαντα, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ποιήσῃ τὸν  
 ἀποκτείναντα ἔνδοξον, αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἀνελών. οἱ

<sup>1</sup> Achilles is meant. See *Iliad* 18. 225 f.

<sup>2</sup> Paris is meant. Hector rebukes him for cowardice in *Iliad* 3. 39 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Achilles was interred in the same tomb as Patroclus according to Homer (*Odyssey* 24. 76 f.). See also § 103.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

thousands;<sup>1</sup> and after this, being without arms, he received fresh weapons from heaven and overwhelmed the victors of but the previous day and unaided chased them all from the field. Can you believe, further, that this same Achilles, so pre-eminent a hero, was slain by the most faint-hearted man in the world,<sup>2</sup> as the Trojans themselves confess, that while one man was slain it was another who was stripped of his arms, and that this hero was the only one among the chieftains to be given no burial-place;<sup>3</sup> that yet another, and he one of the bravest, who fought so many years, was saved from the hands of the enemy only to slay himself in a fit of anger, and that although he was looked upon as the most dignified and gentle-mannered among the allies?<sup>4</sup> And finally, the poet, who set out to tell of the Trojan war, omitted the most glorious and important events and did not even give an account of the capture of the city!

The following are some of the things that he mentions in his poem:—When the Achaeans had already been worsted, and more than once, Achilles' own force included, and he was the sole survivor, he made a great change in the situation by slaying Hector and was himself slain by Paris, who was the meanest of the Trojans, as they themselves admit, and when Patroclus was slain, it was Achilles whose body was stripped and whose arms were taken, while Patroclus was not buried. Then since there was a grave of Ajax and everyone knew that he died at Troy, he slew himself simply to deprive the man who slew him of honour! The Achaeans fled in

<sup>4</sup> Telamonian Ajax is meant, but this is not the traditional conception of his character. See also § 116.



- δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ φεύγοντες μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας σιωπῇ  
καὶ τὰς σκηναὺς κατακαύσαντες καὶ τὸ ναύ-  
σταθμον ἀφθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἑκτορος καὶ τὸ τεῖχος  
αὐτῶν ἐαλωκός, καὶ ἀνάθημα ἀναθέντες τῇ  
Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ ἐπιγράψαντες, ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ τοὺς  
ἡττημένους, οὐδὲν δὲ ἤττον τὴν Τροίαν ἐλόντες,  
ἐν δὲ τῷ ἵππῳ τῷ ξυλίνῳ στράτευμα ἀνθρώπων  
ἀποκρυφθέν. οἱ δὲ Τρῶες ὑποπτεύσαντες μὲν τὸ  
πρᾶγμα καὶ βουλευσάμενοι κατακαῦσαι τὸν  
ἵππον ἢ διατεμεῖν, μὴθὲν δὲ τούτων ποιήσαντες,  
ἀλλὰ πίνοντες καὶ καθεύδοντες, καὶ ταῦτα προει-  
129 πούσης αὐτοῖς τῆς Κασσάνδρας. ταῦτα οὐκ  
ἐνυπνίοις ἐοικότα τῷ ὄντι καὶ ἀπιθήναισι ψεύσ-  
μασιν; ἐν γὰρ τοῖς Ὠρω<sup>1</sup> γεγραμμένοις Ὀνειράσιν  
οἱ ἄνθρωποι τοιαύτας ὄψεις ὀρῶσι, νῦν μὲν  
δοκοῦντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν καὶ σκυλεύεσθαι, πάλιν  
δὲ ἀνίστασθαι καὶ μάχεσθαι γυμνοὶ ὄντες, ἐνίοτε  
δὲ οἰόμενοι διώκειν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς διαλέγεσθαι  
καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀποσφάττειν μηδενὸς<sup>2</sup> δεινοῦ ὄντος,  
καὶ οὕτως, εἰ τύχοι ποτέ, πέτεσθαι καὶ βαδίζειν  
ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης. ὥστε καὶ τὴν Ὀμήρου  
ποίησιν ὀρθῶς ἂν τινα εἰπεῖν ἐνύπνιον, καὶ τοῦτο  
ἄκριτον καὶ ἀσαφές.
- 130 Ἄξιον δὲ καὶ κεῖνο ἐνθυμηθῆναι πρὸς τοῖς ἄνω  
λελεγμένοις.<sup>3</sup> ὁμολογοῦσι γὰρ ἅπαντες τοὺς  
Ἀχαιοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀναχθῆναι χειμῶνος ἤδη,  
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπολέσθαι τὸ πλεόν τοῦ στόλου  
περὶ τὴν Εὐβοίαν· ἔτι δὲ μὴ κατὰ ταῦτο πλεῖν  
ἅπαντας, ἀλλὰ στασιάζειν τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> Ὠρω Scaliger: ὄρω M.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ before μηδενὸς bracketed by Schwartz.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

silence from Asia after burning their huts, and their naval camp was set on fire by Hector and their rampart captured. Then they erected a votive offering to Athena and carved an inscription upon it, as is the custom for the vanquished, but none the less they captured Troy and an army of men was hidden in the wooden horse. The Trojans suspected what was afoot and purposed to burn the wooden horse or cut it to pieces, and yet did neither the one nor the other, but ate and slept, in spite of Cassandra's forewarning too. Does not all this in reality remind one of dreams and wild fiction? In the book "Dreams" by Horus<sup>1</sup> people have such experiences, imagining at one time that they are being killed and their bodies stripped of arms and that they rise to their feet again and fight unarmed, at other times imagining they are chasing somebody or holding converse with the gods or committing suicide without any cause for the act, and at times, possibly, flying offhand or walking on the sea. For this reason one might well call Homer's poetry a kind of dream, obscure and vague at that.

The following also is worth thinking about along with what has been said above. Everybody is agreed that the stormy season had already set in when the Achaeans sailed from Asia and that for this reason the greater part of their expedition came to grief off Euboea; further, that they did not all take the same course, since a division arose in the army

<sup>1</sup> No such book written by a Horus is known. As "Horus" is an Egyptian name and the name of an Egyptian god, Dio appropriately has his fictitious Egyptian priest refer to a book by such a man.

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<sup>2</sup> ἄνω λελεγμένοις Geel : δμολογουμένοις.

Ἀτρείδας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν Ἀγαμέμνονι, τοὺς δὲ Μενελάῳ προσθέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἀπελθεῖν, ὧν καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐᾳ μέμνηται. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εὖ πράττοντας ὁμονοεῖν εἰκὸς καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ πλεῖστον ὑποτάττεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Μενέλαον μὴ διαφέρεισθαι πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν παραχρῆμα τῆς εὐεργεσίας· τοῖς δὲ ἡττημένοις καὶ κακῶς πράττουσιν ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἀνάγκη  
 131 συμβαίνειν. ἔτι δὲ τοὺς μὲν φοβουμένους καὶ φεύγοντας ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας ἀπίεσαι τὴν τάχιστην καὶ <sup>1</sup> μὴ κινδυνεύειν <sup>2</sup> μένοντας, τοὺς δὲ κρατοῦντας καὶ πρὸς τοῖς αὐτῶν ἔχοντας τοσοῦτον πλῆθος αἰχμαλώτων καὶ χρημάτων περιμένειν τὴν ἀσφαλεστάτην ὥραν, ἅτε καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς γῆς κρατοῦντας καὶ πολλὴν ἀπάντων ἀφθονίαν ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ μὴ δέκα ἔτη περιμένειν διαφθα-  
 ρῆναι παρ' ὀλίγον.

Αἱ τε οἴκοι συμφοραὶ καταλαβοῦσαι τοὺς ἀφικομένους οὐχ ἥκιστα δηλοῦσι τὸ πταῖσμα  
 132 καὶ τὴν ἀσθένειαν αὐτῶν· οὐ πάνυ γὰρ εἰώθασιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς νικῶσιν οὐδὲ τοῖς εὐτυχοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν θαυμάζουσι καὶ φοβοῦνται, τῶν δὲ ἀποτυχόντων καταφρονοῦσιν οἳ τε ἔξωθεν καὶ τινες τῶν ἀναγκαίων. φαίνεται δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπεροφθεὶς διὰ τὴν ἥτταν, ὃ τε Αἰγισθος ἐπιθέμενος αὐτῷ καὶ κρατήσας ῥαδίως, οἳ τε Ἀργεῖοι καταλαβόντες τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τὸν Αἰγισθον βασιλέα ἀποδείξαντες, οὐκ ἂν εἰ μετὰ τοσαύτης δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως ἀφικόμενον τὸν

<sup>1</sup> τοὺς δὲ νικῶντας before καὶ bracketed by Emperius.

<sup>2</sup> μὴ κινδυνεύειν Emperius: διακινδυνεύειν.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

and between the Atridae, some joining Agamemnon, others Menelaus, while yet others, whom Homer mentions in the *Odyssey*, departed by themselves. For it is reasonable to suppose that if things were going well, there would have been unanimity and the fullest obedience to the king, and that Menelaus would not have quarrelled with his brother just after receiving the great favour<sup>1</sup> from him; but in defeat and failure all such things are sure to happen. Be it noted also that when an army is in fear and flight, it retires with the greatest speed from the enemy's country and takes no chances by remaining, while a victorious army that has added to its own resources a great number of prisoners and great supplies awaits the safest moment for withdrawing, since it both controls the country itself and has a great abundance of everything, but would not, after waiting ten years, have come within a little of being wholly destroyed.

The domestic disasters also which befell those who reached their homes are not the least evidence of their discomfiture and weakness. It is certainly not the rule for attacks to be made on men who are victorious and successful. Such men are feared and admired. The unsuccessful, however, are held in contempt by outsiders and even by some of their own kinsfolk. It was undoubtedly because of his defeat that Agamemnon was despised by his wife, that Aegisthus attacked and easily overcame him, and that the Argives took the matter into their own hands and made Aegisthus king. They would not have done it had he slain an Agamemnon who had

<sup>1</sup> The recovery of his wife Helen through the capture of Troy.

- Ἀγαμέμνονα ἀπέκτεινε, κρατήσαντα τῆς Ἀσίας.
- 133 ὃ τε Διομήδης ἐξέπεσεν οἴκοθεν, οὐθιὸς ἔλαττον εὐδοκιμῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος εἴτε ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων εἴτε ὑπὸ ἄλλων τινῶν μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ πάντες ἐξέπεσον ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, καὶ κατελύθη τὸ τῶν Πελοπιδῶν γένος δι' ἐκείνην τὴν ξυμφοράν, οἱ δ' Ἡρακλεῖδαι, πρότερον ἀσθενεῖς ὄντες καὶ ἀτιμαζόμενοι, κατῆλθον μετὰ Δωριέων.
- 134 Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ ἐβράδυνεν ἐκὼν, τὰ μὲν αἰσχυρόμενος, τὰ δ' ὑποπτεύων τὰ πράγματα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ μνηστείαν ἐτράπησαν τῆς Πηνελόπης καὶ τῶν κτημάτων ἀρπαγὴν ἢ τῶν Κεφαλλήνων νεότης. καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐβοήθει τῶν φίλων τῶν Ὀδυσσεὺς οὐδὲ Νέστωρ οὕτως ἐγγύθεν. ἅπαντες γὰρ ἦσαν ταπεινοὶ καὶ φαύλως ἔπραττον οἱ τῆς στρατείας μετασχόντες. τοῦναντίον δὲ ἐχρῆν δεινοὺς ἅπασι φαίνεσθαι τοὺς νευικηκότας καὶ μηδένα αὐτοῖς ἐπιχειρεῖν.
- 135 Μενέλαος δὲ τὸ παράπαν οὐχ ἦκεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, ἀλλ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κατέμεινεν. καὶ σήμειά γε<sup>1</sup> ἔστιν ἄλλα τε τῆς ἀφίξεως καὶ νομὸς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλούμενος, οὐκ ἂν εἰ πεπλανημένος καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἀφίκετο. γήμας δὲ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα καὶ διηγῆσατο τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τὰ τῆς
- 136 στρατείας οὐθὲν ἀποκρυπτόμενος. σχεδὸν<sup>2</sup> δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐπίσταται τοῦτο καὶ αἰνίττεται,

<sup>1</sup> γε Reiske: τε.

<sup>2</sup> Before σχεδὸν the MSS. have οἱ δὲ φασιν ὅτι καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην ἐκεῖθεν ἔλαβεν, λόγον ἀπάντων ἀπιστότατον· τέως δὲ ἐλάνθανεν εἰδῶλον ἐκ τῆς Τροίας ἔχων· ὃ τε πόλεμος συνεστήκει περὶ εἰδῶλου τὰ δέκα ἔτη, which Arnim brackets.—“And they

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

returned with all his glory and power after conquering Asia. Diomede too, who won a reputation second to no one in the war, was exiled from his home, and so was Neoptolemus, whether by Hellenes or by certain others. Then soon after they were all driven from the Peloponnese and the family of the Pelopidae came to an end because of this calamity, while the Heraclidae, hitherto a weak and despised family, came in with Dorians.

Odysseus, however, delayed voluntarily, in part because he was ashamed, and in part because he suspected the situation; and on account of this, the youth of Cephallenia set themselves to court Penelope and seize his property, while of Odysseus' friends not one came to his aid, not even Nestor though so near. For all who had taken part in the expedition were humbled and in poor circumstances; whereas, had they conquered, they would necessarily have inspired fear in all and no one would have attacked them.

Menelaus did not return to the Peloponnesus at all but remained in Egypt. Among other proofs of his arrival there is the fact that a province was named after him; which would not have been the case had he been a wanderer and stayed for only a short period. But he married the king's daughter and told the priests the story of the expedition, concealing nothing. One could almost say that Homer is not only well acquainted with all this account,

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say that he got Helen from there too—the most incredible story imaginable. Before this it was an image from Troy that he had without knowing it, and the war was fought for ten years over an image.” Of. Herod. 2. 112 f.

φήσας τὸν Μενέλεω μετὰ τὴν τελευταίην ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν εἰς τὸ Ἡλύσιον πεδῖον πεμφθῆναι, ὅπου μήτε νικητὸς γίγνεται μήτε χερμῶν, ἀλλ' αἰθρία δι' ἔτους καὶ πρῶτος ἀήρ· ὁ γὰρ ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup> τῆς Αἰγύπτου τόπος τοιοῦτός ἐστιν. δοκοῦσι δέ μοι καὶ τῶν ὕστερον ποιητῶν τινες ὑποπτεῦσαι τὰ πράγματα. τὴν γὰρ Ἑλένην ἐπιβουλευθῆναι μὲν ὑπὸ Ὀρέστου λέγει τις τῶν τραγωδιοποιῶν εὐθύς ἐλθοῦσαν, γενέσθαι δὲ ἀφανῆ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιφανέντων. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐποίησεν, εἰ ἐφαίνετο Ἑλένη κατοικήσασα ὕστερον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ τῷ Μενελάῳ συνοῦσα.

- 137 Τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τοῦτο ἦλθε δυστυχίας καὶ ταπεινότητος, τὰ δὲ τῶν Τρώων πολὺν κρείττονα καὶ ἐπικυδέστερα ἐγένετο. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Αἰνείας ὑπὸ Ἑκτορος πεμφθεὶς μετὰ στόλου καὶ δυνάμεως πολλῆς Ἰταλίαν κατέσχε τὴν εὐδαιμονεστάτην χώραν τῆς Εὐρώπης· τοῦτο δὲ Ἑλενος εἰς μέσσην ἀφικόμενος τὴν Ἑλλάδα Μολοττῶν ἐβασίλευσε καὶ τῆς Ἠπείρου πλησίον Θετταλίας. καίτοι πότερον εἰκὸς ἦν τοὺς ἡττηθέντας ἐπιπλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν κρατησάντων χώραν καὶ βασιλεύειν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἢ τὸνναντίον τοὺς κρατήσαντας ἐπὶ τὴν
- 138 τῶν ἡττημένων; πῶς δέ, εἴπερ ἀλούσης Τροίας ἔφευγον οἱ περὶ τὸν Αἰνείαν καὶ τὸν Ἀντήνορα καὶ τὸν Ἑλενον, οὐ πανταχόσε μᾶλλον ἔφευγον ἢ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην, οὐδὲ τόπον τινα ἡγάπων καταλαβόντες τῆς Ἀσίας, ἀλλ'

<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ Schwartz: ἀπὸ.

<sup>1</sup> See Homer, *Odyssey* 4. 561 f.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

but also that he is hinting at it when he says that Menelaus was sent by the gods after his death to the Elysian fields, where there is neither snow nor storm but sunshine and balmy air throughout the year,<sup>1</sup> for such is the climate of Egypt. It seems to me that some of the later poets too have an inkling of the facts. One of the tragic poets, for instance, says that Helen immediately upon her return was the object of Orestes' plotting and that on the appearance of her brothers she was not to be found.<sup>2</sup> Now the poet would never have so represented it in his play had it been an established fact that Helen lived in Greece after the war, and as the wife of Menelaus.

This is the gloomy and weak state into which the fortune of Greece fell after the war, while that of Troy became much brighter and more glorious. On the one hand, Aeneas was sent by Hector with a large fleet and force of men and occupied Italy, the most favoured country in Europe; and, on the other, Helenus penetrated into the interior of Greece and became king of the Molossians and of Epirus near Thessaly. And yet which was the more probable: that a vanquished people should sail to the land of their conquerors and reign among them, or that, on the contrary, the victors should sail to the land of the conquered? Furthermore, if, when Troy fell, Aeneas, Antenor, Helenus, and their people fled, why did they not betake themselves anywhere else rather than to Greece and Europe, or content themselves with occupying some place in Asia, rather

<sup>2</sup> Euripides, *Orestes* 1625 f. Apollo, addressing Orestes, tells him that Helen has escaped from his murderous attack and will be the companion of her brothers, Castor and Pollux, in the sky.



- εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνων ἔπλεον ὑφ' ὧν ἀνάστατοι ἐγένοντο ; πῶς δὲ ἐβασίλευσαν ἅπαντες οὐ σμικρῶν οὐδὲ ἀνωνύμων χωρίων, ἐξόν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατασχεῖν ; ἀλλ' ἀπείχοντο διὰ τοὺς ὅρκους. ὅμως δὲ Ἐλενος οὐκ ὀλίγον αὐτῆς ἀπέτέμετο, τὴν Ἥπειρον· Ἀντήνωρ δὲ Ἐνετῶν ἐκράτησε καὶ τῆς ἀρίστης γῆς περὶ τὸν Ἀδρίαν· Αἰνείας δὲ πάσης Ἰταλίας ἐβασίλευσε καὶ πόλιν
- 139 ὥκισε τὴν μεγίστην πασῶν. ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ εἰκὸς ἦν πρᾶξαι φυγάδας ἀνθρώπους καὶ ταῖς οἴκοθεν ξυμφοραῖς καταβεβλημένους, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶν εἴ τις αὐτοὺς εἶα κατοικεῖν· ἄλλως τε μετὰ ποίας ἀφορμῆς ἀφικομένους χρημάτων ἢ στρατιᾶς διὰ μέσων τῶν πολεμίων φεύγοντας, ἐμπεπρησμένης τῆς πόλεως, πάντων ἀπολωλότων, ὅπου χαλεπὸν ἦν τὰ σώματα αὐτὰ διασῶσαι τοὺς ἰσχύοντας καὶ νέους, ἀλλ' οὐ μετὰ παίδων γυναικῶν καὶ γονέων καὶ χρημάτων ἀπανίστασθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἀδοκῆτως τε καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδας ἀλούσης τῆς πόλεως, οὐχ ὥσπερ εἰώθασι κατὰ σπονδὰς κατ' ὀλίγον ἐκλείπειν ; ἀλλὰ τὸ γενόμενον δυνατὸν γενέσθαι.
- 140 Τὸν δὲ Ἑκτορά φασιν, ὡς ἀπέπλευσαν οἱ Ἀχαιοί, πολλοῦ πλήθους εἰς τὴν πόλιν συνεληλυθότος καὶ μηδὲ τῶν ἐπικούρων ἀπιέναι βουλομένων ἀπάντων, ἔτι δὲ ὀρώντα τὸν Αἰνείαν οὐκ ἀνεχόμενον, εἰ μὴ μέρος λάβοι τῆς ἀρχῆς—ταῦτα γὰρ ὑποσχέσθαι τὸν Πρίαμον αὐτῷ διαπολε-

<sup>1</sup> Rome is meant.

<sup>2</sup> i.e., assuming that the Trojans were the victors.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

than sail straight to the land of those who had driven them out? And how did they all come to rule over regions by no means small or obscure, when they might have seized Greece also? But, one says, they refrained on account of their oaths. Still, Helenus cut off no small part of it, namely, Epirus. Then Antenor acquired dominion over the Hætæi and the very best land about the Adriatic, while Aeneas became master of all Italy and founded the greatest city in the world.<sup>1</sup> Now it does not stand to reason that men driven into exile and crushed by calamities at home accomplished such things, but rather that they would have been satisfied to be allowed to settle anywhere, especially when one considers with what humble resources whether of men or of money they would have had to come, fleeing through the midst of the enemy, their city lying in ashes and everything lost, when it would have been hard for the young and vigorous to save even their lives, to say nothing of setting forth with wives, children, parents, and property, when, to make matters worse, their city had been taken suddenly and contrary to their expectation, and they would not have departed gradually as men are wont to do when there has been a formal agreement. Nay, what did happen was a thing that could happen.<sup>2</sup>

The story goes that after the Achæans sailed away there was a great multitude assembled in the city, and that the allies were not all inclined to depart, and that, further, Hector discovered that Aeneas would not be satisfied if he did not get some share in the royal power, as Priam had promised him, so he claimed, if he saw the war through to the end

- μήσαντι τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐκβαλόντι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς  
 —οὕτω δὴ τὴν ἀποικίαν στείλαι χρημάτων τε  
 οὐ φεισάμενον καὶ πλήθος ὁπόσον αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο  
 141 πέμψαντα μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας. λέγειν δὲ  
 αὐτὸν ὡς ἄξιος μὲν εἶη βασιλεύειν καὶ μηδὲν  
 καταδεεστέραν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν τῆς αὐτοῦ, προσ-  
 ῆκειν δὲ μᾶλλον ἑτέραν κτήσασθαι γῆν· εἶναι  
 γὰρ οὐκ ἀδύνατον πάσης κρατῆσαι τῆς Εὐρώπης·  
 τούτων δὲ οὕτως γενομένων ἐλπίδας ἔχειν τοὺς  
 ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἄρχειν ἑκατέρας τῆς ἡπείρου, ἐφ' ὅσον  
 142 ἂν σώζεται τὸ γένος. ταῦτα δὴ ἀξιούντος Ἑκτορος  
 ἐλέσθαι τὸν Αἰνεΐαν,<sup>1</sup> τὰ μὲν ἐκείνῳ χαριζόμενον,  
 τὰ δὲ ἐλπίζοντα μειζόνων τεύξεσθαι· οὕτω δὴ τὴν  
 ἀποικίαν γενέσθαι ἀπὸ ἰσχύος καὶ φρονήματος  
 ὑπὸ τε ἀνθρώπων εὐτυχούντων παραχρήμᾳ τε  
 δυνηθῆναι καὶ εἰσαῦθις. ὁρῶντα δὲ Ἀντήνορα  
 Αἰνεΐαν στελλόμενον καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμῆσαι Εὐ-  
 ρώπης ἐπάρξαι, καὶ γενέσθαι στόλον ἄλλον  
 τοιοῦτον. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐγκαλοῦντα Ἑλεον  
 ὡς ἐλαττούμενον Δηϊφόβου δεηθῆναι τοῦ πατρός,  
 καὶ λαβόντα ναῦς καὶ στρατιὰν ὡς ἐφ' ἔτοιμον  
 τὴν Ἑλλάδα πλεῦσαι καὶ κατασχεῖν ὅλην τὴν<sup>2</sup>  
 143 ἑκσπονδον. οὕτω δὴ καὶ Διομήδην φεύγοντα ἐξ  
 Ἀργεῶς, ἐπειδὴ τὸν Αἰνεΐου<sup>3</sup> στόλον ἐπύθετο,  
 ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἅτε εἰρήνης καὶ φιλίας αὐτοῖς  
 γενομένης, δεηθῆναί τε βοηθείας τυχεῖν, διηγησά-  
 μενον<sup>4</sup> τὰς τε Ἀγαμέμνονος καὶ τὰς αὐτοῦ  
 συμφοράς. τὸν δὲ ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἔχοντα  
 ὀλίγας ναῦς καὶ μέρος τι παραδοῦναι τῆς στρα-

<sup>1</sup> Αἰνεΐαν Morel: Ἑκτορος.<sup>2</sup> τὴν added by Reiske.<sup>3</sup> Αἰνεΐου Geel: Αἰνεΐα M.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

and expelled the Achaeans; so Hector sent the colonists forth, generously supplying means and despatching with Aeneas as large a force as he wished, with all goodwill. He assured Aeneas that he was fully entitled to reign and have an authority no whit inferior to his own, but that it was better for him to get another country; because it was not impossible for Aeneas to become master of all Europe, and in that event he had hopes that their descendants would be rulers of both continents as long as their race endured. Accordingly, Aeneas adopted the suggestion of Hector, partly to please him, partly because he hoped to achieve greater things. So thanks to vigour and spirit the colony became an actuality and under the guidance of fortune's favourites was a power at once and in future times. Then Antenor, so they say, on observing Aeneas' preparations, likewise desired to get a kingdom in Europe. So another similar expedition was fitted out. The story adds that Helenus, complaining that he was getting less than Deiphobus, petitioned his father, obtained a fleet and army, and sailed to Greece as though it were waiting for him, and occupied all the territory from which the treaties did not exclude him. And so it happened that when Diomedes in exile from Argos heard of Aeneas' expedition, he came to him, since peace and friendship existed between them, and asked his help, after relating the misfortunes that had befallen Agamemnon and himself. Aeneas welcomed him and his little fleet of ships and gave him a small part of his army, since he had brought

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<sup>4</sup> διηγούμενον Reiske: διηγούμενος.

144 τιᾶς, ἐπειδὴ πᾶσαν ἔσχε τὴν χώραν. ὕστερον δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας ὑπὸ Δωριέων, ἀποροῦντας ὅποι τράπωνται δι' ἀσθένειαν, εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐλθεῖν ὡς παρὰ φίλους τε καὶ ἐνσπόνδους τοὺς ἀπὸ Πριάμου τε καὶ Ἑκτορος, Λέσβον τε<sup>1</sup> οἰκῆσαι κατὰ φιλίαν παρέντων<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἄλλα οὐ μικρὰ χωρία.

Ὅστις δὲ μὴ πείθεται τούτοις ὑπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς δόξης, ἐπιστάσθω ἀδύνατος ὢν ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἀπάτης καὶ διαγνῶναι τὸ ψεῦδος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλη-  
 145 θοῦς. τὸ γὰρ πιστεῦεσθαι πολὺν χρόνον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἡλιθίων οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἰσχυρὸν οὐδὲ ὅτι τὰ ψευδῆ ἐλέχθη παρὰ τοῖς πρότερον· ἐπεὶ τοι περὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν καὶ διαφέρονται καὶ τἀναντία δοξάζουσιν. οἷον εὐθύς περὶ τοῦ Περσικοῦ πολέμου, οἱ μὲν φασιν ὑστέραν γενέσθαι τὴν περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ναυμαχίαν τῆς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς μάχης, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἔργων τελευταῖον εἶναι τὸ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς.  
 146 καίτοι γε ἐγράφη παραχρῆμα τῶν ἔργων. οὐ γὰρ ἴσασιν οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ ἀκριβές, ἀλλὰ φήμης ἀκούουσι μόνον, καὶ ταῦτα οἱ γενόμενοι κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνου· οἱ δὲ δεῦτεροι<sup>3</sup> καὶ τρίτοι τελέως ἄπειροι καὶ ὃ τι ἂν εἴπη τις παραδέχονται ῥαδίως· ὁπότε τὸν Σκιρίτην<sup>4</sup> μὲν λόχον ὀνομάζουσι Λακεδαιμονίων μηδεπώποτε γενόμενον, ὥς φησι Θουκυδίδης, Ἀρμόδιον δὲ καὶ Ἀριστο-

<sup>1</sup> Λέσβον τε Geel: λαβόντας.

<sup>2</sup> παρέντων Wilamowitz: παρέντες.

<sup>3</sup> δεῦτεροι Reiske: ὕστεροι.

<sup>4</sup> Σκιρίτην Emperius: σκιρήτην or σκυρήτην.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

all the country under his sway. Later those Achaeans who had been driven out by the Dorians, not knowing in their weak condition which way to turn, made their way to Asia and to the descendants of Priam and Hector as to friends and allies, and then, with the friendly consent of these, founded Lesbos, whose inhabitants allowed them to do so through friendship, and other not inconsiderable places.

If anyone does not accept this account under the influence of the old view, let him know that he is unable to get free of error and distinguish truth from falsehood. The fact that a thing has long been accepted by foolish people is not a weighty consideration nor the fact that the falsehoods were current among those of former times. You see, in regard to many other matters also men differ and hold contrary views. In regard to the Persian War, for instance, some hold that the naval engagement off Salamis<sup>1</sup> took place after the battle of Plataea, others that the affair at Plataea was the last of the events; yet a record was made immediately after the events occurred. For most people have no accurate knowledge. They merely accept rumour, even when they are contemporary with the time in question, while the second and third generations are in total ignorance and readily swallow whatever anyone says; as, for example, when people speak of the Scirite company in the Lacedaemonian army, which, as Thucydides says, never existed,<sup>2</sup> or when the Athe-

<sup>1</sup> It is not known who, if any, held this view. The battle of Salamis was fought in 480 B.C.; battle of Plataea in 479 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Thucydides 5. 67 and other historians speak of the Scirite company. But in 1. 20 Thucydides denies the existence of the *Pitana* company which others had attributed to the Spartan army. The error is Dio's.

γείτονα πάντων μάλιστα Ἀθηναῖοι τιμῶσιν, ὥς  
 ἐλευθερώσαντας τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀνελόντας τὸν  
 147 τύραννον. καὶ τί δεῖ τὰνθρώπεια λέγειν, ὅπου  
 τὸν μὲν Οὐρανὸν πείθουσι καὶ τολμῶσι λέγειν  
 ὥς ἐκτμηθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Κρόνου, τὸν Κρόνον δὲ  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός; τοῦ γὰρ πρώτου καταλαβόντος,  
 ὥσπερ εἶωθεν, ἄτοπὸν τι, ἄτοπον τὸ μὴ πεισθῆναι<sup>1</sup>  
 ἔτι.

Βούλομαι δὲ καὶ περὶ Ὀμήρου ἀπολογήσασθαι,  
 ὥς οὐκ ἀνάξιον ὁμολογεῖν αὐτῷ ψευδομένῳ.  
 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ πολὺ<sup>2</sup> ἐλάττω τὰ ψεύσματά  
 ἐστὶ τῶν περὶ τοὺς θεούς· ἔπειτα ὠφέλειάν τινα  
 εἶχε τοῖς τότε Ἕλλησιν, ὅπως μὴ θορυβηθῶσιν,  
 εἰάν γένηται πόλεμος αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς  
 Ἀσίας, ὥσπερ καὶ προσεδοκᾶτο. ἀνεμέσητον δὲ  
 Ἕλληνα ὄντα τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πάντα τρόπον ὠφελεῖν.  
 148 τοῦτο δὲ τὸ στρατήγημα παρὰ πολλοῖς ἐστίν.  
 ἐγὼ γοῦν ἀνδρὸς ἤκουσα Μήδου λέγοντος ὅτι  
 οὐδὲν ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ Πέρσαι τῶν παρὰ τοῖς  
 Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλὰ Δαρεῖον μὲν φασιν ἐπὶ Νάξου  
 καὶ Ἐρέτριαν πέμψαι τοὺς περὶ Δᾶτιν καὶ  
 Ἀρταφέρνην, καὶ κείνους ἐλόντας τὰς πόλεις ἀφι-  
 κέσθαι παρὰ βασιλέα. ὁρμούντων δὲ αὐτῶν  
 περὶ τὴν Εὐβοίαν ὀλίγας ναῦς ἀποσκεδασθῆναι  
 πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οὐ πλείους τῶν εἴκοσι, καὶ  
 γενέσθαι τινὰ μάχην τοῖς ναύταις πρὸς τοὺς  
 149 αὐτόθεν ἐκ τοῦ τόπου. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ξέρξην  
 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύσαντα Λακεδαιμονίους  
 μὲν νικῆσαι περὶ Θερμοπύλας καὶ τὸν βασιλέα  
 αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνει Λεωνίδα, τὴν δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων

<sup>1</sup> ἄτοπὸν τι added by Cohoon. μὴ is found only in T.

<sup>2</sup> οὐ before πολὺ deleted by Geel.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

nians give the highest honours to Harmodius and Aristogeiton,<sup>1</sup> under the impression that they had freed the city and slain the tyrant. But why speak of human affairs when people maintain and dare to say that Uranus was mutilated by Cronus, and the latter by Zeus? <sup>2</sup> Just as soon as anyone has thought of an absurdity, as often happens, it is absurd to refuse to believe it.

But I wish to offer a defence in behalf of Homer by saying that there is nothing wrong in accepting his fictions. First, they are much less serious than the falsehoods told about the gods. Second, there was some advantage in them for the Greeks of those days, since they saved them from being alarmed in case war, as was expected, arose between them and the people of Asia. We can pardon one who, being a Greek, used every means to aid his countrymen. This is a very common device. I heard, for instance, a Mede declare that the Persians concede none of the claims made by the Greeks, but maintain that Darius despatched Datis and Artaphernes against Naxos and Eretria, and that after capturing these cities they returned to the king; that, however, while they were lying at anchor off Euboea, a few of their ships were driven on to the Attic coast—not more than twenty—and their crews had some kind of an engagement with the inhabitants of that place; that, later on, Xerxes in his expedition against Greece conquered the Lacedaemonians at Thermopylae and slew their king Leonidas, then captured and razed the city of the Athenians and sold into slavery all

<sup>1</sup> They slew Hipparchus, but he was not the tyrant of Athens. Hippias was the tyrant. See Thucydides I. 20.

<sup>2</sup> The mutilation of Cronus by Zeus is a fiction found probably only here.



πόλιν ἐλόντα<sup>1</sup> κατασκάψαι, καὶ ὅσοι μὴ διέφυγον ἀνδραποδίσασθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντα καὶ φόρους ἐπιθέντα τοῖς Ἑλλησιν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπελθεῖν. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ψευδῇ ταῦτά ἐστιν οὐκ ἄδηλον, ὅτι δὲ εἰκὸς ἦν, τὸν βασιλέα κελεῦσαι στρατεῦσαι<sup>2</sup> τοῖς ἄνω ἔθνεσιν οὐκ ἀδύνατον, ἵνα μὴ θορυβῶσιν. εἰ δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐποίει τοῦτο, συγγιγνώσκειν ἄξιον.

- 150 Ἴσως ἂν οὖν εἴποι τις ἀνήκοος, Οὐκ ὀρθῶς Ἑλληνας καθαιρεῖς. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἔτι τοιοῦτον, οὐδὲ ἐστὶ δέος μὴ ποτε ἐπιστρατεύσονται ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τινές· ἢ τε γὰρ Ἑλλὰς ὑφ' ἐτέροις ἐστὶν ἢ τε Ἀσία. τὸ δὲ ἀληθές οὐκ ὀλίγου ἄξιον. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, εἰ ἥδειν ὅτι πείσω ταῦτα λέγων, ἴσως ἂν ἐβουλευσάμην μὴ<sup>3</sup> εἰπεῖν. ὅμως δὲ μείζω καὶ δυσχερέστερα ὄνειδῃ φημὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
151 ἀφελεῖν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἐλεῖν τινα πόλιν οὐδὲν ἄτοπον, οὐδέ γε τὸ<sup>4</sup> στρατεύσαντας ἐπὶ χώραν μηδὲν αὐτοῖς προσήκουσαν ἔπειτα εἰρήνην ποιησαμένους ἀπελθεῖν, οὐδέ γε ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ὄντα τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς ὁμοίου τελευτῆσαι μαχόμενον, οὐδέ τοῦτο ὄνειδος· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποδέξαιτο ἂν τις μέλλων ἀποθνήσκειν, ὥσπερ ὃ γε<sup>5</sup> Ἀχιλλεὺς πεποίηται λέγων,

ὥς μ' ὄφελ' Ἑκτωρ κτεῖναι, ὃς ἐνθάδε τέτραφ' ἄριστος.

<sup>1</sup> ἐλόντα Emperius: ἔχοντα.

<sup>2</sup> The sentence is corrupt, but the general meaning required by the argument is clear. The translation attempts to indicate this.

<sup>3</sup> μὴ added by Emperius. But the corruption may go deeper.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

who did not escape; and that after these successes he laid tribute upon the Greeks and withdrew to Asia. Now it is quite clear that this is a false account, but, since it was the natural thing to do, it is quite possible that the king ordered this story to be spread among the inland tribes in order to keep them quiet. So if Homer used this same device we ought to forgive him.

Perhaps, however, some uninformed person may say, "It is not right for you to disparage the Greeks in this way." Well, the situation has changed and there is no longer any fear of an Asiatic people ever marching against Greece. For Greece is subject to others and so is Asia. Besides, the truth is worth a great deal. And in addition to all this, had I known that my words would carry conviction, perhaps I should have decided not to speak at all. But nevertheless I maintain that I have freed the Greeks from reproaches greater and more distressing. That a man should fail in the capture of a city is nothing unusual, nor is it, either, to have made a campaign against a country which was no concern of theirs and then to have retreated after making peace; and for a man of noble spirit to fall in battle by the hand of a worthy foe, that too is no reproach. Nay, a man who is on the point of death might well meet it as Achilles is represented to have done when he said,

"Would that Hector, the most brave  
Of warriors reared upon the Trojan soil,  
Had slain me."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 21. 279.

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<sup>4</sup> γε τὸ Emperius: ἐλέγετο.

<sup>5</sup> ὃ γε Emperius: γὰρ or γε.

- 152 τὸν δὲ ἄριστον ὄντα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπὸ τοῦ φαυλοτάτου τῶν πολεμίων ἀποθανεῖν τῷ ὄντι μέγα ὄνειδος· ὁμοίως δὲ τὸν νοῦν ἔχειν δοκούντα καὶ σωφρονέστατον εἶναι τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρῶτον μὲν τὰ πρόβατα καὶ τοὺς βοῦς ἀποσφάττειν, βουλόμενον ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς βασιλέας, ὕστερον δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν ὅπλων ἕνεκεν αἰσχιστον.<sup>1</sup>
- 153 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἀστυάνακτα μὲν ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ παῖδα οὕτως ὥμῳς ἀνελεῖν ῥίψαντας ἀπὸ τοῦ τεύχους, καὶ ταῦτα κοινῇ δόξαν<sup>2</sup> τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι· Πολυξένην δὲ παρθένον ἀποσφάττειν ἐπὶ τάφῳ καὶ τοιαύτας· χεῖσθαι<sup>3</sup> χοὰς τῷ τῆς θεᾶς υἱεῖ· Κασσάνδραν δέ, παναγῇ<sup>3</sup> κόρην, ἱέρειαν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐν τῷ τεμένει φθαρῆναι τῆς Αθηνᾶς, ἐχομένην τοῦ ἀγάλματος, καὶ τοῦτο πρᾶξαι μηδένα τῶν φαύλων μηδὲ τῶν
- 154 ἀναξίων, ἀλλ' ὅσπερ ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις· Πρίαμον δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Ἀσίας ἐν ἐσχάτῳ γήρᾳ κατατρωθέντα παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς βωμόν, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ γένος ἦν, ἐπ' αὐτῷ σφαγῆναι, καὶ μηδὲ τοῦτο εἰργάσθαι μηδένα τῶν ἀφανῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως υἱόν, καὶ ταῦτα ἐστιαθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ σωθέντα ὑπ' ἐκείνου πρότερον· Ἐκάβην δέ, δύστηνον τοσοῦτων μητέρα παιδων, Ὀδυσσεῖ δοθῆναι ἐπὶ ὕβρει, ὑπὸ τε τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν κακῶν πάνυ γελοίως κύνα γενέσθαι· τὸν δὲ

<sup>1</sup> αἰσχιστον Wilamowitz: αἰσχιστον ἄν, αἰσχιστα, or αἰσχιστα ἄν.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

But for the bravest of the Greeks to be slain by the most contemptible man among the enemy, that indeed is a great reproach; and likewise for one who was reputed to be a man of intelligence and the most temperate of the Greeks to begin by slaughtering the sheep and oxen when he meant to slay the kings and then to despatch himself, all for the sake of a suit of armour, is most shameful. Furthermore, when Astyanax, the son of a noble warrior, is so brutally slain by being hurled from the city walls, and indeed by the united decision of army and kings; when the maiden Polyxena is sacrificed at the tomb and such libations are made to the son of a goddess; when Cassandra, a consecrated maiden and priestess of Apollo, is outraged in the sanctuary of Athena while clinging to the goddess' statue, and this is done, not by some obscure or worthless man, but by one of the most prominent leaders; when Priam, the king of Asia, in extreme old age is wounded beside the altar of Zeus, from whom he was descended, and is slaughtered upon it, and no obscure man perpetrates this deed either, but the very son of Achilles, in spite of the fact that Achilles, his father, had entertained Priam and spared his life on a former occasion;<sup>1</sup> when Hecuba, the sorrow-stricken mother of so many children, is given to Odysseus to her shame and under the weight of her miseries is changed to a dog<sup>2</sup>—an utterly ridiculous idea; and when the lord

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 24. 468 f.

<sup>2</sup> See Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 13. 569 f.

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<sup>2</sup> δόξαν Emperius: δόξαντα.

<sup>2</sup> παναγή Emperius: παναπή or πανευπεπή.

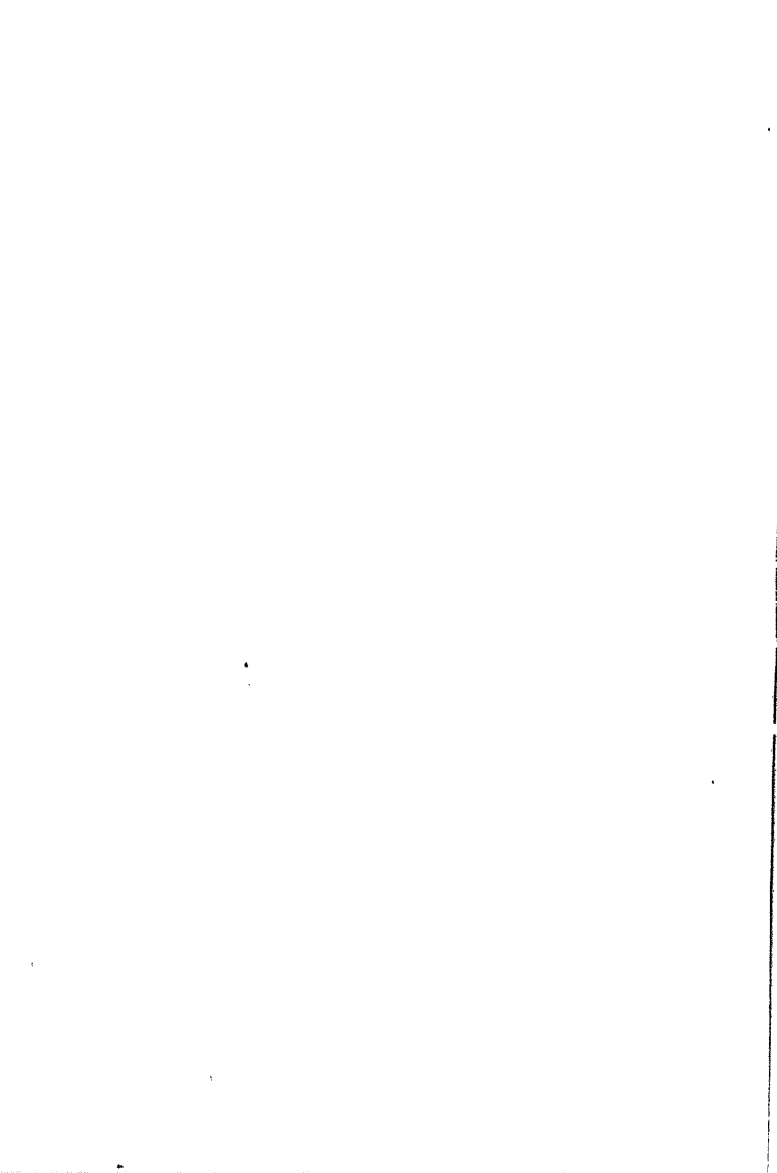
## DIO CHRYSOSTOM

βασιλέα τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὴν ἱερὰν κόρην τοῦ<sup>1</sup>  
Ἀπόλλωνος, ἣν οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησε γῆμαι διὰ τὸν  
θεόν, αὐτὸν ἀγαγέσθαι γυναῖκα, ὅθεν ἔδοξε τεθνη-  
κέναι δικαίως· πόσῳ κρείττω ταῦτα μὴ γενόμενα  
τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἢ Τροίαν ἀλῶναι;

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ Rhodomann: ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐ ὑπὸ τοῦ.

## THE ELEVENTH OR TROJAN DISCOURSE

of the Greeks takes as his bride that holy virgin of Apollo, whom no one had dared to marry for fear of the god—an act for which he is held to have met a deserved fate—how much better for the Greeks never to have committed these excesses than to have captured Troy!



# INDEX

ACHAEANS (in Homer means Greeks),  
built horse at Troy, 540.123; sailed  
from Troy when stormy season had  
set in, 544.130

Achilles, educated by Phoenix, 58.15;  
admired by Alexander, 70.32;  
Polyxena sacrificed at his tomb,  
260.18; slain by Hector, 518.96,  
520.106, 530.111

Acrocorinthus, citadel of Corinth;  
252.3

Aeneas, 540.137, 552.4  
founded Rome, 420.5

Aeacides, descendant of Aeacus such  
as Peleus his son or Achilles his  
grandson, 82.50

Agasthus, slew Agamemnon and made  
king by Argives, 516.132

Aeneas, sent by Hector, occupied  
Italy, 550.137; founded Rome,  
552.138

Aeschines, companion of Socrates,  
376.1

Aethra, her figure shown in memorial  
at Olympia, 480.45; slave in  
Sparta, 492.59

Africa or Libya, greater part ruled by  
Persian king, 120.37; inhabited  
by a savage animal, 238.5

Agamemnon, given first place by  
Hector, 52.66; sailed to Troy, 540.123,  
leaving many prisoners at Troy,  
530.112; gave oath that Achaeans  
would never invade Asia as long as  
family of Priam was on throne,  
538.122

Ajax, son of Telamon. Story of his  
combat with Hector false, 508.83;  
slain by Hector, 534.116

Ajaxes, the two, son of Telamon and  
son of Oileus, brought body of  
Achilles back to ships, 518.97

Alecinolis, ruler of Phaeacians who  
entertained Odysseus, 74.37;  
472.34

Alexander the Great, heard flute-  
player Timotheus, 2.1; talked with  
Philip his father about Homer,  
50.1; won battle of Chaeronea,  
50.2; educated by Aristotle, 58.15;  
left Pindar's house standing when  
he sacked Thebes, 70.33; had con-  
versation with Diogenes, 168.1 ff.;  
knew *Iliad* by heart and much of  
*Odyssey*, 186.39

Alexander, also called Paris. *See*  
Paris

Alexander the Philhellene, ancestor of  
Alexander the Great, 70.33

Alpheus, chief river of Peloponnese,  
28.52

Amazon, slain by Neoptolemus,  
534.117;

Heracles, fought v

Amazons, made expedition, 470.31;  
one married by Theseus, 480.47;  
came from Pontus to help Trojans,  
532.114

Ammon (Amun), Egyptian deity.  
Said by Olympias to be father of  
Alexander the Great, 176.19

Amyntor, father of Phoenix, 58.15  
Anacreon, short poem of, quoted in  
90.62

Antenor, became ruler of Heneti,  
552.138, 554.142

Antilochus, son of Nestor. His bones  
brought home from Troy by his  
father, 524.108; slain defending his  
father, 534.117

Antinolis, one of Penelope's suitors;  
332.83



## INDEX

- 568

1

- 569

# INDEX

- Patroclus, distrusted by Achilles, 520.99  
 Peiraeus, not entered with south wind, 250.3  
 Pelopidas, driven from Peloponnese, 548.133  
 Peloponnese, once suffered famine, 282.61  
 Persians, said to have golden head-gear and bridles for horses, 82.51; call elder Darius shopkeeper, 214.98; do not admit defeat at Marathon, 558.148  
 Philip (of Macedon), talked with his son Alexander about poetry, 50.1 ff.; esteemed Aristotle highly, 100.79  
 Philoctetes, slew Paris, 534.117  
 Phoenix, taught Achilles, 62.19  
 Pindar, preferred by Alexander to Sappho or Anacreon, 66.28; his house spared by Alexander, 70.33  
 Plato, notes that Homer never represents heroes as eating fish, 80.47  
 Pontic honey, bitter to taste, 404.6  
 Priam, provided Achilles with share of royal power, 552.101; slaughtered by Achilles, 540.101  
 Prometheus, was being destroyed by popular opinion, not by an eagle, 394.33  
 Rhea, 364.135  
 Sacian feast of Persians, described, 198.66  
 Salamis, battle there after Plataea, 556.145  
 Sarambus, shopkeeper at Athens, 212.98  
 Sardanapallus (Assur-danin-pal?), quoted, 280.135  
 Sarpedon, son of Laertes, his father as king of Troy, 540.124  
 Scrite company in Lacedaemonian army, did not exist, 556.146  
 Sinope, birthplace of Diogenes, 250.1, 376.1  
 Socrates, 114.26; his opinion of Persian king, 118.32  
 Sparta, suffered an earthquake, 282.61  
 Sphinx, prompted Oedipus to answer 'man,' 440.30  
 Stagira, rebuilt by Alexander, 100.79  
 Stesichorus, blinded for defaming Helen, 58.13, 476.40; his *Capture of Troy*, 70.33  
 Syrtis (the Greater), very dangerous to ships, 238.6 ff.  
 Thebe or Thebes, captured by Achilles, 68.30  
 Thebes (in Boeotia), Sown men of Thebes, had spear mark on body, 178.23; sacked by Alexander, but not by him, 70.33  
 Thetis, mother of Achilles, 70.33  
 Amazons, 480.47  
 Theseus, carried off Helen, 478.44  
 Thessaly, its horses inferior to those from Nisaeon plain, 160.130; ruled by Helenus, 550.137  
 Thrace, governed by the Persian king, 120.37  
 Thucydides, wrongly quoted in 556.146  
 Timotheus, played before Alexander, 2.3  
 Trojans, addressed by Dio in 448.4; could have been induced to surrender Helen, 496.67; not responsible for war, 498.67  
 Troy, stories about it in Egyptian records, 474.38; ravaged by Heracles, 488.57; not captured by Greeks, 540.123  
 Tyndareus, born at Sparta, 487.43; interviewed by Paris, 482.49  
 Typhon, monster of primitive world, destructive hurricane or fire-breathing monster; 34.67  
 Tyrtacus, Spartan poet, not as good as Alexander, 68.29  
 Xenophon, in exile on account of campaign with Cyrus, 376.1  
 Xerxes, made of sea a dry land by bridging Hellespont, 116.31  
 Zetes, an athlete, 390.27  
 Zeus, source of kings' power, 24.45; why he punished Prometheus, 262.25; progenitor of Priam, 482.50; Zeus-dialect, used by Homer, 402.23

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